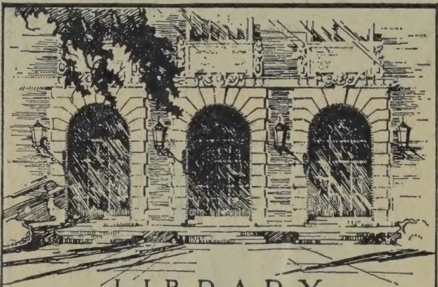


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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

FURNEAUX

VOL. II.

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ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI LIBRI

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY FURNEAUX, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOL. II

BOOKS XI—XVI

WITH A MAP

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PREFACE.

The text of this volume, like that of the former, is mainly that of Halm (ed. 4, Leipzig, 1883)[1], but departs from it somewhat oftener, usually in the direction of retaining or approaching more closely to the Medicean readings[2].

In the commentary, I have to add to the acknowledgements made in the first volume that of assistance frequently derived from the edition of Émile Jacob (Paris, 1877)[3], then unfortunately overlooked, and those of Professor Holbrooke (London, 1882)[4], and of Pfitzner, (Gotha, 1885), which, as also a further portion (Fasc. v–viii, pp. 481–928) of Gerber and Greef's Lexicon, have appeared since that volume was completed.

Among new works bearing on the subject-matter in general, the chief place is due to the fifth volume of Professor Mommsen's 'Römische Geschichte' ('die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian,' Berlin, 1885)[5], and

[1] In the first volume, Halm's third edition (1877) was used; the text of which in several places differs from that of the later recension.

[2] See notes on 11. 24, 11; 30, 3; 12. 25, 3; 31, 2; 32, 1; 44, 5; 60, 3; 68, 2; 13. 17, 2; 21, 3 and 9; 34, 5; 47, 4; 56, 6; 14. 7, 2; 10, 5; 26, 3; 31, 4; 40, 4; 43, 4; 59, 6; 60, 6; 15. 9, 1; 21, 3; 28, 2; 43, 1; 44, 6; 45, 6; 51, 1; 55, 1; 58, 3; 68, 3; 16. 12, 3; 26, 3. I have also not followed Halm's present edition in omitting from the title of the work the word 'Annalium,' which, though resting on no authority, seems to have become indispensable from common use.

[3] M. Jacob's first volume (Books i–vi.) reached a second edition in 1885.

[4] This date was before the publication, but after the substantial completion, of my former volume.

[5] The references are throughout made both to the original work and to the English Translation (1886).

to the third volume (in two parts) of the same author's 'Römisches Staatsrecht' (Leipzig, 1887, 1888). To both these works great and frequent obligations must be acknowledged, though far fewer than would have been due had I been able to consult them in the Introduction to the previous volume[1].

Many other important sources to which I have been indebted for information bearing on this volume separately or on special parts of it, will be found mentioned in notes prefixed to several portions of the Introduction and to the Appendices[2].

The map of Armenia and the surrounding countries, given at the end, is indebted, as regards its physical features, to Kiepert, but has been adapted to its purpose by the omission of a great number of names not belonging to the present narrative, and by the insertion of several modern names.

It is hoped that the Indices to the whole work here added may be found sufficient for practical purposes. The first includes all the proper names in the text, and such other matter as appeared to be of sufficient importance: the second is intended to be supplementary to it, and to relate chiefly to the Introductions and Appendices, leaving the majority of the notes to be found by reference to the text to which they belong.

I cannot but fear that many readers will consider the Introduction and notes to these Books inordinate in length, especially as so much general matter had been treated once for all in the former volume: but for

[1] I should also add that in this volume the third edition (1887) of the first and second volumes of the 'Staatsrecht' have been used and referred to. The references in my former volume were to the second edition; the pages of which are indicated on the margin of the third. Also in my former volume the first, in the present the second edition, of the second and third volumes of Marquardt's 'Staatsverwaltung' are referred to.

[2] See pp. 1, 5, 19, 49, 96, 126, 208, 570, 629.

this apparent excess I believe that some justification can be offered.

It should be borne in mind that the whole time covered is somewhat longer; the narrative having been supplemented by summaries[1] so as to extend over the thirty-one years from the death of Tiberius to that of Nero. Also this period is far more fruitful in important events and has attracted considerably more notice from recent writers than that preceding it. The full investigation of the life and rule of Claudius by Lehmann[2], and the still more learned and elaborate treatise of H. Schiller on the Neronian period[3], have no counterpart on a similar scale relating to the time of Tiberius. Special attention has also been bestowed by recent scholars on the narrative of Eastern affairs during this period[4]; and the chapters relating to the conquest of Britain, though but a small portion of the narrative of Tacitus, have deeply interested all antiquaries in this country[5], and form a subject on which more is naturally expected from an English than from a German editor of the Annals. Even the single chapter, or portion of a chapter, on the persecution of the Christians, has received special attention from the chief recent ecclesiastical historians, and has raised many questions which could not be here passed over[6].

Under these circumstances it has seemed desirable to place before general students such a statement and criticism of the chief results of special investigation in these subjects as could be fairly based on the narrative of

[1] See Introd. ch. ii. and Appendix iii.

[2] See note on p. 5.

[3] See note on p. 49. The importance of this work and that above mentioned will be seen from the constant references made to them.

[4] See note on p. 96.

[5] See note on p. 126. It may be also noted that, both in this chapter of the Introduction and in that on Parthia and Armenia, the whole period is reviewed from the death of Julius Caesar to that of Nero.

[6] See Appendix ii. after Book 15.

Tacitus, and should help them to estimate the general value of his work as a historical authority. I may add that it has also been my wish to make as complete as I fairly could the commentary on a part of the author which is not generally so much studied in England as to be likely often to encourage the undertaking of fresh editions by future scholars.

In conclusion, I have to return my best thanks to the Delegates of the University Press for accepting this work, and to their staff for the care and accuracy shown in the printing and revision.

Lower Heyford Rectory, Oxfordshire:
June, 1891.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 32, note 15, *for* 11. 8, 1, *read* 11. 18, 1.
,, 97, line 2, *for* Atrabanus *read* Artabanus.
,, ,, line 15, *for* to any other part of the empire, *read* on any other frontier of the empire.
,, 377, note on l. 10, *for* c. 48, 7, *read* c. 42, 7.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE TEXT OF THESE BOOKS AND THE SECOND MEDICEAN MANUSCRIPT[1].

THAT which is now known as the second Medicean MS. of Tacitus is a manuscript in Lombard characters, generally assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century, and thought by Ritter to have been one of the many transcripts of works of ancient authors made at that date in the great monastery of Monte Casino.

The latter part of the MS. consists of the works of Apuleius, and contains the following subscription, 'Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix Olybrio et Probino cons. . . . Rursus Constantinopoli recognovi Caesario et Attico conss.' These dates are respectively A.D. 395 and 397, and are taken to be those of the transcription and revision of the archetypal MS.; but whether the same archetype or another of the same date contained the Tacitus, as well as the Apuleius here copied, is in no way evident.

Nothing appears to be known of the history of this MS. until the time of Poggio Bracciolini, who received it at Rome in 1427 from Nicola

[1] The matter of this chapter is chiefly derived from the Preface of Baiter to the second edition of Orelli, and from that of Ritter to his edition of 1864.

Nicoli of Florence, ~~one of~~ the agents employed by him for collecting manuscripts. In acknowledging its receipt, Bracciolini writes as follows (Oct. 21), 'Misisti mihi librum Senecae, et Cornelium Tacitum, quod est mihi gratum: at is est litteris longobardis et maiori ex parte caducis, quod si scissem, liberassem te eo labore. Legi olim quemdam apud uos manens litteris antiquis; nescio Coluciine esset an alterius. Illum cupio habere uel alium qui legi possit: nam difficile erit reperire scriptorem, qui hunc codicem recte legat; ideo cura ut alium habeam, si fieri potest.' On further examination, he appears to have determined not to keep it, and writes again to Nicoli (June 5, 1428): 'Dedi Bartholomaeo de Bardis decadem Livii et Cornelium Tacitum, ut illos ad te mittat: in tuo Cornelio deficiunt plures chartae uariis in locis.' The manuscript thus returned to Nicoli was bequeathed by him to the Convent of St. Mark; as appears by an inscription upon it, 'Conventus S. Marci de Florentia Ordinis Praedicatorum de hereditate Nicolai Nicoli Florentini viri doctissimi.' From thence it was transferred to the Laurentian Library, where it is at present preserved. The manuscript is written on parchment, and the portion containing Tacitus must have consisted when complete of 105 leaves (now reduced to 103 by the loss of two leaves containing respectively Hist. 1. 69–75, and H. 1. 86–2. 2), and contains all that we have of these later Books of the Annals and the whole extant part of the Histories, all numbered consecutively as Books XVI–XXI. At the end of the several Books is a subscription, 'Cornelii Taciti Liber . . . explicit, incipit . . .' The abrupt conclusion of the 16th Book of the Annals has however no such subscription, and the first sentence of the Histories is written in red letters of larger size, so as in some sort to mark a new commencement. Also there is no subscription at the end of Book XXI (Hist. 5), which leaves off in the middle of a column, so as to show that there was no more in the exemplar.

It will be seen above, that, even in the time of Bracciolini, the handwriting, besides being in the difficult Lombard character, had in many places become faded and indistinct by time[1]. Since that date, a later hand has endeavoured to reproduce the text of these passages in the interlinear spaces; and, through errors committed in this attempt, many false readings have subsequently passed current as the true Medicean text.

Many other manuscripts[2] of this portion of the works of Tacitus exist,

[1] A facsimile of part of 15. 44, executed by Professor Vitelli, of Florence, is given by Dr. C. F. Arnold and M. Hochart, in their treatises on this chapter. This would give a specimen of the character used, but not of its faded and indistinct condition.

[2] Some twenty or more now existing are enumerated in the Prefaces of Walther and Ruperti.

but none of them can claim any earlier date than the middle of the 15th century. Many are known not to have been direct transcripts of the Medicean, and very few are even supposed to be such. The best known of them are classed by Walther and Ruperti in two main groups. The one consists of five[1] expressly stated to have been transcribed from a 'Codex Genuensis' now lost, and a sixth[2], the text of which closely resembles theirs. Another group of six[3], called by Walther (with less propriety) the Roman group, shows traces of a common exemplar, distinct from the 'Genuensis.' To these a third group should be added comprising two Florentine manuscripts in the Laurentian Library[4], which appear to approach most nearly to the Medicean text. The affinities of the others[5] have not been traced.

Respecting the source of the 'Genuensis' and other parents of these MSS. nothing can now be known. It should however be noted that the loss of the two leaves in the First and Second Books of the Histories[6] had certainly taken place before 1542[7], and may have been one of the mutilations complained of by Bracciolini in 1428[8]; but the lost matter is preserved in all the inferior manuscripts[9]. This would show that the Medicean, if it is their ultimate source, had been already transcribed before this mutilation happened to it; and it is also evident from the correspondence that some other copy of Tacitus had been seen by Bracciolini[10]. An alternative theory, that these MSS. were not derived from the Medicean, but from some other old MS. coordinate with it and

[1] Two in the Vatican Library (1958 and 2965), and three in England, erroneously called 'tres Oxonienses.' Two of these are indeed in Oxford, one in the Bodleian Library, the other in that of Jesus College; but the third ('Harleianus') is with the other Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

[2] 'Guelferbytanus' (also called 'Gudianus') in the Library of the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel. This manuscript, generally called 'G,' is very often cited by editors.

[3] Two in the Vatican (1863 and 1864), two in Paris ('Regius Parisiensis' and 'Corbinelli'), the 'Farnesianus' (now in the Library at Naples), and the 'Rudolphi Agricolae' (used by Lipsius and other editors), cited frequently as 'Agr.'

[4] An account of these and a third in the same Library is given by Baiter. The two cited as 'a' and 'b' are so far considered the best of all the inferior manuscripts, that the most recent editors base the text upon them in the two places of the Histories where the Medicean text is now lost.

[5] Among these is that called 'Budensis,' once belonging to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, collated by Rhenanus and afterwards by Oberlin. Its text is said to be intermediate between the two first families above noted.

[6] See above, p. 2.

[7] This appears from the collation of Victorius, noted below (p. 4).

[8] See above, p. 2. It has been thought possible that he only refers to the abrupt beginning of Book 11, and to the abrupt endings of Book 16, and Hist. Book 5: but these would hardly justify the expression 'deficiunt plures chartae uariis in locis'; which indeed is in any case exaggerated, as must also have been the 'litteris . . . maiori ex parte caducis' of the earlier letter.

[9] It is however to be noted that they mostly fail to note the end of the First and beginning of the Second Book of the Histories.

[10] See above, p. 2.

proceeding from the same archetypal MS., has been adopted by some editors, notably by Walther, who has carefully given in his notes, as of value, all such of their various readings as were known to him. Recent editors, however, have generally held that all the other MSS. are ultimately derived from the Medicean, and that their readings are only worth quoting, either as successful emendations of its errors, or as perhaps preserving its text in places where it has now become illegible.

This portion of the works of Tacitus became thus known to the Italian scholars eighty years earlier than the first six Books of the Annals[1]; but in other respects the history of its text has been less fortunate. The first Medicean, besides being in itself a better manuscript than the second, was the sole source of the Books contained in it, and had therefore necessarily to be used in printing them; but in the case of the other Books, other more accessible and far more legible manuscripts were exclusively followed, whether for subsequent transcripts or early printed editions, and the Medicean was wholly or comparatively neglected.

The 'editio princeps' of Vindelin de Spira, ascertained to have been published at Venice in 1470, is said to have been printed from a MS. now lost, but then existing in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, which appears to have belonged to that styled by Walther the 'Roman' group of MSS. The next edition, that of Franciscus Puteolanus of Parma, believed to have been published at Milan in 1475, is based on some manuscript of the 'Genuensis' family[2]. That of Beroaldus, the 'editio princeps' of the whole of the Annals (Rome, 1514), though perforce following the first Medicean for the first six Books, was content to take the rest from Puteolanus.

The earliest known collation of the second Medicean MS. is that of Petrus Victorius (Piero Vettori), a learned Florentine of the 16th century, who annotated the results of his study of it on a copy of the edition of Beroaldus, preserved in the Library at Munich, adding this inscription at the end of the Histories: 'Recognovi cum vetusto exemplari literis Langobardis scripto, ne ea quidem in conlatione omittens quae corrupta aliquo pacto videbantur, ne locus coniecturae emendaturo deesset. Est autem codex e Divi Marci Bibliotheca. Florentiae MDXLII. Idibus Ian. P. Victorius.' It does not however appear that this collation was used by, or known to, any earlier editor than Walther[3]. The collations known to scholars were those of Curtius Pichena (given in his edition of

[1] See Introd. to vol. i, p. 5.

[2] For these and other particulars see the Prefaces of Ruperti and Walther. Neither the edition of de Spira nor that of Puteolanus themselves contain a title-page or other record of the date or place of publication. The name of Spira is given in some verses at the end; that of Puteolanus in a Dedication or Preface.

[3] Walther, Praef. xxxvii.

1607), of Iac. Gronovius (in his edition of 1720), and of Franc. del Furia (in Bekker's edition of 1831). All these collators appear to have not unfrequently erred in assuming the readings given by the later hand of the interlineator to be a faithful copy of the original: but the later collations of Baiter (given in Orelli's edition) and of Ritter (in his edition of 1864) leave probably little or nothing further to be ascertained as to the true readings of the Medicean text of these Books.

CHAPTER II.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK VI AND BEGINNING OF BOOK XI.

NOTE.—In this chapter, especially in the portion belonging to the principate of Claudius, frequent obligations have to be acknowledged to Dr. H. Lehmann's 'Claudius und seine Zeit,' Leipzig, 1877.

Principate of Gaius.

A. U. C. 790; A. D. 37; March 16.

AFTER sending the will of Tiberius to the Senate by Macro[1], Gaius himself escorted the remains to Rome and was received with universal acclamation[2], and invested with the titles belonging to the principate[3]. His earliest act was to go in person to the islands of Pandateria and Pontia, where his mother and eldest brother had been buried, to collect their remains and transport them with all funeral honours to the Mausoleum of Augustus[4].

On the 1st of July he assumed the consulship with his uncle Claudius (who had never hitherto filled any senatorial magistracy), but resigned it in two months to the suffecti who had been previously designated[5]. He introduced young Tiberius Gemellus to public life, made him 'princeps iuventutis' and adopted him; dignified his grandmother Antonia with the title of Augusta, and associated the names of his sisters with his own in the 'sacramentum[6]'; paid (with additions) all the legacies under the will of Tiberius, as well as those of Livia Augusta (hitherto unpaid)[7], and the

[1] On the provisions of this will and the extent to which they were cancelled, see note on 6. 50, 9.

[2] Suet. 13.

[3] Dio, 59. 3, 2. See Introd. i, vi, p. 68.

[4] Suet. 15.

[5] Dio, 59. 6, 5; 7, 9.

[6] Suet. 15.

[7] See on 5. 1, 6.

'congiarium' which had been promised on his own entry into public life [1]. In this and other ways the accumulations of Tiberius, amounting to 2700 million H. S.[2], disappeared in less than a year. Profession was made of abolishing trials for 'maiestas' and of destroying the records of all previous delations, especially those against his mother and brothers. Exiles were restored and prisoners released [3], and the proscribed writings of Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Cassius Severus were allowed free circulation [4].

Personal friends received more substantial marks of favour. Herodes Agrippa, who had been in bonds and in danger of life under Tiberius, received an important portion of Palestine, with the regal title [5]; young Rhoemetalces received the kingdom of Thrace; his brother Cotys, that of lesser Armenia [6]; Sohaemus that of Ituraea [7]; Commagene, then part of the province of Syria, was restored to Antiochus, a prince descended from its ancient kings [8].

In the eighth month of his rule [9], an illness, generally ascribed to intemperance, appears to have permanently aggravated a previous tendency [10] to intermittent insanity, and to have caused the vices of his character to burst through restraint. The first indication of this was seen in the despatch of an order to compel the suicide of young Tiberius [11], whom he charged with praying for his death [12]. Another distinguished victim was the Emperor's father-in-law, M. Silanus, one of the foremost men in Rome, of whose repute he is stated to have been jealous [13].

A. U. C. 791; A. D. 38. M. AQUILIUS, C. F., JULIANUS, P. NONIUS, M. F., ASPRENAS [14], COSS.

Several popular acts are still recorded, the restoration (in form at least) of the popular Comitia [15], the remission of the 'ducentesima [16],' liberality to sufferers after a fire, infusion of new provincial blood into the equestrian

[1] Dio, 59. 2, 2.

[2] Suet. 37. Dio (59. 2, 6) quotes two different estimates, and makes the money last somewhat longer. It would be equivalent to about £22,000,000.

[3] Among the latter Dio (59. 6, 2) notes Pomponius (see note on 5. 8, 4): we know also that Cn. Domitius and Vibius Marsus (6. 48, 1) were under accusation, if not in custody.

[4] Suet. 16. See 4. 21, 5; 35, 5.

[5] The history of Agrippa is given at length by Josephus (Ant. 18. 6). This and the other appointments perhaps belong more properly to the following year.

[6] See note on 2. 67, 4.

[7] See 12. 23, 2, and note.

[8] See note on 2. 56, 5.

[9] This date is given by Philo (Leg. 2).

[10] Suet. states (c. 50) that he had been subject to epilepsy as a boy.

[11] Philo, Leg. 5; see 6. 46, 5, and note.

[12] Dio, 59. 8, 1.

[13] See note on 6. 20, 1. On the dual government then introduced into Africa, see below, p. 18.

[14] The names are given in full in the 'Argumentum' to Dio, Book 59.

[15] See note on 1. 15, 1.

[16] See note on 2. 42, 6.

order[1]. Other prominent persons however perished, as Macro, to whom he had owed so much, and Macro's wife, Ennia, to whom he had formerly promised marriage[2]. The scandal of his open incest with Drusilla was yet further increased by his demanding her deification and other extravagant honours at her death[3].

By this time the treasury had been emptied by lavish expenditure of all kinds, especially by unparalleled magnificence in public entertainments. Gaius was thus driven to replenish his funds by confiscation; and numbers are stated to have been selected for condemnation, really on the ground of their wealth, ostensibly on such charges as that of having aided Seianus against Agrippina and her house, on the testimony of the records which he had pretended to burn[4].

Already Gaius began to desire divine honours for himself. The known antipathy of the Jews to this cultus was made the occasion for a ferocious persecution of them by the Greeks of Alexandria, abetted by Avidius Flaccus, the praefect of Egypt[5]. A visit paid by Agrippa to the city, on his way from Rome to take possession of his principality, furnished a pretext for a still further outbreak[6]. His influence with Gaius appears to have assisted in procuring the removal of Flaccus, whereby the Jews of Egypt obtained some temporary respite[7].

A. U. C. 792, A. D. 39. C. CAESAR II, L. APRONIUS, L. F., CAESIANUS[8], COSS.

Gaius resigned the consulship in thirty days to Sanquinius Maximus; his colleague held it for six months[9]. The suffecti for the rest of the year were Cn. Domitius Corbulo and Cn. Domitius Afer[10].

Herodes Antipas, who had gone to Rome to sue for an increase of dominion, was exiled to Lugdunum, and accompanied thither by his wife, Herodias[11]. Mithridates, who had become king of Armenia by the aid of Tiberius[12], was summoned to Rome and detained in custody[13].

To this year belongs the narrative of the most celebrated of the extravagances of Gaius, the construction of a bridge, formed chiefly of the ships that should have brought corn to Italy, across the gulf from Puteoli to Baiae; apparently for the mere purpose of crossing and recrossing it in a triumphal pageant[14]. Other schemes of a more practical

[1] Dio, 59. 9, 5.
[2] See on 6. 45, 5.
[3] See Introd. i. ix. p. 145.
[4] Dio, 59. 10, 7.
[5] Philo in Flacc. 4, foll.; Leg. 11, foll.
[6] Philo in Flacc. 5.
[7] Id. 12, foll. Flaccus was exiled to Andros, and there subsequently put to death by order of Gaius.
[8] See note on 3. 21, 6.
[9] Dio, 59. 13, 2.
[10] Dio, 59. 15, 5; 20, 1. The former is the famous general, the latter the great orator.
[11] Jos. Ant. 18. 7.
[12] See 6. 32, 5, etc.
[13] See on 11. 8, 1.
[14] Dio, 59. 17.

character may possibly belong to the same date, such as the commencement of an aqueduct[1], and of harbours of refuge for the corn ships on either side of the Sicilian strait[2], and a project of cutting through the isthmus of Corinth[3]. Numerous devices are also recorded for extorting funds to replenish the treasury. Among those put to death are mentioned Calvisius Sabinus and his wife Cornelia, Titius Rufus, and a praetor Junius Priscus[4]. To this period belong also the accusation and peril of Domitius Afer, and the narrow escape of Seneca[5].

In the latter part of the year he set off suddenly to Gaul, ordering large levies to meet him there[6]. No warlike operation, save a sham incursion across the Rhine, is recorded; but the expedition was the means of suppressing an apparently formidable conspiracy[7] originated by Lentulus Gaetulicus, legatus of Upper Germany[8], who appears to have been disarmed and put to death without a struggle[9]. In connection with this plot, Lepidus, the former husband of Drusilla, was put to death, Agrippina and Julia were banished to the island of Pontia[10], and others shared a similar fate. As a further expedient to raise money, the treasured heirlooms of the imperial house were sent for to Lugdunum and sold at an auction at which he was present and stimulated the bidding[11]. He appears also at this time to have married his last wife Caesonia[12].

A. U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Gaius Caesar III, Sole Consul[13].

He entered on the consulship at Lugdunum, but resigned it to two suffecti on Jan. 13. Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania, was summoned by him to his presence and put to death[14]. The army is said to have been led to the coast as for a descent on Britain, and bidden to gather shells as spoils of the ocean, and to have retired after building a lighthouse on the spot[15], taking with them a British prince, Adminius son of Cunobelinus, who had joined them voluntarily[16].

Gaius returned to Rome on his birthday (Aug. 31), with special indi-

[1] See on 11. 13, 2.
[2] Jos. Ant. 19. 2, 5.
[3] Suet. 21.
[4] Dio, 59. 18, 4, 5.
[5] Dio, 59. 19.
[6] Suet. 43, foll.; Dio, 59. 21, foll.
[7] Dio, 59. 22, 5.
[8] For a further account, see below, p. 18.
[9] A date is supplied by the record of an offering for the detection of this conspiracy on Oct. 27 (see below, p. 18).
[10] Dio, 59. 22, 6–9.
[11] Dio, 59. 21, 5.
[12] Since the death of Drusilla, he had already married and divorced Cornelia Orestilla (wife of C. Piso) and Lollia Paulina (on whom see 12. 1, 3).
[13] This is explained by his ignorance of the death at Rome of his colleague designate (Suet. 17).
[14] Dio, 59. 25, 1: cp. 4. 23, 1.
[15] Suet. 46; Dio, 59. 25, 2; the expedition is alluded to, as a mere project, in Agr. 13. 4.
[16] Suet. Cal. 44.

cations of hostility to the senate and nobles [1]. Among those put to death were Vitellinus Cassius and his father Capito [2]; while Scribonius Proculus was assassinated to please him by the senate during its sitting [3].

He is now stated to have assumed the attributes, dress, and insignia of various gods and even goddesses [4], and to have exacted the divine honours paid to each, also to have brought to Rome and adapted to his own likeness famous statues of gods from Greece and elsewhere, and to have meditated setting his effigy up in various famous temples [5].

A deputation from the Jews of Alexandria, headed by Philo, was sent to plead on behalf of the religious scruples of the Jews [6], but considered themselves fortunate in escaping with their lives [7].

Petronius, the legatus of Syria, was commanded to set up a statue of the emperor within the Holy of Holies in the Jewish temple. The earnest remonstrances of the Jews to Petronius, backed up by his own intercession and that of Agrippa, procured a temporary remission of the sentence, but a final and peremptory decree is said to have been sent afterwards, and the crisis to have been averted only by the emperor's death [8].

At Rome men saved themselves only by abject flattery, in which L. Vitellius (who had earned a reputation in Syria by having extorted homage and hostages from Artabanus) was conspicuous [9].

A. U. C. 794, A. D. 41. C. CAESAR IV, CN. SENTIUS SATURNINUS, COSS.

A conspiracy was formed by Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus, tribunes of the praetorian guard, in which the emperor's chief freedman Callistus and others took part. Gaius was assassinated during the Palatine Games, Jan. 24 [10].

Principate of Claudius.

The senate met hastily to discuss the situation, and debated on the restoration of the Republic, but separated without coming to a decision [11]. Outside, all was in confusion; the German guards had taken vengeance, and had slain persons of distinction unconnected with the conspiracy [12];

[1] Suet. 49.
[2] Dio, 59. 25, 6.
[3] Id. 59. 26, 2.
[4] Philo, Leg. 11–15; Dio, 59. 26, 5, foll.
[5] Dio, 59. 28, 2, foll.
[6] That this was after his return from Gaul, appears from its coincidence with the order to Petronius (Philo, Leg. 26), and the mention of their having sacrificed for his German campaign (Id. 45). Josephus connects it with the outbreak of the previous year (Ant. 18. 8, 1).
[7] Philo, Leg. 44–46.
[8] Philo, Leg. 29–42; Jos. Ant. 18. 8, 2, foll.
[9] Dio, 59. 27, 4: cp. 6. 32, 6.
[10] The whole plot is related at great length in Jos. Ant. 19. 1.
[11] See the long account of these events in Jos. Ant. 19. 2–4.
[12] Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 17.

the populace were clamouring for the names of the assassins, but were somewhat cowed by the boldness of Valerius Asiaticus[1]. Meanwhile, some of the praetorians had found Claudius hidden in the palace, had saluted him as imperator, and carried him to the camp, where on the next day, after promising them a donative of 15,000 H. S. each[2], he had accepted their sacramentum; and the senate, after some negotiation in which Herodes Agrippa had taken a prominent part, found itself left with only insignificant military authority, and had no resource but to ratify this choice[3].

His first act on entering the senate, after thirty days' interval[4], was to order the execution of Chaerea and of Lupus (who, by order of the former, had put to death Caesonia and her child): Sabinus, though exempted from this sentence, committed suicide[5]. All others were embraced under the terms of a general amnesty[6]; but the assassination of Gaius left lasting effects in the jealous precautions taken to search all visitors to the princeps for hidden arms[7].

On the twentieth day of his rule (Feb. 13), his wife, Valeria Messalina, gave birth to a son, afterwards known as Britannicus[8].

The first care of the new rule was to remedy the general disorganisation resulting from the late tyranny, to re-establish the constitution on principles professedly agreeing with those of Augustus, and to deal with conditions of disturbance and anarchy in various provinces and vassal kingdoms[9].

Victories were gained in this year over the Mauri and Maurusii in Libya, and over the Chatti in Germany, from whom the last of the three eagles lost with Varus was recovered[10].

The baneful influence of Messalina begins already to exert itself. Julia, daughter of Germanicus, who (with her sister Agrippina) had been recalled from exile by Claudius at the beginning of his rule, excited her

[1] See note on 11. 1, 2.

[2] Suet. (Cl. 10) notes this as the first example of that evil practice ('primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus').

[3] Of the imperial titles, it is noted that he did not accept that of 'pater patriae' (Dio, 60. 3, 2). It was assumed at the beginning of the following year (see Lehmann, p. 197). He followed Tiberius and Gaius in not using the 'praenomen imperatoris.' See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 796.

[4] Dio, l. l.

[5] Dio, 60. 3, 4; Jos. Ant. 19. 4, 5.

[6] Suet. Cl. 11; Dio, l. l.

[7] See note on 11. 22, 1.

[8] For the date of his birth, see note on 12. 25, 3. Suet. states that he was at first called 'Germanicus.'

[9] The measures taken are fully described below (pp. 24 foll.).

[10] In Dio, 60. 8, 7, the victory over the Maurusii is ascribed to Galba, that over the Chatti to Gabinius: but Galba was at this time legatus of Upper Germany, and probably gained this victory over the Chatti; Gabinius (who was his successor) is recorded to have gained successes over the Chauci and to have taken a cognomen from them (Suet. Cl. 24). For the recovery of the other eagles, see 1. 60, 4; 2. 25, 2.

jealousy by her beauty, independence, and intimacy with Claudius, and was attacked on a charge of adultery with Seneca, who was banished to Corsica, Julia being deported to Pandateria, where she was soon afterwards put to death [1].

A. U. C. 795, A. D. 42. CLAUDIUS CAESAR II [2], C. CAECINA LARGUS [3], COSS.

The Mauri were further defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, and Mauretania was finally reduced and organised in two provinces by his successor, Cn. Hosidius Geta [4].

Appius Junius Silanus, who had been sent for as a friend from his province in Spain, had given offence to Messalina (to whose mother, Domitia Lepida, he was married), and was put to death at her instigation and that of Narcissus, who worked on the fears of Claudius by a tale of a dream [5]. This murder is represented as the principal cause [6] of a formidable conspiracy set on foot by Annius Vinicianus [7], and supported by many nobles [8], especially by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, who as legatus of Delmatia had command of two legions close to the frontier of Italy. Camillus endeavoured to terrify Claudius into abdication by an insulting letter [9], and professed an intention to restore the Republic [10], but himself aspired to the imperial dignity. The conspiracy collapsed in five days [11] by the return of the soldiers to their allegiance [12]; Camillus was killed [13], and Vinicianus committed suicide [14]. A bloody retribution followed; a number of the nobles being brought to trial before the senate in the presence of Claudius; when many senators and knights were tortured, and Messalina and the freedmen are said to have turned the occasion to account by getting those condemned who had offended

[1] Dio, 60. 8, 5. On her exile under Gaius, see above, p. 8. That the place of her second exile and death was Pandateria, appears from 14. 63, 2.

[2] Claudius laid down the consulship March 1, and was succeeded by Cornelius Lupus (Lehmann, p. 196).

[3] On this person, see 11. 33, 3, and note.

[4] Dio, 60. 9. Lehmann (p. 256) places the constitution of the province three years later. Its Era is reckoned from the death of its last king in 793, A. D. 40 (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 324).

[5] Dio, 60. 14, 3: cp. 11. 29, 1, and note. For the pedigree of the Junii Silani, see Introd. i. ix. 139.

[6] Dio, l. l.

[7] On this person, see 6. 9, 5, and note. He appears to have been a nephew of M. Vinicius, who was husband of the Julia mentioned above as put to death.

[8] One of them was Q. Pomponius (see 13. 43, 3, and note).

[9] Suet. Cl. 35.

[10] Dio, 60. 15, 3.

[11] Suet. Cl. 13. So Tacitus says (H. 1. 89, 2): 'Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita.'

[12] The two legions (VII and XI) were rewarded with the title 'Claudia fidelis pia' (Dio, 60. 15, 4).

[13] Dio states (l. l.) that he killed himself, but Tacitus (H. 2. 75, 3) gives the name of a soldier who was rewarded for killing him. See also Plin. Ep. 3. 16, 9. His successor in Delmatia was the father of the Emperor Otho (Suet. Oth. 1).

[14] Dio, 60. 15, 5.

them [1], and screening those who bribed them. The most memorable death was that of Caecina Paetus and Arria his wife [2].

A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. CLAUDIUS CAESAR III [3], L. VITELLIUS II, COSS.

The great event of this year was the invasion of Britain by the Roman army under A. Plautius Silvanus, who was afterwards joined for sixteen days by Claudius himself [4]. It was probably also in this year that the dissensions between Gotarzes and Vardanes enabled Mithridates, formerly king of Armenia, to recover that country with the aid of some Roman troops [5]. In this year also [6] Messalina is stated to have caused the death of Justus Catonius [7], the praef. praetorio (who had intended to give information of her immorality), and Julia, the daughter of Drusus and wife of Rubellius Blandus [8].

A. U. C. 797, A. D. 44. C. PASSIENUS CRISPUS II [9], T. STATILIUS TAURUS [10], COSS.

Early in this year Claudius returned from Britain, having been altogether six months absent from Rome, and celebrated his triumph, which governors of provinces and even exiles were allowed to return and witness [11]. He also held games in honour of his victory [12]. His infant son took the name of Britannicus, and many others received honours and decorations [13]. In the same year [14] Macedonia and Achaia were given back to the senate [15]; the quaestorial districts in Italy were abolished [16], and quaestors instead of praetors placed over the aerarium [17]. M. Iulius Cottius received his father's dominion (the Cottian Alps) with the title of king, and Rhodes was deprived of its freedom for outrage on Roman citizens [18]. To this year also belongs the death of King Herodes Agrippa, the partition of his dominions, and the appointment again of a procurator of Judaea [19].

[1] It is possible that the consulars, Lusius Saturninus and Cornelius Lupus, whose deaths are ascribed to the bidding of Messalina and agency of Suillius (13. 43, 3–5) may have been among this number, as also some of the 'equitum . . . agmina' there alluded to. There is, however, another recorded conspiracy four years later (see below, p. 13).

[2] Dio, 60. 15, 6–16, 5. The story of Paetus and Arria is fully told in Plin. Ep. 3. 16: cp. Mart. 1. 14.

[3] Claudius was really 'suffectus' (Suet. Cl. 14), but the name of his predecessor is lost (Lehm. p. 211).

[4] For a full account of this, see below, ch. v.

[5] See 11. 8, 1–9, 3.

[6] Dio, 60. 18, 4.

[7] For a former notice of him, cp. 1. 29, 2, and note.

[8] See 13. 32, 5 (and note), and the mention of her accusation by Suillius (13. 43, 3).

[9] On this person, see 6. 20, 2, and note.

[10] See 12. 59, 1, and note.

[11] Suet. Cl. 17.

[12] Dio, 60. 23, 4; Suet. Cl. 21.

[13] Dio, 60. 23, 2: see also Lehmann, p. 237.

[14] Dio, 60. 24.

[15] See 1. 76, 4, and note.

[16] See 4. 27, 2, and note.

[17] See 13. 29, 2, and note.

[18] Dio, 60. 24, 4.

[19] See 12. 23, 2, and note.

A. U. C. 798, A. D. 45. M. VINICIUS II [1], T. STATILIUS TAURUS CORVINUS [2], COSS.

Galba became in this year proconsul of Africa and achieved considerable success there [3]. Claudius is stated to have anticipated and explained an eclipse falling on his birthday [4]. Probably in this year took place the rebellion of Mithridates, king of Bosporus, who was defeated and driven from his kingdom in the following year by A. Didius Gallus, legatus of Moesia [5].

A. U. C. 799, A. D. 46. P. VALERIUS ASIATICUS II [6], M. SILANUS [7], COSS.

M. Vinicius, the consul of the preceding year, was poisoned at the instigation of Messalina, who feared that he would take revenge upon her for the murder of his wife Julia [8].

Another conspiracy was formed in this year by Asinius Gallus, but proved to be insignificant, whence he escaped with the penalty of exile [9]. Statilius Corvinus appears to have been joined with him, and the plot is said to have extended to the emperor's freedmen and slaves [10].

A. U. C. 800, A. D. 47. CLAUDIUS CAESAR IV, L. VITELLIUS III, COSS.

Early in the year Claudius and Vitellius laid down the consulship, and assumed the office of censor, which had been for some seventy years in abeyance [11].

In this year A. Plautius Silvanus returned from Britain [12] and received the rare distinction of an ovation [13]. His successor was P. Ostorius Scapula [14]. Galba returned to Rome in the same year from Africa [15].

It is stated that information was given of another plot, but that no

[1] On this person, see 6. 15, 1, and note.
[2] See note on 12. 59, 1.
[3] Suet. Galb. 7.
[4] Dio, 60. 26, 1.
[5] See 12. 15, 1, and note.
[6] See 11. 1, 1, and note. Dio states (60. 27, 1) that he resigned the consulship voluntarily.
[7] This person is given in Dio as the consul of the year, and is the 'abnepos Augusti' born in the last year of that emperor (see Introd. i. ix. 139). An Aquillius is given in some inscriptions as consul with Asiaticus, and Lehmann (p. 260) thinks that he must have preceded Silanus, who was probably suffectus early in the year.
[8] Dio, 60. 27, 4.
[9] Dio, 60. 27, 5.
[10] Suet. Cl. 13. Lehmann suggests (p. 261) that this plot may have occasioned the deaths of Cornelius Lupus and Lusius Saturninus (see 13. 43, 3) and of Asinius Celer, Pedo Pompeius, and Rufus the praef. praetorio (see Sen. Lud. 13, 5). But we have no means of determining between this and the previous conspiracy (see above, p. 12).
[11] See 11. 13, 1, and note.
[12] Dio, 60. 30, 2.
[13] See 13. 32, 3, and note.
[14] See 12. 31, 1, and note.
[15] Suet. Galb. 8.

proceedings were taken against any of the persons implicated, except Valerius Asiaticus[1].

CHAPTER III.

ON THE VIEW GIVEN BY TACITUS OF THE CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT OF GAIUS, CLAUDIUS, AND NERO.

I. *Gaius.*

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

The few scattered allusions in the extant works of Tacitus to the rule of Gaius and events which occurred under it receive some light from what is said in the first six Books of his earlier life and the circumstances which tended to form his character up to the time when he assumed the government.

We hear of him as, at two years old, the unconscious sharer in the perils of the German mutiny, carried off in his mother's arms[2] to find a safer refuge among the Treveri than in the heart of the Roman legions[3]. We are also given to understand that the sight of the 'fosterchild of the legions[4],' wearing the tiny sandal modelled on that of the common soldier of the ranks[5], contributed most of all to the revulsion of feeling that turned the arms of the mutineers, in rude camp justice, against each other[6]. The incident had not escaped the watchful eyes of Tiberius, or of Seianus, who nursed the seeds of suspicion in his master's mind, as to the motives of a mother who could allow a Caesar to bear such a nickname as 'Caligula[7]', one which, we may believe, long stood him in good stead in the mind of the soldiers.

[1] Such is the statement of Dio (60. 29, 4), which, if true, must refer to the charge made against him of intending to fly to the German armies (11. 1, 2). At some time before the beginning of the extant part of the Eleventh Book of the Annals must also have taken place the putting to death of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, his wife Scribonia, their son Cn. Pompeius Magnus (the husband of Antonia, daughter of Claudius), and other members of that family (Sen. Lud. 11. 2, 5); also the marriage of Antonia to Faustus Sulla (Suet. Cl. 27).

[2] 1. 40, 4.

[3] 1. 41, 2.

[4] 'Legionum alumnus' (1. 44, 1). An erroneous subsequent belief, founded on the title ('castrorum filius') assumed by him (Suet. Cal. 22), that he was also born in the camp, is shared by Tacitus (see 1. 41, 3, and note).

[5] 1. 41, 3.

[6] 1. 44, 2; cp. Suet. Cal. 9.

[7] 1. 69, 5.

The boy, with his brothers and sisters, shared the triumph of his father[1], was one of the two with him at his death in Syria, and followed the mournful procession of his mother with the remains[2]. After this, Tacitus makes no mention of him for several years, during which time we are told by Suetonius that he was under the tutelage first of his mother, then of his great-grandmother Augusta[3], and, after the death of the latter, under that of his grandmother Antonia.

The far-reaching aims of Seianus are stated to have included a plan for his assassination at the same time with that of Tiberius[4].

He assumed the toga virilis at a later age than his brothers and without the distinctions granted to them[5]; and then or soon afterwards received in marriage Junia Claudilla, daughter of M. Silanus, and accompanied Tiberius to Capreae[6], where most of his next four years were spent, years which must have done much to form his character. We are to think of him as at once schooling his violent and impulsive temper[7] to live under the suspicious glance of those penetrating eyes, as 'veiling the ferocity of his spirit under a mask of submission[8]', and 'learning every artifice of falsehood in the intimacy of his grandfather[9].' The successive stages in the fate of his mother and brother failed to elicit a word from his lips and appeared to make no impression on his mind: his one aim from day to day was to study the mood of Tiberius and adapt every word and look to it; so that the witticism spread that 'never was there man who would be a better slave or a viler master[10].' Tiberius, who himself had under Augustus passed through a similar period of disguise and repression, while to outward appearance satisfied with his submissiveness, was not likely to be really deceived by it. He gave him no higher magistracy than the quaestorship[11] (carrying with it admission to the lowest rank of senators), and no other mark of honour but the pontificate[12], and not seldom let fall expressions which showed

[1] 2. 41, 4.

[2] 3. 1, 5; cp. 2. 70, 2, and note.

[3] The statement of Suetonius (Cal. 10) that he passed into her household on Agrippina's banishment, is inconsistent with the narrative of Tacitus, who places the latter event after the death of Augusta (5. 3, 2): but Agrippina was already in disgrace (see 4. 54, 3, and note), and may have been deprived of the custody of the boy; who seems certainly to have stood in some close relation to Augusta, as he was selected, in preference to either of his elder brothers, to pronounce the 'laudatio' at her funeral (5. 1, 6).

[4] 6. 3, 4.

[5] Suet. states (Cal. 10) that this did not take place till his nineteenth year (784, A.D. 31). The fifteenth year was the usual time.

[6] 6. 20, 1 (where see note).

[7] In 6. 45, 5 he is called 'commotus ingenio;' in 11. 3, 2 Asiaticus is represented as contrasting the 'impetus Gai' with the 'calliditas Tiberii.'

[8] 'Immanem animum subdola modestia tegens' (6. 20, 1).

[9] 'Simulationum falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat' (6. 45, 5).

[10] See the whole passage, 6. 20, 1, 2.

[11] Dio, 58. 23, 1.

[12] Dio, 58. 8, 1.

that he had read his character rightly: 'He would have Sulla's vices without his virtues[1],' 'He would be a serpent to the Roman people, a Phaethon to the world[2].'

The old man would gladly have so ordered the succession[3] as to set aside the adoptive grandson for the grandson by blood; but the knowledge that Tiberius Gemellus was too young, and that in any case the tide of popular favour would run high for the son of Germanicus, led him to leave the future to take its own course, though he could see from the scowl with which the elder looked on the younger what that course would be[4].

Gaius again had shrewdness enough to see that, whether Tiberius intended to attempt to provide for the succession or not, the real masters of the situation were the praetorians, and that their praefect would be his best ally. Nor was Macro in his turn slow to 'worship the rising instead of the setting sun,' and even to sacrifice his wife's honour to cement the alliance[5].

All could see the direction in which affairs were tending; and the eminent senator, L. Arruntius, is represented as choosing immediate suicide, rather than await a more rigorous slavery, under the rule of an ignorant youth 'brought up under the vilest influences, with Macro to guide him[6]'.

The end came in due course, not without dark stories of the personal share of Macro and Gaius in its acceleration[7]; and from this point the guidance of Tacitus is lost to us.

We are led however to believe, from what has been already noted, that Tacitus would have regarded his subsequent conduct, as he has that of Tiberius, as that of a natural tendency revealing itself, though by less gradual stages, on the mere removal of enforced disguise. We should suppose him to have entirely disbelieved that the popular acts and professions of the young prince at the beginning of rule showed any sincere intention to govern justly and moderately, or that the succeeding insanity, whatever its nature and degree[8], which by most accounts was as much

[1] 6. 46, 7.

[2] 'Exitio suo omniumque Gaium vivere, et se natricem (serpentis id genus) P. R., Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare' (Suet. Cal. 11).

[3] On the indirect power of the princeps to do this, see Introd. I. vi. p. 82.

[4] 6. 46, 1, foll. The story told by Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 9) of a designation of Gaius as successor, is generally disbelieved. In the will of Tiberius the two youths had an equal position (Suet. Tib. 76).

[5] 6. 45, 5; 46, 6.

[6] 6. 48, 4. That Tacitus fully accepts this view, is evident from the words added: 'documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte usum.'

[7] 6. 50, 8 (where see note).

[8] Tacitus denotes his insanity by the expressions 'turbidus animi' (H. 4. 48, 2), 'Gai turbata mens' (13. 3, 6). The expression, 'commotus ingenio,' applied to him at an earlier date (see above, p. 15), has a different meaning.

the effect as the cause of reckless profligacy, had any other effect on his moral character than so far as it led him more completely to drop the mask, cast away the last restraints of common decency and prudence, and follow the bent of a nature long since thoroughly vitiated [1].

When however we consider that, out of the four Books and a half given to the events of the ten years succeeding the death of Tiberius (a larger amount than is ever elsewhere allotted to a similar space within the period of the Annals), probably two Books were occupied with those of this principate of hardly four years' duration, we may feel sure that so weighty a historian found in it material of more historical importance than such as survives to us in Suetonius or Dio [2].

It is also to be borne in mind that his purpose professed at the beginning of his work, of holding a balance between the extravagances of adulation and abuse [3], and his belief that he has succeeded in doing so, applies to Gaius as well as to the other princes contained in it, and makes it probable that in his case, as we have already seen in that of Tiberius, some of the scandals and outrages which other historians have raked together would have been discredited, and many incredible exaggerations reduced to their just dimensions.

One general trait of considerable interest has been preserved to us in the incidental mention that the disordered intellect of Gaius was nevertheless consistent with considerable oratorical vigour [4]; a statement which may well be illustrated by the epigrammatic point of some of his personalities [5], and the shrewd, however merciless, logic pervading his repartees and other reported utterances.

Some of the principal remaining allusions to his acts show that Tacitus followed the general account of the absurd fiasco of the German expedition [6], and considered that its failure, combined with the characteristic caprice of Gaius himself, caused the abandonment of what he believed to have been a seriously entertained project of invading Britain [7]. It is disappointing that we have here no suggestion of a rational explanation

[1] The stories of his youthful profligacy, though not expressly confirmed by Tacitus, receive some support from 6. 9, 2.

[2] See the remarks of Dean Merivale, at the beginning of ch. 48 of his History.

[3] 1. 1, 5.

[4] 'Etiam Gai Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit' (13. 3, 6): cp. Suet. Cal. 53.

[5] E. g. his description of M. Silanus as a 'golden sheep' ('pecudem aureum'), in 13. 1, 1; of Augusta as 'Ulysses in petticoats' ('Ulixen stolatum') in Suet. Cal. 23, and of the writings of Seneca as 'mere disputations' ('commissiones') and 'sand without lime' ('arenam sine calce') in Id. 53.

[6] 'Ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae' (G. 37, 5). The attack seems to have been directed on the Canninefates, whose chief 'multa hostilia ausus, Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium inpune spreverat' (H. 4. 15, 3).

[7] 'Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentiae, et ingentes adversum Germanos conatus frustra fuissent' (Agr. 13, 4).

of these events which seems not impossible. Lentulus Gaetulicus, legatus of Upper Germany, already formidable under Tiberius, and influential with the army of Lower Germany, as well as master of his own[1], was apparently organising a conspiracy, connived at by perhaps both the surviving sisters of the Emperor, and supported by Lepidus, his brother-in-law and kinsman[2]. It is possible to suppose that this treason on foot was already known, and that the projected German and British expeditions were no more than the alleged object for collecting in Gaul such an army as would suffice to cow the German legions, and suppress the danger without bloodshed[3]; and that in all the rest we have only some clumsy attempts to sustain the pretext[4].

We have also a criticism by Tacitus on the blundering manner in which Gaius, suspicious of the eminence of M. Silanus, corrected the anomaly, previously deemed harmless, by which, in Africa alone among all the senatorial provinces, the proconsul had command of a legion and of the auxiliaries attached to it[5]. His introduction of a dual government, by placing the legion under a 'legatus Augusti,' whose authority clashed with that of the proconsul, was fruitful, as might have been expected, in jealousy and discord[6]; but the change so far commended itself to his successors that the old anomaly was never restored, though care was taken at a subsequent time to remove the evil of an 'imperium in imperio,' by constituting Numidia as a separate province under the legatus, and concentrating the whole military force within it[7].

A single sentence relating to the insane command of Gaius that his statue should be set up in the temple at Jerusalem, may be quoted as so far showing a difference from Josephus as apparently to represent an outbreak to have actually commenced[8].

[1] See 6. 30, 3, foll., where the formidable position of Gaetulicus is shown, and his menacing letter to Tiberius given as generally believed.

[2] See Dio, 59. 22, 5, 6. Tacitus apparently believed in both the treason of Lepidus and the ambitious aims of Agrippina: cp. 14. 2, 4 ('quae puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido spe dominationis admiserat'). Both sisters were exiled.

[3] That the conspiracy was dealt with soon after the entry of Gaius into Gaul, is shown by the date of the offering of the Arval Brothers at Rome (Oct. 27, 792, A.D. 39), 'ob detecta nefaria con[silia] Cn. Lentuli Gae[tulici]' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2029).

[4] See Merivale, ch. 48, p. 439. Dio (59. 21, 2) gives a less probable account, representing some imaginary rising in Gaul as the pretext, and a desire to extort money from the wealthy there as the real motive.

[5] See Introd. I. ch. vii. p. 98.

[6] 'Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis finibus, sub D. Augusto Tiberioque principibus, proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Caesar, turbidus animi, ac M. Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. Aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, et mixtis utriusque mandatis discordia quaesita, auctaque pravo certamine' (H. 4. 48, 1). It would appear that the proconsul still commanded some of the auxiliary troops.

[7] See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. pp. 308–310.

[8] 'Dein iussi a C. Caesare effigiem eius

Within these narrow limits is confined all the help that we can obtain from Tacitus towards judging Gaius either in youth or manhood; nor have we any reason to suppose that this history, if it had come down complete to us, would have tended to reverse, however it might in degree have modified, the judgment which has gibbeted this tyrant among the monsters of mankind.

II. *Claudius.*

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—In this section many obligations have to be acknowledged to Dr. H. Lehmann's work, referred to above (p. 5).

THE remaining fragment of our historian's narrative of the principate of Claudius, though comprising probably more than one third of the whole, fails us in the most important part of his rule, as well as in the period immediately preceding it. It is also unfortunate that Tacitus has not thought fit to give at the close of his life any general summary of his character, as is done in the Annals for Tiberius [1], and in the Histories for Galba [2], and also (more briefly) for Otho [3] and Vitellius [4].

What is left to us cannot be justly estimated without reviewing at some length such account as we have of the fifty-five previous years of his private and public life.

On his early history Suetonius [5] is our sole authority. It is from him that we get the picture of the boy born barely a year before his father's death, harassed in childhood by such a succession of illnesses as permanently to affect mind and body, regarded with contempt by his relations, with aversion even by his mother [6], kept in retirement while his popular

in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere; quem motum Caesaris mors diremit' (H. 5.9,4). Cp. Jos. Ant. 18. 8,9; B. I. 2. 10, 5. The only extant reference to this matter in the Annals (12. 54, 2) is mutilated.

1 6. 51.

2 H. 1. 49, 3–8.

3 Id. 2. 50, 1.

4 Id. 3. 86, 1–3.

5 Cl. 2–4.

6 'Portentum eum hominis dicebat, nec absolutum a natura sed tantum inchoatum, ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiorem aiebat filio suo Claudio.'

and gifted brother was pushed forward rapidly in public life, and known by only one redeeming trait, his early passion for study. Augustus indeed, though by no means allowing him to make an exhibition of himself in public, showed some regard for him in private life, and had the insight to see that when he could command his faculties, he was by no means the fool he seemed [1]: yet even he, though thus showing more consideration than other and nearer relatives, was so far dissatisfied with him as to allow him no other distinction than an augurship, and to give him only a low position and trifling legacy in his will [2]; while from the stern and ungenial Tiberius he had less indulgence to expect. He was now earnestly desirous of filling the magistracies of state, but was put off with the 'ornamenta consularia'; a further request was met with the contemptuous gift of a few gold pieces to spend at the Saturnalia [3]; and he retired into shadow during the rest of this prince's rule, with no further distinction than that of a place among the 'sodales Augustales [4].' Though now the head of the Claudian house [5], second only in dignity to the Julian, he had no position in the senate [6], and merely ranked as a knight [7]. A trivial incident showing the tendency of all men to take no account of him [8] gives Tacitus an opportunity for the bitter comment, 'the more I think on ancient or recent examples, the more is the mockery pervading human affairs in all matters made evident to me. By reputation, by promise, by the respect of men, any one seemed rather destined to imperial dignity than he whom fortune was reserving in secret as the future prince.'

Thus to the twenty-four years of childhood and youth under Augustus, are to be added twenty-two more, passed in complete retirement under Tiberius, in which, despised by those of his own rank, and bashful in good society, he took refuge in low habits and low company [9]. These surroundings

[1] The letters of Augustus to Livia, preserved in Suet. Cl. 4, give by far the best evidence as to the condition of Claudius in early life. Distinction is drawn in them between his demeanour and his actual intelligence. In one he says 'misellus *ἀτυχεῖ*, nam *ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις*, ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet *ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια*.' He will often ask him to dinner 'ne solus caenet cum suo Sulpicio et Athenodoro' (literary friends). In another letter he wonders how one who talked so inarticulately could declaim so well.

[2] Suet. 4.

[3] Suet. 5.

[4] 1. 54, 2.

[5] This he had become on the adoption of his elder brother Germanicus by Tiberius.

[6] Suet. mentions (6) a resolution of the senate to give him a complimentary quasi-position in that body, which Tiberius cancelled on the ground of his imbecility.

[7] He was twice selected by that order as their spokesman in deputations to Tiberius (Suet. 5).

[8] 3. 18, 5.

[9] Suet. describes him (Cl. 5) as acquiring a propensity to drinking and gambling 'ex consuetudine sordidissimorum hominum.' Julius Paelignus is mentioned as one of his boon companions 'cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret' (12. 49, 1).

intensified his natural vices and eccentricities, and permanently formed his character. Disgusting manners, gluttony, drink, lust, gambling [1], became the propensities of such a life, redeemed to some extent by the literary pursuits [2] which alone kept him up to any higher level. Indications are not indeed altogether wanting that his nearness to the ruling house still made him a person of some consideration. He was married successively to two women of high family, Plautia Urgulanilla and Aelia Paetina [3]; it was a valuable stepping-stone to Seianus to affiance a daughter to his young son Drusus [4]; even Tiberius in his last moments considered him among possible heirs, were it not for the weakness of his mind [5], and left him a better position in his will than he had held in that of Augustus [6].

On the accession of Gaius, he emerges from a position of obscurity and neglect, and of personal safety assured thereby, into one of greater outward dignity, combined with greater real degradation, and no slight actual peril. From a mere knight he becomes senator and consul [7], to be taken to task in his magistracy and all but deposed from it [8], and to be treated with studied contempt in the senate-house [9]; he is promoted to a priesthood, to find himself ruined by the expenses of assuming it [10]; he is sent by the senate as spokesman of its deputation to Gaius in Gaul, to find the distinction go near to cost his life, and (according to some accounts) to be glad to escape with a ducking in the river [11]; he is not only the constant victim of the flouts and blows of Gaius himself [12], but also the butt for all the rude horseplay and practical jests of courtiers and buffoons at the imperial feasts [13].

Tacitus would probably have shown us not only what was thus patent

[1] See Suet. Cl. 33, and other places.

[2] 'Bonarum artium cupiens erat' (6. 46, 2). On his literary works, see 13. 3, 1 and note.

[3] The former is described in Suet. Cl. 36 as 'triumphali' (see note on 4. 22, 3), the latter as 'consulare patre.' On the pedigree of the former, see 2. 34, 3; 4. 22, 3 (and notes); Lehmann, p. 88.

[4] 3. 29, 3.

[5] 'Imminuta mens eius obstitit' (6. 46, 2).

[6] Suet. Cl. 6.

[7] He was consul with Gaius in July 790, A. D. 37, and held office two months. He also sometimes presided for his nephew at games and received applause (Suet. Cl. 7).

[8] Suet. 9.

[9] Suet. states (l. l.) that after his return from Gaul, his 'sententia' was always asked last of all the consulars, i.e. not only not above, but even somewhat below, his actual rank.

[10] The expenses are put at the extraordinary sum of eight million H.S. (Suet. l. l.). The priesthood was that to Gaius himself as Jupiter Latiaris, for which other rich men were similarly victimized (Dio, 59. 28, 5). He was also a 'sodalis Titius' (Insc. Henzen, 5399).

[11] Gaius considered himself treated as a boy by having his uncle thus sent to him (Suet. l. l.). The latter incident is related with doubt ('ut non defuerint qui traderent,' etc.).

[12] Seneca (Lud. 15, 2) makes Gaius claim him as a slave in Hades: 'producit testes, qui illum viderant ab illo flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem.'

[13] Suet. 8.

to all, but also what may have lain beneath the surface; whether not only this tame submission to every kind of insult, but even some studied exaggeration of his natural weakness and eccentricity, may not have been assumed for self-protection [1], as according to the old tale was the demeanour of Brutus under Tarquinius, or as had been the servility of Gaius himself under Tiberius [2]. It can, indeed, be hardly doubted that his position had another side to it, at a time when all thinking men could foresee that the existing tyranny must needs be shortlived; that its outcome would not be (as some fondly dreamt) a return to the old Republic, but the succession of some other princeps; that while direct or collateral descendants of Augustus lived, their names would weigh powerfully in the scale against any others; and that within that circle Claudius, with all his drawbacks, was most prominent [3].

It was not without political foresight that the freedman Callistus chose to pay court to Claudius rather than destroy him [4]; that his old friend Herodes Agrippa still kept up his intimacy [5]; that the senate as a body paid him what was evidently intended as a compliment by choosing him on the deputation above referred to [6]. Nor can we suppose him to have been himself so obtuse as not to keep an eye on his own prospects throughout his apparent effacement; nor was it without a political motive that he contracted during this period a far higher matrimonial alliance than any of his previous ones, by taking to wife Valeria Messalina, who was a direct descendant, through both her parents, from Octavia [7], and might have added to the chance of any of his possible rivals by a similar connection.

It is also easy to see that in his actual elevation to the principate deeper causes were working than a mere soldier's freak, however true may be the account which has come down to us of the circumstances of the moment when a sudden and terrible catastrophe brought him

[1] His own subsequent assertion that such was the case, was disbelieved at the time (Suet. 38), but is, to some extent, not improbable, though the history of his childhood sufficiently shows that his condition was mostly congenital. The supposed allusion to his self-effacement in coins inscribed 'Constantia Augusti' (Eckh. vi. 336; Cohen, i. 251, 4) is somewhat fanciful.

[2] See above, p. 15.

[3] Claudius, though not adopted into the family of the Caesars, was on his mother's side a direct descendant of Octavia, and his brotherhood to the popular Germanicus counted for something. 'This too is a Germanicus,' is the expression ascribed by Josephus (Ant. 19. 3, 1) to the soldier who found him hiding. The names of other descendants of Augustus or Octavia then living will be seen from the pedigrees in Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 140.

[4] Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 10.

[5] He had been brought up with him in early youth (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 4), and had evidently still the position of a trusted friend when he acted as negotiator between him and the senate after the death of Gaius (Id. 19. 4).

[6] See above, p. 21.

[7] See the pedigrees, Introd. i. ix. p. 140.

unawares in full view of the end for which he and his adherents may have been none the less deliberately laying their plans.

Our most serious loss is that of the record and judgment of Tacitus respecting the first and best years of this principate, one which we can the better realise by reflecting how much less we should have known of the rule of Tiberius, if the first three Books of the Annals had not come down to us. As regards mere material, it is no doubt true that our other authorities here do more to fill the gap. Josephus, by large portions of his narrative, and especially by the original texts of edicts of the emperor and of Petronius, his legatus in Syria, preserved in it, has given us valuable information on many subjects, especially on the policy adopted towards the Jewish race[1]: a few facts of historical interest may be found among those noted by the elder Pliny; to his nephew we owe the touching history of Paetus and Arria[2]; and the reader may derive entertainment, if not instruction, from Seneca, whose disregard, not only for truth, but even for his own consistency, allows us to find, in what he says of Claudius, an equally extreme instance of each of the kinds of falsification, in which Tacitus tells us that the histories of the whole period covered by his Annals abounded[3]. In the 'Consolatio' addressed from his place of exile to Polybius[4], the resources of language can hardly find terms for the gentleness and clemency[5] of the prince under whom it was the freedman's happy lot to live; and under whom even exiles rested in peace[6]. Fortune is prayed to preserve one granted to the relief of a worn-out age, and herself bidden to learn from him to be merciful[7]. He is himself imagined as drawing on the unrivalled stores of his eloquence and learning to address topics of consolation to his minister[8]; whom the writer bids to seek his own solace in the sunshine of that presence[9], of that deity within whose influence no sorrow can reach him[10]. It is hard indeed to believe that we are reading from the same author whose pen has described a monster of cruelty to us in the 'Ludus.' Some allowance must be made for the difference in date of the two pictures[11];

[1] It is also to Josephus that we owe the only account given with full detail of the death of Gaius and elevation of Claudius (Ant. 19. 1–4). For the edicts above referred to, see below, p. 29.

[2] Ep. 3. 16; see also Mart. 1. 14. Tacitus, who alludes to the story in 16. 34, 3, no doubt gave it full prominence in its place, and it is probably from him that the abridged version in Dio, 60. 16, 6 was derived.

[3] 'Florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae' (1. 1, 5).

[4] It is written ostensibly to him on the loss of a brother, but the person really addressed is Claudius.

[5] See 6, 5; 13, 3; 4; 17, 3, etc.

[6] 13, 4.

[7] 16, 6.

[8] 14, 1–16, 3.

[9] 12, 3.

[10] 8, 1.

[11] Even at the date of the earlier trea-

for the rest, the servile flattery and scathing satire must be left to counterbalance and discredit each other.

Our only continuous and consecutive narrative, that of Dio, shrinks into the epitome of Xiphilinus at a point a little before that at which we recover the guidance of Tacitus, and is, unfortunately, somewhat meagre as a whole in proportion to the general scale of the history [1]; but on many important points, especially on the conquest of Britain, is our sole detailed authority.

From these sources, aided by the miscellaneous 'farrago' of Suetonius, our record of the first six years of this prince's rule has to be gathered [2], so far as it is needful for the present purpose to trace its outlines.

It must be borne in mind that Claudius and his advisers, while thus taking the reins at a moment's notice, succeeded to no such well-ordered empire as had been transmitted by Augustus to Tiberius and by him to Gaius, but to one full of confusion and misgovernment. The bloody deed of Jan. 24 had revived the memory of the Ides of March of B.C. 44, and had shaken the foundations of Caesarism; the threads of continuity had been snapped, the State had been two days without a princeps, and the restoration of the Republic had been debated as an open question [3]. The executions and extortions of the late tyranny had thoroughly alienated the rich, while the populace, though probably fortunate enough to be ignorant of their peril, and deploring the loss of what must have seemed a golden age of amusements [4], were in imminent danger of all the horrors of famine [5]. Abroad, Gaius had unsettled everything and settled nothing; had pillaged Gaul [6], stirred up the long slumbering hostility of the German tribes, driven Palestine into open rebellion, flouted the deputation sent to plead for the persecuted Jews of Alexandria, had created or deposed vassal princes at the humour of his caprice, and, by the murder or detention of their legitimate rulers,

tise, the hands of this 'mitissimus princeps' were already stained with the blood of Silanus (see on 11. 29, 1), and with all the severities consequent on the detection of the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus. Each treatise was written only for the purpose of the moment, the former to procure the writer's return from exile, the latter to amuse Nero and his friends at the Saturnalia immediately following his accession.

[1] To the narrative of these thirteen years one Book is allotted. An equal space is given to the short rule of Gaius, while with that of Nero three whole Books are occupied.

[2] Such further evidence as can be gathered from coins and inscriptions has been carefully collected by Lehmann (App. pp. 1–66).

[3] See Jos. Ant. 19. 1–3.

[4] The popular indignation at the death of Gaius is described in Jos. l. l.; 19. 1, 20, etc.

[5] Seneca (de Brev. Vit. 18, 5), who traces the cause to the withdrawal of cornships to make the useless bridge across the bay of Baiae, states (probably with exaggeration) that only corn enough for seven or eight days was left in Rome. Dio (59. 17, 2) represents the famine as already felt.

[6] See Dio, 59. 21, 2; 22, 3, etc.

had left Mauretania a prey to war, Commagene to anarchy, and had abandoned the great kingdom of Armenia to the control of Parthia[1].

The difficulties of this situation were dealt with by the new government in a spirit of deliberation and forethought hardly to be expected of persons taken unawares. The most urgent danger, that of famine, appears to have been averted for the present by energetic temporary measures[2], and was to be lessened in future by great improvements projected in the harbourage of Ostia[3]. Another necessary of life was to be provided in abundance by taking up vigorously and carrying out to its accomplishment the aqueduct begun by Gaius[4]. Another great work, undertaken at an early date[5], the tunnel from Lake Fucinus to the Liris, appears to have had some relation to the food supply; but it is difficult to see what result commensurate with the enormous cost could ever have been expected[6].

Another question pressing for immediate decision was that of those compromised in the recent conspiracy. Tyrannicide could not be tolerated, and therefore the actual assassins had to die; but of the rest, even those who had been talked of as aspirants to the principate, or who had advocated the restoration of the Republic, were included in a comprehensive amnesty, and even allowed to win further distinctions; a similar pardon being also extended to those who had heaped insults on Claudius at his nephew's bidding[7].

The emperor had also to define the rule to which he had succeeded; and in this it is hardly too much to say that the lines of the imperial constitution had to be retraced. The memory of the late tyranny was effaced, the insane titles adopted by Gaius were abolished, his 'acta'

[1] On all these points, see further explanation below (pp. 29, foll.).

[2] Those mentioned in Suet. 18, appear to belong to a later date; but some of the coins referred to by Lehmann (p. 135) bearing the words 'Ceres Augusta,' the 'modius,' etc., appear to belong to this first year and to refer to measures then taken.

[3] See Suet. 20. Dio (60. 11) places the beginning of this work in his second year (also one of dearth). In spite of all that was done, Rome was again threatened with imminent famine in 804, A.D. 51 (12. 43, 2); and Puteoli seems still to have remained the great landing-place of the Alexandrian fleet (Sen. Ep. 77, 1). That the work was unfinished at his death would appear from medals in which Nero credits himself with it ('Port. Ost. Augusti'): see Eckh. vi. 276; Cohen, i. 280, 33. The port of Ostia seems still to have been insecure (see 15. 18, 3).

[4] This work was probably not immediately taken up. It is mentioned by Tacitus as if completed in 800, A.D. 47, but the inscription (see note on 11. 13, 2) gives a later date.

[5] The statement of Suet. (Cl. 20), that the work took eleven years, would show it to have been begun in the first year of Claudius: see 12, 56, 1, and note.

[6] See note (l. l.).

[7] Dio, 60. 3, 4–7. Valerius Asiaticus, who had glorified the assassination (Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 20), and appears to have aspired to the principate (Id. 4, 3), was allowed afterwards to take part in the expedition to Britain and to hold a second consulship (see 11. 1, 1; 3, 1).

rescinded, his exiles, especially his two sisters Agrippina and Julia, recalled, many of his extortions and confiscations restored to the sufferers or their heirs, his statues were silently removed, his debased coinage was called in[1].

In name and form, the Augustan idea of a citizen prince was to be restored. The most sacred oath of Claudius was 'per Augustum[2]'; and, to associate himself with a divine ancestry, he procured for his grandmother Livia a tardy deification, with special honours to keep up her name[3]. Further respect was shown to the memory of his still popular brother Germanicus, his father Drusus, his mother Antonia; and even her father M. Antonius was honourably mentioned[4]. By thus prominently bringing into notice his relationships to the previous ruling house, and by himself assuming the cognomen 'Caesar,' he would endeavour to sustain the fiction of a continuity of succession; though his name was still significant of a change; the house of the Julii Caesares, to which Augustus and his successors had nominally and by adoption yet belonged, having been left without any male representative at the death of Gaius, while no such family as the 'Claudii Caesares' had ever existed, and the name would seem to an antiquarian genealogist a strange misnomer. From this time, therefore, it was distinctly to be understood that 'Caesar' had passed from a family name to an imperial title.

The Claudian name was sufficiently near to the Julian to prevent the few remaining great houses from feeling degraded by its exaltation, and some of the most prominent were conciliated by politic alliances. The infant Octavia, whose name recalled the sister of Augustus (her ancestress in a threefold line), was promised in marriage to L. Junius Silanus, the great-great-grandson of Augustus[5], while Antonia, the emperor's daughter by Paetina, was betrothed to Cn. Pompeius Magnus[6], a representative not only of that famous name, but also of the Calpurnii Pisones, the Licinii Crassi, and Scribonia.

Besides thus winning the support of great families, he conciliates the senate as a whole by the deference paid to its authority[7]. It was to be

[1] For these and other similar measures, see Dio, 60. 4, 6, &c.; Suet. Cl. 11.

[2] Suet. Cl. 11.

[3] Dio, 60. 5, 2.

[4] Dio, 60. 5, 1; Suet. Cl. 11.

[5] For the descent of Octavia and of Silanus, see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 141.

[6] He is named in Suet. Cl. 27; Dio, 60. 5, 7; in Sen. Lud. 11, 5, he is called 'Crassi filius.' On his tomb, recently discovered near the Porta Salara, he is styled 'Cn. Pomp., Crassi f., Men(enia tribu), Magnus, Pontif., Quaestor Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici soceri sui.' His father was the consul of 780, A.D. 27 (see 4. 62, 1, and note), his mother a Scribonia, daughter of Pompeia (see note on 2. 27, 2). Claudius afterwards put Pompeius to death and married Antonia to a representative of another great family, Faustus Sulla (Suet. l. l.).

[7] Among lesser compliments may be noted the assignment of reserved seats in the circus (Suet. Cl. 21; Dio, 60. 7, 4).

consulted on all matters of state [1], as in former times; even the restoration of exiles was submitted to its approval [2], and the allowance of a small guard of honour to the emperor within its precincts was asked as a favour [3]: and not only at the outset, but throughout his rule, he shows himself desirous to keep up the dignity of that body, by purging it of unworthy members [4], and by infusing into it new and healthier blood [5] from the ranks below [6], and even from provincial sources [7]. A similar recruiting, later in the course of his rule, of the ranks of the patriciate [8], would make it easier to fill the few priestly offices still confined to that body [9]. Other acts, extending to all ranks alike, were probably in effect an especial boon to the upper classes. The law of 'maiestas,' by which Tiberius had decimated the senatorial and equestrian aristocracy, was allowed to sink into oblivion [10], and the princeps solemnly swore that no Roman citizen should be put to torture [11]. It was no doubt by these and other similar measures that Claudius won a permanent place among constitutional 'principes [12],' and earned the title of 'libertatis vindex [13],' while he compensated the lower orders for the curtailment of the great shows and largesses of Gaius [14] by the gradual abolition of his imposts [15], and by this and other means gained no slight popularity [16].

Important regulations were also made in the administration of the finances of the empire, which must have become altogether disorganised.

In respect of the 'aerarium publicum,' it was perhaps a mere stroke of antiquarianism to transfer the charge from praetors to quaestors; nor was the change beneficial, except so far as it substituted selection for the haphazard of the lot, and allowed time to gain experience by prolonging the tenure of office [17].

Far more permanent and more important changes were intro-

He also promoted the activity of the body by enforcing attendance more strictly (Dio, 60. 11, 8).

[1] Jos. B. I. 2. 11, 2.

[2] Suet. Cl. 12.

[3] Suet. l. l. Such a guard had been asked for by Tiberius, but as a pretence, after he had ceased to attend the senate (6. 15, 5).

[4] 11. 25, 5; 12. 52, 4; Dio, 60. 11, 8; 29. 1.

[5] The remarks of Tacitus (3. 55, 4) may refer to this as well as to a later date.

[6] Dio, 60. 29, 1.

[7] See below, p. 33.

[8] 11. 25, 3.

[9] See 4. 16, 2.

[10] Dio, 64. 4, 6. For its revival, twenty-one years later, see 14. 48, 2.

[11] Dio, 60. 15, 6. This had never been, strictly speaking, legal, but had been often practised by Tiberius and Gaius.

[12] In the 'lex de imperio Vespasiani,' the only precedents cited for the powers to be conferred on that prince are those of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius.

[13] This title seems only found on an inscription of Cyzicus (C. I. L. vi. 1. p. 841), but is in agreement with the words 'Libertas Augusta,' and with the 'pileus' found on coins (Eckh. vi. 229, 246; Cohen, i. 254, 47, 48.

[14] See Suet. Cal. 18; Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 11.

[15] Dio, 60. 4, 1.

[16] Suet. Cl. 12.

[17] See 13. 29, 2 (and notes), where the further change made by Nero is mentioned.

duced in respect of the vast revenues under the direct control of the princeps[1].

On the division of the empire made by Augustus, the income of the Caesarian provinces had been as matter of course received by him, no doubt with some such understanding as existed with regard to the 'manubiae' of a general, that it should be expended on the public service, and possibly subject to a formal liability to render account, had any of his fictions of surrendering his imperium become a reality. As a fact, some statement of accounts was made from time to time by Augustus and his immediate successors[2], nor can it be doubted that he and they observed a careful distinction between their 'patrimonium' and the income received in virtue of their office[3], though both alike were designated as 'res suae,' 'res familiaris,' &c.[4], and though there is no sufficient trace of any central department of imperial finance[5], which, so far as it was centralised at all, must have been administered by the princeps personally.

It is apparently from the time of Claudius[6] that we begin to find used in contrast to 'aerarium' the term 'fiscus,' or 'fiscus Caesaris'; and, as the choice of this name would seem to have been determined by its use under the Republic to denote the public store kept in the treasury or sent from it to a magistrate[7], and under the early Empire as a name for the exchequer of this or that separate province or department[8], it had attached to it, notwithstanding its distinction from the aerarium, the associations of a public fund of some sort.

[1] On this whole subject, see Hirschfeld, Unters. pp. 1–10 and 285–287: Momms. Staatsr. ii. 998, foll. The various points in dispute between these eminent writers cannot here be discussed.

[2] Suet. says of Gaius (Cal. 76), 'rationes imperii, ab Augusto proponi solitas, set a Tiberio intermissas, publicavit.' Tiberius had probably not dropped the practice until his retirement to Capreae. It does not seem to be traceable later (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1025).

[3] This is clearly shown in the account given by Suet. (Aug. 101) of the will of Augustus, and of the statement with which he accompanied it: see note on 1. 8, 3.

[4] See 4. 6, 5; 12. 60, 6, etc., and the expression of Augustus (Mon. Anc. 3. 34), 'quater pecunia mea iuvi aerarium.'

[5] The 'fisci' of separate provinces are noticed below (note 8).

[6] Tacitus uses this contrast in speaking of affairs under Tiberius (2. 47, 3; 48, 1; 6. 2, 1; 17, 1), but is thought to be using the language of his own times, and to speak more correctly when he says simply 'sibimet seposuit' (6. 19, 1). No trace of this meaning of 'fiscus' is found in the 'Monumentum Ancyranum,' or in any writer before Seneca, who says (de Ben. 60. 7, 3), 'Caesar omnia habet, fiscus eius privata tantum et sua.'

[7] Thus Cicero (Verr. 3. 85, 197) opposes it to the private 'cista' of the magistrate himself: 'H.S. quos mihi senatus decrevit, et ex aerario dedit, ego habebo et in cistam transferam de fisco.' Suet. (Aug. 101) speaks similarly of the sum stored up ('confiscata') by Augustus to pay his legacies.

[8] Thus we find in inscriptions of the early empire the expressions 'fiscus Asiaticus,' 'Gallicus,' 'Judaicus,' 'frumentarius,' etc. These several 'fisci' are distinctly mentioned in Suet. Aug. 101 ('quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis, et vectigaliorum residuis').

It is also from this date that the great department 'a rationibus,' with its presiding freedman [1] and its staff [2], appears to originate, or at least to attain its importance, still indeed, and for some time to come, in form and in the rank of its functionaries, a mere department of the household of the princeps, but not, as it would seem, without some quasi-magisterial accountability on the part of its chief [3].

It is impossible here to trace the consequences of the change thus initiated, or to show how the 'fiscus,' though still in a juristic sense quasi-private property [4], became more and more distinct from the 'res privata principis [5],' and gradually gathered into itself all the revenues of the empire [6].

In foreign affairs the most pressing question was that of the Jewish race, both in their own land and elsewhere. In Judaea, jealous at all times of even the ordinary incidents of Roman sovereignty [7], the desperate struggle provoked by the insane command of Gaius to erect his statue in the temple had indeed collapsed together with its cause [8]; but the recollection of the intended outrage survived, recalling dangerous memories of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, and ready on any pretext to burst into a flame [9]. By withdrawing the insignia of Roman rule from the country, and placing Agrippa over the whole dominion which his grandfather had held under Augustus [10], the double end was gained of rewarding a valuable ally, and of securing the temporary tranquillity of the country, under the rule of one who, though personally dissolute and worthless, had the popularity [11] which a native prince alone could win.

The Jews of the 'Diaspora' were dealt with by two edicts in similar terms, the one relating to those of Alexandria, the other to those of the empire generally [12]; in both of which the exceptional privileges allowed

[1] Pallas (see 11. 29, 1, and note) had probably no real predecessor, though earlier traces of the term 'a rationibus' are found: see Friedl. i. 152, foll.; Hirschfeld, 132; 286; and C. I. L. vi. 8409.

[2] 'Adiutores a rationibus' and other subordinate titles are found from this date (Hirschf. 33, foll.).

[3] Cp. the stipulation of Pallas in 13. 14, 2 ('pares rationes cum republica haberet'), and note there.

[4] Cp. Ulp. Dig. 43. 8, 2, 4 ('res fiscales quasi propriae et privatae principis sunt'): also the language of Nero (15. 18, 4) 'se annuum sexcentiens sestertium reipublicae largiri.'

[5] Hirschf. 9, foll.; Momms. ii. 962, 1.

[6] The gradual extinction of the 'aerarium' as a state treasury is traced in Hirschf. 19–23.

[7] The census had given rise to the insurrection of Judas of Galilee (Acts 5. 37), and after its suppression the lawfulness of tribute continued to be a burning question (Matt. 22. 16, etc.).

[8] H. 5. 9, 4.

[9] On this state of Jewish feeling, see Momms. Hist. v. 519–525 (E. T. ii. 195–201).

[10] Jos. Ant. 19. 5. 1. The district of Chalcis in Syria was also erected into a kingdom for his brother.

[11] Jos. Ant. 19. 7, 3, etc.

[12] Id. 19. 5, 2, 3.

by previous emperors to the Jews are fully guaranteed[1], and insults to themselves and their religion, such as a subsequent edict of Petronius, legate of Syria[2], shows to have been even afterwards prevalent, were forbidden. The warning added in one of these edicts to the Jews themselves shows that they also had similarly transgressed, and throws light on another act of opposite spirit, whereby the Jews in Rome itself (their only considerable settlement in the west[3]) were punished for some act of turbulence by expulsion[4], or at least by inhibition from exercise of their worship[5]. This edict of intolerance would however seem to have been (as in a former case under Tiberius[6]) only temporarily or partially carried out[7].

In Armenia, the position held under Tiberius was reestablished by releasing[8] and sending back Mithridates, the king originally chosen by him[9], who was enabled by the temporary weakness of Parthia to recover and maintain his authority[10].

The appointment of another Mithridates to the kingdom of Bosporus was less successful[11].

In Commagene, the wiser arrangement of Tiberius, who had constituted it as a province[12], was not reestablished, but Antiochus, whom Gaius had made king of the country but afterwards deposed and detained at Rome, was sent back[13]. The other vassal kings whom it had pleased Gaius to set up, such as Cotys of Lesser Armenia[14], Sohaemus of Ituraea[15], were left in possession. In another corner of Asia, the small free state of Lycia paid the penalty of its turbulence and anarchy in the loss of its independence[16], a change which resulted in its complete Hellenization[17]. The Rhodians soon afterwards suffered a similar penalty, but only temporarily[18].

In Mauretania, a restoration of the former state was impossible.

[1] These included not only the toleration of their religion, but also considerable self-government (Momms. v. 491, E. T. ii. 165, etc.), and freedom from military service (Id. 510, 723, E. T. ii. 186, 200).

[2] Jos. Ant. 19. 6, 3.

[3] Momms. 499; E. T. ii. 173.

[4] Acts 18. 2; Suet. Cl. 25, whose words ('inpulsore Chresto tumultuantes') have given rise to much discussion. The case of Aquila shows that Christian Jews shared the fate of their brethren.

[5] This version (Dio, 60. 6, 6) may be reconciled with the former by supposing either (with Mommsen) that the one sentence was tantamount in effect to the other, or that it preceded and led to the other.

[6] See 2. 85, 5, and note.

[7] Their subsequent presence in Rome is shown in the Epistle to the Romans (e.g. 16. 3), and in Acts 28. 17.

[8] See 11. 8, 1, and note.

[9] 6. 32, 5.

[10] 11. 8, 2. For his subsequent fate, see below, Ch. iv.

[11] The reasons of his appointment are unknown. For the sequel, see 12. 15-21.

[12] 2. 42, 7; 56, 5.

[13] Dio, 60. 8, 1: see 12. 55, 3, and note.

[14] See 11. 9, 3, and note.

[15] See 12. 23, 2, and note.

[16] See note on 13. 33, 4.

[17] See Mommsen, v. 307; E. T. i. 333.

[18] See note on 12. 58, 2.

Ptolemaeus had been summoned to Rome, and afterwards executed by Gaius [1], and had apparently left no heirs. His freedman Aedemon had raised the standard of national independence, and had led into the fastnesses of Mount Atlas the wild tribesmen [2], many of whose fathers had troubled the Romans already under Tacfarinas [3]. Roman forces appear to have been already sent against them by Gaius [4]; but it was not till the second year of Claudius that their subjugation was accomplished by the able generals Suetonius Paulinus and Hosidius Geta [5]; after which the country was divided into two provinces under procurators [6], with considerable military force [7], and the process of civilization and Romanization begun under Augustus received a further impulse [8].

It is, however, rather in the history of the European than of the Asiatic or African provinces that the government of this prince constitutes an era. It was probably from an exaggerated deference for the constitution of Augustus, coupled with the desire to show respect to the senate, that Macedonia and Achaia were given back to the rule of senatorial proconsuls and the change made by Tiberius in the interest of the provincials themselves was reversed [9]. A far more considerable and beneficial change was that by which the large dependent kingdom of Thrace was reduced in 799, A.D. 46, to a province [10]. The circumstances which led to the change are unknown to us; but we have sufficient evidence in past history that the kings set up by Rome were here, as elsewhere, unable to command the obedience of their subjects [11], and were only kept on their thrones by frequent interference of their protectors [12]; and that the direct government of part of the country, under the form of wardship, had shared the usual fate of half measures [13]; while the great value of the country as a recruiting ground was only to be turned to account at the cost of insurrection [14]. The change appears not to have been accomplished without bloodshed [15], but to have been thoroughly successful. Order was maintained by a procurator [16], and a garrison of two thousand troops [17]; and 'hardly any province furnished so

[1] Dio, 59. 25, 1.

[2] 'Romana arma primum Claudio principe in Mauretania bellavere, Ptolomaeum regem ulciscente liberto Aedemone, refugientibusque barbaris ventum constat ad montem Atlantem' (Plin. N. H. 5. 1, 1, 11).

[3] 4. 23, 1.

[4] It is stated in Dio, 60. 8, 6, that Claudius accepted the title of imperator for successes gained here before he was princeps. This fact may have misled Pliny (see note above) into the belief that the war began in his rule.

[5] Dio, 60. 9, 1: see above, p. 11.

[6] H. 1. 11, 3. [7] H. 2. 58, 2.

[8] See Momms. v. 648; E. T. ii. 333.

[9] See 1. 76, 4, and note.

[10] Jerome, Chron.: see 2. 64, 3, and note.

[11] 'Ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti' (4. 46, 2).

[12] 3. 38, 4, etc.

[13] 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4.

[14] 4. 46, 2.

[15] See 12. 63, 3, and note.

[16] H. 1. 11, 3.

[17] Jos. B. I. 2. 16, 4.

numerous men for all parts of the war forces, especially the cavalry and the fleet, as this old home of gladiators and mercenary soldiers[1].'

In Gaul it is reasonable to suppose that such seeds of disorder as had survived the suppression of the rising under Tiberius[2] may have been quickened into further vitality by the baleful presence of Gaius and his army in 792, A.D. 39, and the following year. This may serve to explain a repressive measure of considerable importance, whereby a former decree of Tiberius for the extirpation of Druidism was to be repeated and energetically carried out[3]. The object was to remove a national hotbed of sedition, and to bring under Roman influence those of the nobility hitherto educated in the schools of the priests[4]; a result which the events of a generation later would show to have been very imperfectly attained. Otherwise these great provinces were to be dealt with by concession of privileges[5], and by the patronage which it was natural that an emperor born in Gaul should lavish on them.

In Germany the long quiet following on the recall of Germanicus and downfall of Maroboduus (interrupted only by the unsubdued revolt of the Frisians in 781, A.D. 28[6]) had been rudely broken by the absurd invasion of Gaius[7]; and we find the peace of the frontier threatened. The once formidable Cherusci[8] seem already to have begun to sink into insignificance[9]; and are only heard of some years later as stooping to accept a Romanised prince, son of the renegade Flavus, as their chief[10]; but their standing rivals the Chatti[11] brought upon themselves an invasion, in which the last of the three eagles lost with Varus was incidentally recovered[12]; while the Chauci[13], notwithstanding a chastisement at the beginning of this period from Q. Gabinius Secundus[14], were still emboldened six years later to pillage the Gallic coast with small piratical ships[15]. This raid was energetically repulsed by Corbulo, who had also reduced the Frisii to submission, and was preparing a bold forward

[1] Momms. v. 193; E. T. i. 212.

[2] 3. 40–46.

[3] See note on 14. 30, 1. The passages there cited may be reconciled by supposing the earlier measure to have been ineffectual. It is also thought that one motive for the invasion of Britain may have been to complete this destruction.

[4] See Momms. v. 102; E. T. i. p. 112.

[5] See below, p. 33.

[6] 4. 72–74.

[7] See above, p. 17.

[8] 1. 56, 7, and note.

[9] Their decay in the time of Tacitus is described in G. 36. Their feud with the Chatti is alluded to in 12. 28, 2.

[10] On Italicus and his vicissitudes, see 11. 16–17.

[11] See 1. 55, 1, and note.

[12] Dio, 60. 8, 7. A subsequent predatory raid is described as punished by P. Pomponius, and as resulting in the restoration of some captive survivors of the army of Varus (12. 27, 3; 28, 2).

[13] On this tribe, once, in part at least, subject to Rome, see 1. 38, 1, and note. They must be supposed to have recovered their independence when the Romans withdrew.

[14] He received the surname 'Chaucicus' (Suet. Cl. 24).

[15] 11. 8, 1, foll.

movement which would have carried him even beyond the Weser[1], when he was peremptorily ordered to withdraw behind the Rhine, and to evacuate even what he had already won. This policy, whether of timidity or prudence[2], became a permanent law; and although some tribes[3] still remained in subjection, and tracts of pasture land are retained for the commissariat of the legions[4], no trace of military occupation on the right bank of the Lower Rhine remains[5].

All other military achievements of this period are eclipsed by the invasion and permanent occupation of Britain, the first and (till the time of Trajan) the only great departure from the cautious policy bequeathed by Augustus to his successors[6], and (as Claudius and his flatterers were never weary of repeating[7]) the first and only establishment of a trans-oceanic province. We need only note here the forethought and strategic ability with which it was carried out, on a scale which recognised at once the practicability and the difficulties of the enterprise[8].

This review of the foreign policy of Claudius would still be incomplete without a notice of the manner in which he conceives and carries out, with a boldness far beyond that of his immediate predecessors, the Roman idea of consolidation consequent upon conquest. Personal predilection, as well as the ripeness of the country for the application of the principle, combine to make Gaul the chief field in which this policy is displayed. It may probably have been from him that Vienna received its full burgess rights[9]; and the general measure by which the highest civic privilege, the 'ius honorum,' was extended to those who in all the three provinces of Gallia comata had hitherto enjoyed a more limited citizenship, and Aeduan senators were seen at Rome[10], marks a step more in accordance with the bold ideas of the dictator Caesar[11] than with those of the early principate. Generally, the large increase of civic population noted at his census[12] is probably due in no small measure to his own comprehensive policy; and the sarcasm of Seneca[13], who, himself one of the greatest gainers by former bestowal of 'civitas'

[1] By attacking the 'Chauci maiores': see 11. 19, 3, and note.

[2] Tacitus ascribes it to jealousy (11. 19, 7); but it is probable that the force required in Britain necessitated an unambitious policy in Germany.

[3] The Canninefates and part of the Frisians (probably the 'Frisii minores'): see Momms. v. 115; E. T. i. 126.

[4] 13. 54, 2.

[5] Momms. (l. l.). It should be remembered that the Rhine frontier here is that of the Alt-Rhine (see on 2. 6, 5).

[6] 1. 11, 7.

[7] See 'Oratio Claudii' (App. to Book 11), i. 40, and note.

[8] See below, ch. v.

[9] See 'Oratio Claudii,' ii. 16, and note.

[10] 11. 25, 1.

[11] Cp. the pasquinade quoted in Suet. Jul. 80 'Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in Curiam.'

[12] 11. 25, 8, and note.

[13] In the 'Ludus' (3, 3) Clotho is made to say that she wished to spare his life, 'dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donaret. Constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos to-

on provincial subjects, lends his pen to give expression to the exclusiveness of Roman aristocracy, is only discreditable to himself.

Colonisation, always a powerful engine in the Romanization of the empire, had been in abeyance since the days of Augustus, but now receives an energetic impulse. To Claudius the famous towns of Augusta Treverorum[1] (Trier or Treves) and, in his later years, Colonia Agrippinensis[2] (Köln), and Camulodunum[3] (Colchester) owed their status; while less celebrated instances such as Sabaria[4] (Stein) in Pannonia, Aequum[5] in Delmatia, Apri[6] in Thrace, Iconium[7] in Lycaonia, Archelais[8] in Cappadocia, Ptolemais[9] (Acre) in Syria, and no less than six places (Tingi, Lixus, Iol or Caesarea, Oppidum Novum, Rusucurium, and Tipasa) either colonised or otherwise endowed with civic or Latin rights in the newly constituted provinces of Mauretania[10], show a steady purpose carried out in all parts of the empire.

The names assumed by towns, as Claudiopolis[11] (Bithynia and Cappadocia), Neo-Claudiopolis[12] (Galatia), Claudia Paphos[13] (Cyprus), seem to point to a gift of some favours or privileges which we cannot identify, as may also be the case with some of the many statues, medals, &c. belonging to this time, found in various places throughout the Roman world[14].

This sketch of the general policy at home and abroad, as initiated at the outset, and in many points consistently maintained throughout[15], will sufficiently support the credit for statesmanship which must be awarded to Claudius personally or shared by him with advisers[16] whom he had at least the good sense to follow; and will show how great deduction must be made from the representations of Roman satirists. Yet the satire is

gatos videre': but she will let him perish, 'quoniam placet aliquos peregrinos in semen relinqui.'

[1] This colony probably belongs to the time of Claudius, but is of uncertain date: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 126; Momms. Hist. v. 90; E. T. i. 99.

[2] 12. 27, 1.

[3] 12. 32, 5.

[4] Pl. N. H. 3. 27, 24, 146.

[5] See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 146.

[6] Id. 159.

[7] Id. 206.

[8] Id. 215.

[9] Pl. N. H. 5. 19, 17, 75.

[10] Marquardt, 328, 329.

[11] Id. 198, 215.

[12] Id. 201.

[13] Id. 234.

[14] Many such are cited in the sketch given by Lehmann, pp. 157–195. It should be noted in the above list that where we have only the name to go by, the foundation might equally have been due to Nero; but in most of the cases mentioned there are distinct grounds for assigning it to Claudius.

[15] It will be seen from the references that several of the matters mentioned belong to the later period, covered by the extant Books of the Annals.

[16] Among persons of the position of senators and statesmen, his most trusted adviser must have been L. Vitellius, a man of base character but of undoubted ability (see 6. 28, 1; 32, 5, etc.). Galba was also among his most intimate friends (Suet. Galb. 7); but it is impossible to distinguish their sphere of advice from that of his three great freedmen (see below, pp. 38, 39).

not without foundation in so far as the scheme of government was even at the outset impracticable or inconsistently carried out, and passed into a system showing manifold special vices of its own as time went on.

In the first place, it must have been plain to all who had insight, that the professed return to the Augustan idea of a dual government shared between the princeps and the senate was not really a *bona fide* restoration of what even at its best had been in many important points no more than a fiction [1]. The senate, shattered by a reign of terror of almost ten years' continuous duration [2], had neither the prestige nor the moral dignity to resume its lost position; nor have we any record of such discussion of public questions as is found in the best years of Tiberius [3], or even such as the policy of the early Neronian government [4] and the independence of individual senators (as Thrasea [5]) combined to realise for a short time afterwards. It was therefore no less perhaps from the necessity of the case than from the deliberate intention to encroach, that the political importance of the emperor's own functionaries is now so greatly augmented, and that from this period is mainly to be dated a new departure in the system of government, by which more and more of the work of the state is taken out of the hands of the senate and its magistrates, and knights, or freedmen, as ministers of the emperor and responsible to him alone, are found presiding over new departments of state at home [6], or with increased power and independence throughout the empire [7]. Again, the circumstances under which Claudius had attained his power had stamped a character upon it and formed a precedent.

[1] See Introd. I. vi. pp. 79–81.

[2] Since the fall of Seianus there had been no respite, except the short reaction at the first accession of Gaius.

[3] See 4. 6, 2, and note.

[4] See 13. 4, 3, and note.

[5] See 13. 49, 1, etc.

[6] These changes are fully set forth in Hirschfeld's work (see especially the summary in p. 281 foll.). The great department 'a rationibus' has been already noticed (see above, p. 29): from this time dates also the great importance of those 'ab epistulis' and 'a libellis,' the former as that through which passed all despatches to or from generals and governors, the latter as the channel of all petitions. A procurator and staff replaces the 'quaestor Ostiensis' (Hirschf. p. 139), and probably the other quaestors with 'provinciae Italicae' (see 4. 27, 2, and note); other such officers relieve the quaestors of 'stratura viarum' (Hirschf. p. 152); functions hitherto belonging to senators pass to a 'praefectus curatorum alvei Tiberis,' 'procurator ad ripas Tiberis,' and 'procurator aquarum' (Id. pp. 153, 163); and the increased supersession of other tribunals by that of the princeps brings in a 'procurator a cognitionibus' (Id. p. 208).

[7] Besides the judicial powers given to 'procuratores rei familiaris' (12. 60), it is noticed that the procurators governing provinces become more numerous and less dependent. Hirschfeld thinks the procuratorship of Judaea (which was subordinate to the legatus of Syria) the only province thus definitely organised under Augustus (p. 288); and it is certain at any rate that the provinces under knights, even if not (as he thinks) mere military 'praefecturae' without civil jurisdiction, were, at first, few and unimportant (see Introd. i. vii. p. 99): under Claudius even the newly acquired and extensive provinces of Thracia and the two Mauretaniae were held by governors of this rank, and even a freedman (Felix) is procurator of Judaea.

Himself the most unmilitary of emperors, he owed his imperium to the soldiers' oath, in which the senate had afterwards acquiesced; and this subordination of the senatorial decree to the military 'praerogativa,' purchased by a lavish donative, is seen again at the accession of his successor [1], and acquires a still more terrible prominence in later history. If again, as is probable, the military garrison of Rome was at this time substantially increased [2], the change must have been forced on the observation of all.

Nor were the character and surroundings of Claudius favourable to a permanent realisation of any good ideal of government, whether personal or constitutional, supposing him to have honestly contemplated it. Even the best side of his secluded life, his historical study, while it was in no respect a sufficient substitute for the great military achievements and important civil duties which had formed the training of Tiberius, had the positive fault of infecting his administration with the pedantry of a bookworm, and the vanity natural to one extolled by his courtiers as a miracle of learning and wisdom [3], and thus laid him fatally open to the assaults of pasquinade and satire. The Roman aristocrats, who cordially disliked the idea of admitting the natives of 'Gallia comata' within their ranks, would gladly seize on the abundant ground of ridicule afforded by the rambling erudition with which the proposer obscured rather than illustrated the practical reasons for the change [4]. The antiquarianism that could not be satisfied with the actual exercise of censorial powers, but must needs revive the censorship itself [5], could only bring out into stronger light the incongruities and inequalities of his action in the office [6]; while, in smaller matters, those who had their jest

[1] 'Sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta' (12. 69, 3).

[2] That the praetorian cohorts, which were nine in number under Tiberius (4. 5, 5), were not less than twelve in the time of Nero, is shown by the inscription to Gavius Silvanus, cited on 15. 50, 3. As the increase is not noted in any extant part of the Annals, it is suggested by Mommsen (Hermes, xvi. 643–647) that it was made by Claudius on his accession, in recognition of their services, and may have been mentioned in its place by Tacitus. He thinks it also probable that the urban cohorts, though they had not rendered similar service, became at the same time, perhaps, six. Their numbers are reckoned on continuously from those of the praetorians, and we find a Sixteenth urban cohort in an inscription of 819, A.D. 66 (Wilm. 1617), and it is suggested that the cohorts named as xvii and xviii (H. 1. 80, 1, and Med. text of H. 1. 64, 6) were urban. Of these, however, the former is generally taken to have been a 'cohors vigilum' (see Suet. Cl. 25); and in the latter place the text has generally been altered.

[3] The prevailing tone of flattery may be judged from Seneca's 'Consolatio ad Polybium' (see above, p. 23).

[4] See the fragments of the speech (Appendix to Book 11). A similarly disproportionate pedantic retrospect prefaces his real reason for granting immunity to the island of Cos (12. 61). The edict on the citizenship of the Anaunians, dated March 15, A.D. 46 (discovered in 1869), is noted by Mommsen (Hermes, iv. 99–131) as showing a similar pedantry in the strange grotesqueness of its style.

[5] See note on 11. 13, 1.

[6] See Suet. Cl. 16, where account is

at the shortlived addition of letters to the alphabet[1], the affectation of archaic spelling[2], the attempt to rescue from deserved decay the obsolete lore of the aruspices[3], might also have the satisfaction of pointing out that their august professor did not after all know the ancient meaning of the term 'libertinus[4],' and had forgotten his own researches on the computation of an Etruscan 'saeculum[5].'

Again, much as we may set down to a conscientious intention to discharge a public duty, and to a desire of emulating Augustus[6], we must ascribe also in no small degree to vanity and self-conceit that passion for the personal exercise of judicial functions which all authorities attest[7], and which, notwithstanding the record that many of his decisions were shrewd and original[8], and that some of the principles of law embodied in his judgments or legislative enactments are quoted with approval long afterwards by juristic writers[9], could not have worked generally for the public benefit. Even in ordinary cases such encroachment by the princeps in Rome and by his procurators elsewhere[10] on the ordinary tribunals was an injudicious weakening of their authority; nor could all the assiduity of Claudius prevent accumulation of arrears and harassing delays, shortened (if we are to believe our authors) by very summary modes of expedition[11]; while, in cases involving graver charges, 'a prince who centred in himself all functions of law and magistracy[12]' was but calling into existence and enriching a crowd of accusers to whom condemnations and collusive acquittals alike were profitable[13]. They felt they had only to study the humours of a single person, devoid of

given of his censorial acts, of his fifty edicts in one day, and of the grotesqueness of some of them.

[1] 11. 13, 3; 14, 5. None of them appear subsequently, except in very few inscriptions of the time of Nero.

[2] The form 'ai' is used for 'ae,' as in Insc. Or. 650, 714, etc.

[3] 11. 15, 1.

[4] Suet. Cl. 24. The distinction there drawn does not appear certain (see note on 11. 24, 7).

[5] On the modes of computation, see note on 11. 11, 2. Suet. states (Cl. 21) that Claudius, in his historical writings, had investigated and approved the calculation of Augustus, which he set aside in his own celebration.

[6] Suet. Aug. 33.

[7] Sen. Lud. 7. 4; Suet. Cl. 14; Dio, 60. 4, 3.

[8] Suet. Cl. 15.

[9] See Gaius, 1. 151, 171; Ulp. 11. 8; Dig. 4. 4, 3; 40. 15, 4, 1; Just. Inst. 3. 3, 1; Cod. Just. 5. 30, 3.

[10] On this extension of their jurisdiction towards the end of his rule, perhaps a consequence of the organisation of the 'fiscus' (p. 28), but prompted no doubt by his freedmen in the interest of their order, see 12. 60, and notes. It must have involved the evil of making the same person prosecutor and judge.

[11] The statement of Suet. (l. l.), 'absentibus, secundum praesentes facillime dabat,' may perhaps be the sober truth under the satire of Seneca (Lud. 12. 3, 37; 14, 2), that he decided after hearing one side or often neither; which itself even is probable in an irresponsible judge, surrounded by courtiers applauding his acumen and despatch.

[12] 'Cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi patefecerat' (11. 5, 1).

[13] On their venality, and the attack made upon them in the senate, see 11. 5–7.

mental equilibrium [1], deciding without publicity and without appeal, and subject to opportunities of domestic pressure beyond anything which could be applied to even the most subservient senate [2]. The result is a general sense of scandalous injustice, which it is one of the most popular acts of his successor to remove [3].

Nor was it only as an inspired judge or legislator, but also among the conquerors of the world, that his own vanity or the language of flatterers led him to aspire to fill a niche in history. That the British expedition should be commemorated in magniloquent words and stately memorials, and by claiming the right, so rarely exercised, to extend the 'pomerium' [4], and that he should consider that his own campaign of sixteen days [5] entitled him to the honour of a full triumph, was perhaps to be expected: it is more characteristic of the man, that in the space of some twelve years he should have twenty-seven times [6] received the title of 'imperator' [7] for victories, many of which seem to defy all attempt at identification [8], and should have kept up the fiction of incessant military glories by the prodigality with which he showered triumphal distinctions on his subordinates [9]. Other qualities resulting equally from his antecedents were still more mischievous.

It was a standing anomaly of the constitution that many offices which in a modern state would be important departments of the civil service were regarded as no more than posts in the chief citizen's household, unworthy of the dignity of any person above the rank of a freedman [10]. The consequent exaltation of the importance of persons of no recognised political status, checked at first by the aristocratic sympathies of Augustus and Tiberius [11], and hardly gaining time for full growth under Gaius [12],

[1] 'In cognoscendo et iudicando mira varietate animi fuit' (Suet. l. l.).

[2] See the account (11. 1–3) of the trial of Asiaticus 'intra cubiculum,' and of the influence exercised in it by Messalina and Vitellius.

[3] See the disclaimer of Nero (13. 4, 2).

[4] See 12. 23, 4, and notes; where it is shown that this line of limitation had lost all real importance.

[5] Dio, 60. 23, foll.

[6] See the inscription at the Porta Maggiore (Or. 54), etc.

[7] On this title see 2. 18, 2, and note. Augustus, for the achievements gained by himself or his generals during more than fifty eventful years, received it twenty-one times (1. 9, 2). Tiberius, who had already earned the title under Augustus (1. 3, 1), counts it but eight times at his death (Insc. Or. 691).

[8] Lehmann endeavours diligently to trace the occasions, but hardly succeeds in convincing.

[9] See 11. 20, 5, and note; Suet. Cl. 24.

[10] The chief instance is that of the three great departments (see above, p. 35) entrusted to Pallas, Narcissus, and Callistus (on whom see 11. 29, 1, and note).

[11] Cp. 4. 6, 7 ('modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus'), and note. Even under Tiberius a freedman became, at least for a time, praefect of Egypt (Dio, 58. 19, 6); and instances occur, both under him and under Augustus, of vast wealth gained by freedmen of the imperial household: see Friedl. i. 76, 77.

[12] Callistus had already attained under him a position of immense influence (Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 10).

finds its complete development under a prince who had been taught by fifty years of seclusion to hold little intercourse with statesmen and to be swayed by domestic counsels. Hence the intrigues of the palace play a part unknown before in the history of the government, and important events turn on the schemes of freedmen [1]; who, themselves excluded from the highest privileges of citizenship, had not the responsibility of public men and were not often likely to have patriotic aims, and who form a league under the baleful leadership of Messalina, for the gratification of her caprice and lust and for her and their own enrichment. Those who desired magistracies or other dignities had to beset the doors of these influential persons [2] and to win their support by bribes [3]; a system of universal corruption, outstripping all previous experience, sets in, and the 'avarice of the Claudian times' [4] becomes a by-word. Many of the wise schemes which have been mentioned to this emperor's credit become tainted with the prevailing venality; the extension of civic privileges degenerates into a sordid traffic [5]; great public works furnish opportunities for the peculations of the directing freedman [6]. Agrippa wins by bribery a boon destined to cost streams of blood a generation later, the indulgence of his regal ambition to fortify Jerusalem [7]. After his death, whatever good had been done in Judaea by a conciliatory policy is undone by the misgovernment of Cumanus and Felix [8]; the latter of whom especially was enabled by the overwhelming influence

[1] That the influence of his three principal freedmen (see above, p. 38) was in no way restricted to their department, is evident from their action in respect of his last marriage (see 12. 1, 2), and from many other places. Other names of note belonging to this rank are those of Polybius, Felix, Harpocras, and Posides (Suet. Cl. 28). See also Friedl. i. 78.

[2] Seneca states (Ep. 47, 9) that he had seen the former master of Callistus waiting at his doors in vain.

[3] *Μεσσαλῖνα οἵ τε ἀπελεύθεροι . . . τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπείας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἀφειδῶς ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον* (Dio, 60. 17, 8): see also Suet. Cl. 29; and the flattery of Pallas by the senate related in 12. 53, 2.

[4] H. 5. 12, 5: cp. the contrast suggested by Nero in 13. 4, 2.

[5] Claudius Lysias says (Acts 22. 28) *πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκτησάμην*, and Dio states (60. 17, 6) that Messalina and the freedmen regularly sold the 'civitas,' at first for large sums, afterwards for a mere trifle.

[6] See what is said of the Fucinus tunnel in 12. 57, 4. The accusing authority (that of Agrippina) is the worst possible; but the vast wealth amassed by Narcissus makes any such charge probable in itself. The fact that the great Claudian aqueduct had already fallen out of repair in 815, A.D. 62 (see the insc. of Vespasian, Or. 55), suggests a similar story.

[7] 'Per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi, struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum' (H. 5. 12, 3). The two statements of Josephus, that Agrippa was forbidden to go on with his work by Claudius, on the information of the legatus of Syria (Ant. 19. 7, 2), and that the walls were left unfinished by his death (B. I. 2. 11, 6) are perhaps reconcileable with each other and with Tacitus. That much had been previously done for the restoration of what had been destroyed by Pompeius (H. 5. 9, 1), is evident from the history of the siege.

[8] See 12. 54. Both these governors are represented as making profit out of the brigandage which they permitted.

of his brother Pallas to persist for years in 'exercising the right of a king with the nature of a slave'[1]; nor is it to be wondered at that from the death of Agrippa the originating causes of the Jewish rebellion are to be traced[2]. In another part of the East, a Roman officer is bought to connive at the atrocities of Radamistus, and bribes his own soldiers to do the same[3]; and the governor, apparently one of the freedman class, is similarly induced to support that prince's seizure of Armenia[4], with the result of throwing the whole country again into the power of Parthia[5]. M. Silanus, a man of the highest rank, is stated to have made a sordid traffic of his proconsulate of Asia[6], in 808, A.D. 54.

But in the case of Claudius, as in that of Tiberius, far the gravest evils rose from timidity armed with an absolute power[7]. Messalina and Narcissus had learnt even at the outset, in the case of Appius Silanus, the ease with which, by playing upon his fears, he could be got to take the life of any eminent citizen[8]. Nor was it long before graver causes of fear took hold of him. An organised conspiracy, such as Tiberius, and afterwards Nero, had to face at a late period of their rule, befel him in his second year[9], and launched him at once on a course of sanguinary terrorism in which constitutional privileges were cast aside[10]; and the ease with which one man of mark after another was struck down taught him the despot's well-known lesson, how far he could safely venture. Those known by name to us[11] were probably only the most prominent among many victims. At another time a noble household was wrecked at a blow, by the execution of his own son-in-law Pompeius Magnus, together with his father Crassus, his mother Scribonia, and others[12].

Messalina, the prime mover in most of these cruelties[13], is described by Tacitus (to judge from the fragment remaining to us) in much

1 H. 5. 9, 5.

2 See Mommsen, Hist. v. 527; E. T. ii. 203.

3 See 12. 45, 5; 46, 5. Dio states (61. 6, 6) that this officer was replaced by an equally corrupt successor, who had been 'praef. vigilum.'

4 12. 49, 2.

5 12. 50–51. See below, ch. iv.

6 See note on 13. 1, 1.

7 His general timidity is described in Suet. 35, 36.

8 For the story, see note on 11. 29, 1.

9 This conspiracy (on which see above, p. 11) is said to have arisen from the distrust inspired by the murder of Silanus. One of the conspirators, Q. Pomponius, was already menaced with accusation by Suillius (13. 43, 3). Several other attempts against Claudius are recorded, but some, at least, were probably stories made up to work on him.

10 His solemn promise to subject no citizen to torture was set aside (Dio, 60. 15, 6).

11 See above, l. l.

12 Sen. Lud. 11, 2. Those of the family whose names are given as Tristionia and Assarion cannot be identified.

13 See 13. 43, 5, etc. It is to be noted that Nero, who had no motive to spare Claudius, is there made to state, on the authority of that prince's private documents, that he had never forced any one to undertake an accusation.

the same terms as by others; as one whose unbridled profligacy made a pastime of the interests of the state[1], whose influence was used solely to exalt her favourites or to destroy those who disdained her advances, or in any way crossed her path. Of the 'many murders perpetrated at her bidding'[2], we may take as a sample the case with which the Eleventh Book opens, in which, to appease the mere jealousy of wantonness and the further promptings of cupidity, four lives at once are sacrificed[3]. It is her will to destroy a rival in the affections of a pantomimist, and yet to spare her favourite himself; and the coveted possessions of the senator on whom the charge is shifted make him all the more a welcome victim. Men of the highest rank are ready in a moment to effect her purpose; a consular accuser rakes together all the antecedents of the accused to secure a conviction, and when even the intimidation exercised by her own presence[4] was insufficient to coerce her husband's judgment, when the graver charges are on the point of ignominiously breaking down, and the defence had even extorted some touch of womanly feeling from herself[5], the most influential senator of the day steps in to gratify her still relentless purpose by ensuring the fate of the accused through a ready stratagem[6], while she herself, by mere force of threats, terrifies Poppaea into suicide[7]: two eminent knights are attacked by the well-worn artifice of a dream story, and condemned by a subservient senate to complete her vengeance[8]; and the dotard, who had even forgotten that any charge against Poppaea existed[9], has instilled into him a vindictive hatred of the memory[10] of the man whom, if left to himself, he would have acquitted, and is persuaded to heap rewards on those who had taken even an insignificant share in the transaction[11].

To such a narrative the only fitting climax is supplied by that of her last catastrophe; in relating which Tacitus pauses for a moment to bespeak the readers' credence by an earnest protestation that he has added nothing to the record of his authorities[12]. The story as it stands is indeed of so astounding a character that it has been thought that in some of its most important particulars we have an audacious

[1] 12. 7, 5.

[2] 11. 28, 2. Among those specified are those of Appius Silanus (see above, p. 40), Julia, the daughter of Germanicus (Dio, 60. 8, 5), her husband, M. Vinicius (Id. 27, 4), Julia, daughter of Drusus (Id. 18, 4), Justus Catonius, the praefect of the praetorians (Id. 18, 3), Polybius (Id. 31, 2). Dio also states that she made the conspiracy of Camillus a pretext for destroying those obnoxious to her, and on the other hand saved those who bribed her (Id. 15, 5; 16, 2).

[3] See 11. 1–4, and notes.

[4] 11. 2, 1.

[5] 11. 2, 3.

[6] 11. 3, 1.

[7] 11. 3, 5.

[8] 11. 4, 1, foll.

[9] 11. 2, 5.

[10] See 'Or. Claudii,' ii. 14, and note.

[11] 11. 4, 5.

[12] 11. 27, 1, 2.

falsehood, resting probably on the memoirs of Agrippina[1], and that the true version is that given by Suetonius alone, and by him mentioned only to be dismissed, that Claudius, in fear of an alleged omen, portending danger to the husband of Messalina, endeavoured to avert it by becoming a consenting party to her marriage with Silius[2]. It would remain to be supposed that Narcissus was still able to compass her destruction and that of her partisans by turning the emperor's fear into another channel, and representing the political dangers[3] of the alliance which, acting no doubt under the advice of his freedmen, and probably of Narcissus himself, he had but just sanctioned. Whether this supposition, added to the difficulty of explaining how, in a matter of such notoriety, so important a circumstance as the previous cognizance of Claudius could have been effectually concealed from the contemporary and eminent authorities whom Tacitus has followed, is not even more incredible than the story handed down to us, is an open question. In either case we have the same fine-woven tissue of intrigue; the plot on foot can only be betrayed by a counterplot; should she once so much as gain a hearing, all is lost, and the intended victim would join the chief offender in taking vengeance on those who sought to save him.

Messalina has neither found nor deserved to find apologists; but there may be reason to believe that the memoirs of her rival have furnished exaggerations of her enormities. It is difficult to believe that so much wickedness can have been crowded into a married life which seems to have begun at about the age of fifteen, and ended at about that of twenty-three[4]. Juvenal's terrible description of her worst orgies[5], though not uncorroborated by other writers[6], is yet neither supported by the hostile Seneca[7], nor by what is extant of Tacitus. To some such extent alone

[1] On these, see Introd. i. p. 11.

[2] 'Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, inductus quasi de industria simularentur, ad avertendum transferendumque periculum quod imminere ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur' (c. 29). Suet. implies that some fiction only of a marriage was consented to; but Merivale, who accepts this version (ch. 50), considers that he must also have legally divorced her.

[3] The view taken by Tacitus, that Silius contemplated some appeal to force, derives support from the presence of the 'praefectus vigilum' and the procurator of the school of gladiators (11. 35, 7) among his accomplices.

[4] See Merivale, l. l. Her age is inferred from that of her mother, whose years are said not to have differed much from those of Agrippina (12. 64, 5). As the latter was born in 768, A.D. 15 (see Introd. i. pp. 139, 145), we should hardly suppose Domitia Lepida to have been born earlier than A.D. 9 or 10, or to have become a mother earlier than about A.D. 25.

[5] Juv. 6, 115–132.

[6] Plin. N. H. 10. 63, 83, 172; Dio, 60. 18, 1. Some modern authorities have supposed her stricken with a form of insanity known apparently to physicians as nymphomania.

[7] Seneca had owed his banishment to her and his recall to Agrippina, yet he speaks of her fate (Lud. 11, 5) without

have we the means of criticising the unanimous testimony which has covered her name with infamy.

The guilty wife is no sooner in her grave than her successor comes to the front, and supplies a dominant influence for the remainder of this rule. By her lineage, higher than that of even Messalina or Claudius [1], she would bring as her dower an accession of strength even to a prince; and few women had learnt so much from the schooling of vicissitudes. In her thirteenth year she had been passively given in marriage [2] to one whose character was said to be as detestable [3] as his rank was exalted; at her widowhood, in her twenty-fifth year, she is found 'prostituting herself to Lepidus in the hope of empire [4],' sent into exile, stripped of property, separated from her two-years' old son. Restored to position at her uncle's accession [5], and further enriched by a subsequent marriage and widowhood [6], she begins a new career of ambition, binding the wealthiest freedman to her interest by unscrupulous profligacy [7], and winning for her son a prominence which had nearly cost their lives [8].

In causing the fall of her rival she may probably have taken no part [9]; but in the intrigue of which the palace again becomes the focus she throws her own blandishments into the scale [10]; and, if we are to believe our authorities, the incestuous marriage was won by previous incest [11].

Nor was she to be satisfied with the position of an emperor's wife; she would be all, and more than all, that Livia had been to Augustus, and govern the Roman world under the shadow of a feeble husband or a stripling son. In the words of Tacitus [12], 'all power centred in a woman; but the reins of bondage were now drawn with a firm and masculine hand: there was all outward show of decorum, and often dignity, and such immorality alone as served her interests'; and the domestic history of the remaining years is little more than a record of the stages by which

saying a word of her crimes. Merivale notes that, though she had procured Seneca's banishment, she had evidently not laid hands upon his wealth.

[1] See her pedigree, Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 145; see also 12. 42, 3.

[2] 4. 75, 1.

[3] Tacitus gives no judgment on his character. Velleius calls him (2. 10, 2) 'nobilissimae simplicitatis iuvenem'; but Suet., who describes him (Ner. 5) as 'omni parte vitae detestabilem,' alleges some facts in support. His statement is however questioned by Schiller (p. 61, 5).

[4] The account given by Dio (59. 22, 5–8) is thus supported by Tacitus (14. 2, 4). It is added by Dio and Suet. (Cal. 24) that she and Julia were habitually treated with outrage by Gaius and his crew.

[5] Dio, 60. 4, 1.

[6] After endeavouring to secure Galba (Suet. Galb. 5), she had married Crispus Passienus (Id. Ner. 6), on whom see 6. 20, 2, and note; Lehmann, p. 231, foll. He may have died during his second consulship in 797, A.D. 44, as a 'suffectus' is found in his place as early as May 4 of that year (see Lehm. 236; Schill. 65, 3).

[7] 12. 65, 4; 14. 2, 4.

[8] 11. 12, 1.

[9] This would seem to follow from the fact that her enemy Narcissus, not her partisan Pallas, was the mover in it (11. 29, 2).

[10] 12. 3, 1.

[11] 12. 5, 1.

[12] 12. 7, 6.

she advanced her own position and that of her son[1]. She amasses wealth first and foremost[2]; for in that age every man had his price: the recall and advancement of Seneca[3] gives her the popular position of a protectress of culture[4], and the most brilliant writer and most versatile politician of the day as her ally. Above all, she takes care to secure a far stronger interest, by obtaining the command of the praetorians for her nominee[5]. The outward marks of ascendancy come in due course. She is the first emperor's wife to receive the title of 'Augusta'[6], the first whose name is joined with his on the coinage[7], the first woman after whom a colony is named[8]: at the pageant of Caractacus[9] and the opening of the tunnel of Lake Fucinus[10], she sits as the emperor's equal at his side. In the case of Vitellius[11], she showed her power to protect her partisans, in those of Lollia Paulina[12], and of Calpurnia[13], her power to destroy real or possible rivals; and, while pushing the popularity of her son[14], and reserving what duties were odious for her husband[15], she appeared willing to let the realization of her final aims wait on the course of nature. But new dangers gathered round her path. Besides a powerful hostile party in the senate[16], Narcissus, a deadly enemy, neither to be reconciled nor supplanted, was at the emperor's side, and was organising a fresh intrigue[17] with the same steady purpose which had struck down Messalina in the plenitude of her power. He had personally nothing to hope from Britannicus, whom he had probably joined with others in supplanting[18]; but he was menaced by still more imminent danger from Agrippina and her son: while Claudius lived he was safe, and it was only on the latter side that the life of Claudius was threatened[19]. Hence he bent all his energy to undo the past, to restore the emperor's affection for his son by blood, and to destroy the intruders. Agrippina's first attempt to attack him through the failure of the Fucinus tunnel[20] had evidently failed, and his prompt countercharge[21] had probably lodged

[1] The stages of Nero's advancement are given below in their place (p. 51).

[2] 12. 7, 7.

[3] 12. 8, 3.

[4] 'Laetum in publicum rata ob claritudinem studiorum eius' (12. 8, 3).

[5] 12. 42, 1–2.

[6] 12. 26, 1. Livia did not receive this title till the death of Augustus (1. 8, 2); Messalina was never formally allowed it (Dio, 60. 12, 5), though it is given to her in some provincial coins.

[7] See Eckh. vi. 257; Lehmann, B. iv. 595; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 831.

[8] 12. 27, 1.

[9] 12. 37, 5.

[10] 12. 56, 5. Another distinction is mentioned in 12. 42, 3.

[11] 12. 42, 4–5.

[12] 12. 22, 1, foll.

[13] 12. 22, 3.

[14] 12. 58, 1.

[15] 12. 59, 1.

[16] This is shown not only by the attemp to overthrow Vitellius, but still more by the actual condemnation of her instrumen Tarquitius Priscus (12. 59, 4).

[17] 12. 65, 2, foll.

[18] The first steps of this are represente as taken 'arte eorum quis ob accusatan Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur' (12 9, 2).

[19] See the difficult passage 12. 65, 2, 3

[20] 12. 57, 4.

[21] 12. 57, 5. The change of mind i

more deeply; and she, though victorious in their great trial of strength in the case of Domitia Lepida [1], and successful also in procuring the execution of a favourable will [2], could not but be aware of the growing reaction in favour of Britannicus [3], and of the ominous hints [4] betokening a change in the emperor's mind, which might break out at any moment to her destruction. Her resolution was soon taken [5], nor had she long to wait for her opportunity: Narcissus had so little measured the daring of the woman whom he had now defied to the death, as to be induced to leave his post for a health resort [6]; and his few days of absence sufficed to seal the fate of his patron [7] and his own [8].

Unfortunately for the reputation of Claudius, the 'laudatio,' in which Seneca had extolled his forethought and wisdom in terms too fulsome for the senate's gravity [9], has perished, while the 'Ludus,' in which the same ready pen was describing a perfectly opposite character almost before the ink of the former composition was dry [10], survives, and has influenced all later narratives. It cannot, therefore, be matter of wonder that modern criticism has raised the question whether we have not, in the accounts of this prince, a conflict of satire with sober history [11], and whether the undoubted evidence of painstaking and successful government [12] must not discredit a host of anecdotes of incapacity and folly. Too much may have been made of his grotesque physique and manners, his total want of self-possession, uncontrollable bursts of laughter, tottering gait, trembling head, drivelling lips, and other such abnormities [13], fatal defects from a Greek or Roman standpoint, but not inconsistent with ability and shrewdness [14]. Nor would Tacitus, who has certainly

Claudius, producing such remarks as are noted in 12. 64, 4, seems to date from this time.

[1] 12. 64, 4, foll. That Narcissus was straining all influence against Agrippina is shown from 12. 65, 2; and Lepida was the grandmother of Britannicus. Agrippina had however also another object in view, to secure her own undivided ascendancy over Nero (12. 64, 6).

[2] On this disputed point, see 12. 69, 5, and note.

[3] See 12. 65, 5.

[4] Claudius was reported to have said ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται, and to be intending to give Britannicus at once the toga virilis, 'ut tandem populus R. verum Caesarem habeat' (Suet. Cl. 44).

[5] 12. 64, 4.

[6] 12. 66, 1.

[7] On the discrepancies of detail in the story of the death of Claudius, see notes on c. 66-67.

[8] 13. 1, 4.

[9] 13. 3, 2. Its tone may have resembled that of the 'Consolatio ad Polybium' (see above, p. 23). The deification which followed seems hardly to have been taken seriously (see note on 13. 2, 6).

[10] It was produced at the Saturnalia, little more than a month afterwards.

[11] See Merivale, Hist. ch. 49, 50.

[12] See above, pp. 24-34.

[13] See Sen. Lud. 5, 2, &c.; Suet. Cl. 30; Juv. 6, 622. That his countenance was handsome when in repose is admitted by Suet. and fully borne out by his extant effigies.

[14] The parallel which has been drawn between Claudius and James I of England (Macaulay, Essay on Lord Nugent's memorials of Hampden) is certainly close as regards many of his peculiarities. In the following description: 'his big head, his slobbering tongue, his quilted clothes, his rickety legs, his goggle eyes, stood

done him more than justice as an orator, both by exemplification and estimate[1], have called him imbecile on the strength of such failings as he hardly cares to notice, such as his pedantry and vanity[2], or even the absurd inequality and absence of all dignity and proportion in his edicts and other public utterances[3]. The justification of such a term is rather to be found in his unconsciousness of patent facts going on around him, his apathy, weakness of will and purpose, readiness to be swayed by those who had the last word with him, qualities by no means resting on the sole evidence of satire.

That his nature was to some extent always such, Tacitus undoubtedly, and perhaps erroneously, believed[4]; but on the other hand, much of the contrast between the good and evil reports of him is explained by difference of time, and by circumstances which probably did not escape an acute historian. It is in the outset of his rule that nearly all his wisest acts are reckoned[5], when his own energies were at their best, and when all about him, from senators to freedmen, must have seen that their interest lay in producing a good impression to contrast strongly with the preceding tyranny. It is after six years of wearying routine and unrestrained sensual indulgence that we find him in the premature senility and decay which Tacitus represents, and which he may have traced, as in the case of Tiberius, step by step; leading to a stage in which the speech on the Gallic question is almost a solitary flash o energy, and such senseless extravagances as the preparation of a grea fleet for a sham fight on lake Fucinus are hardly to be distinguished fron the wild excesses of Gaius[6]; while the general state of relaxed tension in which Rome is again brought as near to famine as it had been unde the misgovernment preceding his rule[7], important imperial interests ar allowed to be endangered by a Felix[8] or a Paelignus[9], and wea

out in as grotesque a contrast with all that men recalled of Henry VIII or Elizabeth, as his gabble and rhodomontade, his want of personal dignity, his vulgar buffoonery, his coarseness, his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice' (Green, Short Hist. p. 464), we might almost read Claudius for James, and Augustus or Tiberius for Henry or Elizabeth.

[1] The version of his speech given in 11. 24, must be pronounced, in comparison with the fragments of the actual oration, to be the very reverse of a caricature; and the estimate of his oratory in 13. 3, 6 ('nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres'), is rather above than below his merits.

[2] See above, p. 36.

[3] Here again, such traits as are note in Suet. Cl. 14, 15, 40, etc. find a cour terpart in the publications of James I 'o subjects which ranged from Predestinatio to tobacco' (Green, l. l.); for whic Henri Quatre called him 'the wisest fo in Christendom.'

[4] See the expressions noted abov p. 20.

[5] See above, p. 25, foll.

[6] See 12. 56, 1, foll. We must su pose the whole of this great fleet to ha been either built on the spot and le there afterwards to decay, or conveyed and from the place with enormous labou

[7] 12. 43, 3.

[8] 12. 54, 1, foll.

[9] 12. 49, 1, foll.

governors are not seldom sent even to the most important provinces, as Didius to Britain[1], Quadratus to Syria[2]; and no less his own astonishing ignorance of, or indifference to, the immorality of his wife[3], and the scandalous traffic[4] of which the colossal fortunes amassed by his freedmen was patent evidence, must be held to go far to bear out the charge against him. It is probably also in the later period that the alleged judicial scandals[5], so far as they are well founded, must be placed; and if the account of the trial of Asiaticus is to be believed, any other such cases are probable. The story of his abject prostration during the crisis of Messalina and Silius must have been known to many[6] and cannot well be a fabrication; and the description of his state of mind during the intrigues for his subsequent marriage[7], though resting, no doubt, on private sources only, derives credit from what was plainly matter of public record, his speech to the praetorians emphatically renouncing all idea of matrimony[8], the immediate sequence of a decree to enable him to marry Agrippina[9], and the extraordinary reasons announced by him for his selection[10].

After this marriage, under the influence of a more imperious will, he is still further effaced, and appears to originate nothing. He does his wife's bidding in all that tends to advance herself and her son, and in destroying the last safeguards that surround Britannicus[11]. He moves a law, and expressly assigns the credit of it to Pallas[12]; he proposes a gift of indemnity, expressly as a boon to his physician Xenophon[13]. Otherwise, his chief function is to condemn and punish[14], which appears to have been no uncongenial task to him. For it is his cruelty, far more than any other quality, that has left an indelible stain upon his character[15], and requires as its most lenient explanation the supposition of such callous apathy as is the natural outcome of imbecility. The number of his victims is made to reach a formidable total of all ranks and classes[16]; and we have hideous tales of the levity with which he

[1] 12. 40, 7.

[2] 12. 48, 1, foll.; 54, 6. The boast made at the close of his life, that no foreign disaster had befallen the empire under him (13. 3, 1), is less due to himself or his officers than to such external causes as the weakness of Parthia (11. 8, 2). See above, p. 40.

[3] This must be at least generally true, whatever view is taken (see above, p. 42) of the marriage with Silius.

[4] See above, p. 39.

[5] See above, p. 37. Lollia is expressly said (12. 22, 2) to have been condemned unheard.

[6] The usual train of the emperor must have been present with him: see 11, 31, 1, etc.

[7] 'Ipse huc modo, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentium audierat, promptus' (12. 1, 4).

[8] Suet. Cl. 26.

[9] 12. 1–7; Suet. l. l.

[10] Suet. Cl. 39.

[11] 12. 41, 8.

[12] 12. 53, 2.

[13] 12. 61, 2.

[14] 12. 59, 1, etc.

[15] The whole real force of the 'Ludus' turns on this point: see also Suet. Cl. 34, and the expression 'omnem Claudii saevitiam' in 13. 43, 3.

[16] In Sen. Lud. 14, 1, the text is dis-

ordered executions[1] and forgot that he had ordered them[2], and of his keen delight in witnessing the butchery of the executioner and torturer[3]. Many of these traits of utter insensibility must have been shown, not only in the privacy of the palace, but before the eyes of Rome; and if these are not to be set aside as fabrications, we have no reason to doubt the statement, that at the death, however deserved, of one who had been for some ten years his wife he 'showed no sign of hate, joy, resentment, sorrow, nor in short of any human feeling[4],' and that he 'had neither likes nor dislikes, except such as were instilled and dictated[5].'

III. *Nero.*

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

puted, but, as read by Haase, gives 'occisos senatores xxx, equites R. c.c. ceteros ccxxi, ὅσα ψαμαθός τε κόνις τε.' Suet. (Cl. 29), who appears to follow Seneca, gives the number of senators as thirty-five, the knights at more than three hundred, but omits mention of the others. A sufficient number of names of senators put to death, forced to suicide, or otherwise made away with, can be made out from various sources (see above, pp. 11–14, etc.), to render it probable that, if we had the complete record of Tacitus before us, such a number as that given by Seneca or Suet. could be made up: we have small means of identifying the knights (see 11. 4, 1; 35, 6; 36, 4, and above l. l.); but Tacitus speaks (13. 43, 3) of 'equitum Romanorum agmina damnata': as to the third item, we are altogether in the dark, unless the stories alluded to in Suet. 34 and the vast number of 'sontes' in 12. 56, 5 may illustrate it. It should also be observed that in such a list, just and unjust condemnations are massed together.

[1] Seneca speaks (Lud. 6, 2) of a familiar wave of his hand by which he gave the sign for executions.

[2] Suet. Cl. 39; Dio, 60. 14, 2. The 'multi' of Suet. is probably one of his usual exaggerations, perhaps taken from Seneca, who (Lud. 14, 5) makes Claudius meet his victims in the lower world, and ask 'quo modo huc venistis?'

[3] Suet. Cl. 34. If there is any truth in the statement of Seneca (de Clem. 1. 23, 1), that more parricides were condemned under him in five years than in all the generations before, we should suspect that some at least were condemned unjustly to give him opportunities of witnessing the punishment.

[4] 11. 38, 3.

[5] 12. 3, 3.

NOTE.—Throughout this section, especial and constant obligations must be acknowledged to H. Schiller's 'Geschichte des Römischen Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung des Nero'; Berlin, 1872.

Our history of this prince in Tacitus is on the whole as complete as that of Tiberius: in both some notice is given of the previous life, and a full history is preserved of the greater part of the rule; in both an important portion is lost to us which is ill made up by what can be gleaned from other sources. In the case of Nero, the fact that the lost portion includes the end involves also the loss of any general judgment which the historian may have thought fit to give by way of summary.

We have the notice of his mother's marriage to Gnaeus Domitius, who united a descent on his mother's side from Octavia to the high lineage of his paternal family[1], and who afterwards narrowly escaped peril of his life by the opportune death of Tiberius[2]. His son, originally named Lucius Domitius, was born at Antium on Dec. 15, 790, A.D. 37[3], and he himself died of a dropsy at Pyrgi about two years later[4]. His death was almost immediately followed, or perhaps preceded, by the exile of Agrippina[5]; and the child, thus left practically an orphan, fell under the charge of his aunt Domitia Lepida, but returned after little more than a year to that of his mother on her restoration by Claudius[6]. It is idle to speculate on the supposed effects of his aunt's neglect or indulgence at this early age[7]; but his subsequent intimacy with her, kept up till she fell a victim to the jealousy of Agrippina thirteen years later[8], may not have been without a share in determining his propensities. Besides receiving back from Claudius his paternal inheritance, which Gaius had seized[9], the boy was further enriched by that of his step-

[1] 4. 75.

[2] 6. 47, 2; 48, 1.

[3] Suet. Ner. 6.

[4] Suet. Ner. 5. On his character, see above, p. 43, note. Suet. makes him remark cynically at the birth of his son, 'nihil ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse.'

[5] The date of this event is fixed by that of the detection of the conspiracy of Gaetulicus (see above, p. 18), and must have been about the end of 792, A.D. 39; so that, if Suet. (Ner. 6) is right in making the death of Domitius precede it, the words 'trimulus patrem amisit' can only at the utmost mean that the child had then completed his second year.

[6] Suet. l. l.

[7] Suet. gravely states that she placed him 'sub duobus paedagogis, saltatore atque tonsore.' It is possible that her indulgence in after life (12. 64, 6) may have partly consisted in bringing him into intimacy with such persons.

[8] See above, p. 45.

[9] Suet. l. l.

father Crispus Passienus[1], and would seem to have been under the 'tutela' of Asconius Labeo[2], and to have at this time received instruction from two persons, one of whom, named Burrus, must have known Greek[3], while the other was the ingenious but utterly profligate and unscrupulous Anicetus[4]. The perils to which his own exalted rank, no less than his instrumentality, however passive, in his mother's schemes, exposed him, were skilfully turned to account by surrounding his boyhood with a halo of legend, and describing the assassins sent by Messalina as scared away by tutelary serpents[5]. The sympathy enlisted by this and other such devices, manifesting itself in an unmistakeable preponderance of applause in favour of the grandson of Germanicus on his first public appearance with his younger rival Britannicus in the 'ludus Trojae' at the secular games[6], would naturally have increased his danger, had not Messalina been turned from her schemes of vengeance by the keener passion[7] which in the next year impelled her to her death.

A new chapter in the youth's life opens in 802, A.D. 49, with the exaltation of his mother; who, though all her schemes centred in his advancement, disciplined him with the full force of her imperious nature[8], and, seeing that at this stage of his life the prestige of an education which none could hope to rival would be above all things helpful to him, lost no time in placing him under the instruction of the greatest literary genius of the age[9]; who, being besides indebted

[1] This was perhaps as early as 797, A.D. 44 (see above, page 43, note).

[2] 13. 10, 1.

[3] This Burrus is mentioned in Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 9, as *παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ Νέρωνος, τάξιν τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος* ('ab epistulis Graecis'); which latter office we should suppose him from the words to have been still holding at the time spoken of (A.D. 60 or 61). It seems better, with Friedländer (i. 162) and others, to distinguish him from Afranius Burrus, than, with Mommsen (Hist. v. 529, 1; E. T. ii. 206, 1), to identify them. Josephus had already in the same chapter (20. 8, 1) mentioned the latter, and had correctly designated him, and would hardly, in mentioning the same person so shortly afterwards, have given a wholly different description of him without any apparent reason. Also the offices held by this person are those usually held by freedmen, whereas Afranius Burrus must have been a Roman knight, and is stated to have had a distinguished military career (12. 42, 2): nor is the venality and corruption imputed by Josephus to the person here mentioned i[n] accordance with the character generall[y] attributed to the praefect.

[4] See 14. 3, 5, and note.

[5] See 11. 11, 6, and note.

[6] 11. 11, 5; 12, 1. The two boy[s] were then nine and six years old.

[7] 11. 12, 2.

[8] See the contrast drawn in 12. 64, [.] between her treatment of him and tha[t] of his aunt.

[9] The antecedents of Seneca can he[re] be only briefly noted. Born at Cordu[ba] probably three or four years before th[e] Christian era, he had been brought [in] childhood to Rome, where his father th[e] rhetorician had reached equestrian ran[k]. The son had attained the quaestorsh[ip] (ad Helv. 19. 2), and was a leading sen[a]torial pleader by the time of Gai[us], who had marked him for death in a fit [of] jealousy, but hearing that he was like[ly] soon to die naturally, dismissed him fro[m] consideration (Dio, 59. 19, 7) with so[me] contemptuous remarks on his compo[sitions]

to her for his restoration from an eight years' banishment, and for his advancement to the praetorship[1], might be relied upon to understand that he was summoned for a double purpose, and was also to lend all the resources of his versatile intellect to the furtherance of her schemes[2].

As to the actual course of instruction, we are told[3] that the boy touched all subjects desultorily, that his mother dissuaded him from philosophy as unsuitable to his position[4], that his teacher, seeking to enlist his admiration for his own style, discouraged the study of the great orators of antiquity[5], that not only during the most youthful period of his rule, but for some years afterwards, his more formal utterances were all composed for him[6]; and the pursuits in which his energy found scope[7] were assuredly not inspired by Seneca, who may probably have understood that the ulterior purposes indicated above were the most real end to be served by his presence.

It remains only to note the stages of his advancement. Those who had overthrown Messalina thought it their interest to supplant Britannicus[8]; and anything could be got out of Claudius in his present mood[9]: so immediately after Agrippina's marriage an address from the senate procures the betrothal of Octavia to the stepson[10]; a tale magnified by Vitellius having previously sufficed to set aside the already affianced

;ions and style (see above, p. 17, 5). In he first year of Claudius, Messalina procured his relegation to Corsica, on a charge of adultery with Julia, daughter of Germanicus (Dio, 60. 8, 4), which, as coming from such a source, is generally lisbelieved. The only assumption of his guilt in Tacitus is placed in the mouth of his enemy and accuser Suillius (13. 42, 3), and his banishment is alluded to as iniuria' (12. 8, 3); but Dio, who is peristently hostile to him elsewhere, not nly (61. 10, 1) takes this charge as proved, but also accuses him of similar nisconduct with Agrippina; any intinacy with whom was probably supposed y Roman scandal to take this form. Of is extant writings, the 'Consolatio ad Marciam' has been thought to date beore his exile; the 'Consolationes' 'ad Helviam' and 'ad Polybium,' which besides some epigrams) were certainly written during it, show how readily he ould adapt himself to the mood of toicism or flattery. If Dio (l. l.) is to e believed, he even wrote at this time a anegyric on Messalina and the freedmen, which he afterwards suppressed.

[1] 12. 8, 3.

[2] 'Ut Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret, et consiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur' (12. 8, 3).

[3] Suet. Ner. 52.

[4] That this study, beyond a certain point, was not thought desirable for Romans of rank, is to be gathered from Agr. 4, 4.

[5] Suet. l. l.

[6] The censure 'primum ex iis, qui rerum potiti essent, Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse' (13. 3, 3), is palliated by his youth; but the same was still the case five years afterwards (14. 11, 4), and perhaps still later. On the other hand, Nero is made to speak of himself as owing to his teacher the acquisition of a power of impromptu reply (14. 55, 1).

[7] See 13. 3, 7. An exception may seem due in respect of his turn for versifying; but Seneca was believed to have followed rather than guided his bent in this direction (14. 52, 3).

[8] 'Arte eorum quis ob accusatum Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur' (12. 9, 2).

[9] 'Nihil arduum videbatur in animo principis,' &c. (12. 3, 3).

[10] 12. 9, 1.

L. Silanus[1]: a year later (803, A.D. 50), Pallas persuades his patron with equal facility that the adoption of the already designated son-in-law is recommended by precedent and policy[2]; and L. Domitius at twelve years old passes over the head of Britannicus as Nero Claudius Caesar. In the following year[3] he is pushed on before the usual time to assume the toga virilis, and steps at once into the position of a recognised successor as 'princeps iuventutis,' is designated to receive the consulship in his twentieth year, and at once to hold 'proconsulare imperium' everywhere except within the walls of Rome, and to become member of all the great priestly colleges[4]. The auspicious event is commemorated by largess to soldiers and people, and the heir is paraded at the votive games in the state dress of a magistrate. Two years later (806, A.D. 53) the betrothal of four years' standing is crowned by marriage; and the prestige of his culture is sustained by a series of orations, composed no doubt by the instructor, but gracefully delivered by the pupil, in a vein of popular generosity, to obtain privileges or subventions for various communities[5]. We may suppose also that during this period, it was not forgotten in his interest, that he had independent claims, irrespective of his adoption by Claudius, to be treated as the direct and true representative of the Julian Caesars[6].

The succession could hardly seem to be in doubt[7]; and the position of Nero had to all appearance more to gain than to lose by time; but Britannicus, however studiously effaced, paraded in a childish 'praetexta' to point the contrast to his rival's robe[8], and given in charge, on the pretext of a rash jest, to guardians chosen by his stepmother[9] and altogether faithless[10], had yet his partisans; and the threatened counter-plot of Narcissus[11], in an indirect issue of which the trial of Domitia Lepida, Nero gave the first proof of his callou

[1] 12. 4, 1.

[2] 12. 25, 1.

[3] 12. 41, 1, and notes. The two honours first mentioned had been granted by Augustus to his adopted sons at almost as early an age (see 1. 3, 2, and note); but to give any kind of 'proconsulare imperium' (on which see Introd. i. vi. pp. 69, 82) to one so young was altogether unprecedented. Agrippina, in claiming to have procured these decrees, specifies them among 'cetera apiscendo imperio' (13. 21. 6).

[4] See note on 12. 41, 2. Suet. also notes (Ner. 7) that he filled the office of 'praef. urb. ob ferias Latinas,' and that important cases, contrary to rule (see 4. 36, 1, and note), and to the command of Claudius, were brought before him.

[5] 12. 58.

[6] That he afterwards rested his title o[n] this descent, would appear from many in[-]scriptions (see Or. 728, 732, 3311) i[n] which he is styled 'Divi Claudi filius Germanici Caesaris nepos, Tiberi Caesari[s] Aug. pronepos, Divi Aug. abnepos.' That much was then thought of that de[-]scent, is noted by Schiller (77, 3) fro[m] 12. 2, 3; 13. 1, 2.

[7] The statement that he was formall[y] proclaimed successor rests only on Zo[n.] 11. 11. That he was probably desig[-]nated as heir by the will of Claudius [is] shown on 12. 69, 5.

[8] 12. 41, 4.

[9] 12. 41, 5–8.

[10] 13. 15, 5.

[11] See above, p. 44.

heartlessness by appearing as a witness to compass the death of one who had loaded his life with indulgences[1], brought about the catastrophe of Oct. 12, 807, A.D. 54. The praetorians, schooled for more than three years by their praefect[2], and already tampered with[3], were not slow to earn their donative[4]; the legions had been probably secured by similar means[5]; and before the same day closed, a single sitting of the senate had confirmed the youth, who still wanted two months of completing his seventeenth year, in all the imperial powers and privileges[6].

In his sketch of the rule of Nero, Tacitus has plainly intended each Book to constitute a period; and of these, that included in the Thirteenth Book, comprising the fragment of 807, A.D. 54, and the four complete years following it, has won celebrity as the 'quinquennium Neronis'[7]. At its outset, the central figure is that of the empress mother, who had seemed to have gained the aim of all her crimes, and to have only to step into the position won and take up the reins of power. With even a small share of the tact and skill with which Livia had adapted herself 'to the finesse of her husband and pretences of her son'[8], and had enjoyed a lifetime of no less substantial than informal power[9], she might have succeeded in the comparatively easy task of moulding her young son to her will; and to any less imperious nature, the outward show of dignity granted her would have been ample. 'The best of mothers'[10] was the first watchword given by Nero to the praetorians; the honours awarded to Livia at the death of Augustus were again repeated[11], and additions made to them. Her image appears on the coinage of her son[12], as before on that of her husband[13]; the Arval Brothers are permitted to use words implying her virtual association in government[14]; even some exercise of imperial functions which she chose to usurp were acquiesced in[15]; she had secured in the subservience

[1] 12. 64, 6; Suet. Ner. 7.

[2] 12. 42, 2.

[3] Cp. 'cohortes in urbe tentatas' (13. 1, 7).

[4] 12. 69, 3.

[5] See 13. 21, 7, and note.

[6] According to Suet. (Ner. 8), he declined only (on account of his youth) the title 'pater patriae.'

[7] See below, p. 59, 5.

[8] 'Cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene composita' (5. 1, 5).

[9] She is called 'dominationis socia' in 1. 57, 4; but her 'inpotentia' mentioned here and in Dio, 57, 12, can enter into no comparison with that of Agrippina.

[10] 13. 2, 5.

[11] l. l., and note.

[12] See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 830, foll., and several specimens in Cohen, i. p. 275.

[13] See above, p. 44.

[14] 'Concordia honoris Agrippinae Augustae': see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1168, 1.

[15] The statement in Suet. Ner. 9 ('matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit') is no doubt exaggerated. Tacitus does not help us to test the statements in Dio, 61. 3, 2, that she gave audience to embassies and wrote letters to foreign states and princes, except so far as the first part of the statement seems an exaggeration of the scene described in 13. 5, 3.

of Pallas[1] the instrumentality of enormous wealth, and of such knowledge of the secrets of government as none else possessed; while her son's advisers owed all to her and might well be expected to be her creatures.

Her first use of power was to strike down Narcissus, her persistent enemy[2], and M. Silanus, whose family, if not his personal qualities, seemed to make him formidable[3]. But this early display of the spirit in which she meant to rule was her first fatal blunder, and showed Burrus and Seneca that their foremost object must be to destroy her influence[4]. They could already work on the young prince's dissatisfaction[5] and make him assert himself; her attempt to share his seat of state at the reception of an embassy is skilfully parried[6]; her bold hope (if such she had) to receive a coordinate 'sacramentum' of the army and empire, and have her 'consortium imperii' formally ratified, is frustrated[7]; the senate is given to understand that, even when it met under the shadow of her unseen presence, it might vote against her wishes[8]; the popular measures of donative and congiarium are carried out in defiance of her earnest protest[9]; and within the palace itself, by the adroit intrigue of Seneca and his friends, her ascendancy is undermined through the counter-influence of Acte[10].

In this crisis again her want of tact was fatal to her: at first exciting her son's new passion by furious opposition, at another stooping to offer herself as its intermediary and confidant[11]; at one time offering him all her wealth[12], at another disdaining his most costly presents as a mere pittance out of the all that was of right her own[13], she overacted both parts and deceived no one, and the breach grew daily wider. A single stroke deprived her of the mainstay of her political position by the removal of Pallas[14], and her answer was a declaration of war. She

[1] 13. 2, 3.

[2] 13. 1, 4.

[3] 13. 1, 1.

[4] 'Certamen utrique unum erat contra ferociam Agrippinae' (13. 2, 3).

[5] Nero strongly disapproved of the murder of Narcissus (13. 1, 4), and disliked the arrogance of Pallas (13. 2, 4). Suetonius gives a story (Ner. 34) that at this period he so chafed under the dictation of his mother as to threaten to abdicate and retire to Rhodes.

[6] 13. 5, 3. She had been accustomed to a nearly similar position as the wife of Claudius (see above, p. 44).

[7] This hope is only known to us as laid to her charge after her death (14. 11, 1), and as rendered more probable by her name having been included, with those of her sisters, in the oath to Gaius (Suet. Cal. 15).

[8] 13. 5, 2.

[9] See below, p. 63, and 14. 11, 1, where her opposition is represented as resting on private pique only. The donative can hardly have been promised (12. 69, 3) without her sanction. The assertion that her haughtiness and avarice excited the indignation of the people rests only on words ascribed to Poppaea (14. 1. 3).

[10] 13. 12, 1.

[11] 13. 13, 1–2.

[12] 13. 13, 3.

[13] 13. 13, 6.

[14] 13. 14, 1.

would undo all that she had done; Britannicus was fit to enter upon manhood, and was the rightful heir; she would stand at his side before the soldiers and brave the upstarts to do their worst[1]. To this defiance the murder of Britannicus was the answer[2], and conveyed a warning that she had to do with a nature as unscrupulous as her own[3]. The weak countermove by which she took the injured wife Octavia under her patronage, and attempted to form a party within the state[4], was met no less decisively. The guard, with whose officers she was tampering[5], was withdrawn from her doors[6]; the decaying nobility, to whom she was paying new court[7], quickly forsook her levees when she was removed to another house from the palace[8]; and the position which she had been so laborious in building was shown to be founded on a sand-heap[9]. Her enemies are now emboldened to strike even at her life, and a charge made up against her by clients of Junia Silana, and supported by the emperor's aunt Domitia[10], is represented as almost scaring Nero already into matricide[11]. But she was still too formidable to be thus brought to bay: Burrus and her accusers are overpowered by her passionate reply; an interview with her son obtains rewards for her friends and punishment for Silana and her tools[12]; her mere words, 'the incautious utterances of affectionate jealousy'[13], are not yet to be weighed against all that she has done and dared for Nero; and with this last successful stroke she is for three years lost sight of, till a new force arises to compass her destruction.

It is of more importance to trace the ideal of government conceived for the young prince by Seneca, and the extent to which it was realised.

After a few graceful sentences on his own position[14], the Augustan programme is once more proclaimed, and the duality of government, which had become more and more a fiction, is ostentatiously paraded[15], with a popular disclaimer, like that of his predecessors[16], of what had made the preceding rule most odious, especially of the passion for

[1] 13. 14, 5.

[2] 13. 15–16.

[3] The murder of Claudius had been her own reply to the similar threat of Narcissus (12. 65, 5).

[4] 13. 18, 3.

[5] l. l.

[6] 13. 18, 4.

[7] 13. 18, 3.

[8] 13. 18, 5.

[9] 13. 19, 1.

[10] 13. 19, 2–4.

[11] 13. 20, 5. The gradual way in which he is afterwards represented as working himself up to this course makes against this statement.

[12] 13. 21, 8.

[13] 13. 21, 8.

[14] 13. 4, 1.

[15] 13. 4, 5.

[16] Thus Gaius had initiated a reaction against the severities of Tiberius (Suet. Cal. 15, 16; Dio, 59. 2), and Claudius had repudiated the extravagances of Gaius (see above, p. 25). Each of these had also restored persons exiled or degraded by his predecessor; but Claudius seems at his death to have left few in that condition (see 13. 11, 2; 32, 1).

personally engrossing all judicial functions[1], and of the rampant venality and rule of freedmen[2].

The senate takes him at his word, and is stimulated during this period into a temporary display of activity, revising recent acts of Claudius[3], showing inclination to increase the patron's power over his freedmen[4], strengthening the master's terrible hold on the fidelity of his slaves[5], circumscribing the limits of magisterial authority[6], and passing various other legislative decrees, some of which survived in the age of the jurists[7].

Also its functions as a court of justice are called prominently into play, not only in flagrant cases of ordinary crime[8], but especially to check the corruption which the spirit of the last rule had made prevalent. Cossutianus Capito and Numitor, 'the pirates of the Cilicians, are struck down by a righteous thunderbolt'[9]; a similar fate overtakes Laenas, the governor of Sardinia[10], and other similar criminals[11]; and the pent-up feeling against the odious accusers who had been tools for the destruction of the victims of Claudius and Messalina finds its outlet in the condemnation of Suillius[12]. Yet, that the course of justice certainly did not err on the side of severity was shown, not only by the mitigation of penalty in the last-named case[13], but also by several acquittals; in some of which the still continuing influence of corruption is clearly indicated[14].

Meanwhile, Seneca surrounds his pupil with the glory of such public virtues as most became his age and rank. A graceful modesty waives

[1] This promise is duly hailed by courtiers as a restoration of the course of law. Seneca says of his pupil (Lud. 4. 1, 24) 'legumque silentia rumpet'; and Calpurnius says 'Iam nec adumbrati faciem mercatus honoris, Nec vacuos tacitus fasces et inane tribunal Accipiet consul, sed legibus omne reductis Ius aderit moremque fori vultumque priorem Reddet, et adflictum melior deus auferet aevum' (Ecl. 1. 69–73). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 106, 1.

[2] 13. 4, 2.

[3] 13. 5, 1.

[4] 13. 26, 1.

[5] 13. 32, 1.

[6] 13. 28, 2–4.

[7] See Merivale, ch. 52. Those noted belong more to the middle of Nero's rule; the 'Senatus consultum Turpilianum' dating from 814, A.D. 61 (see on 14. 41, 3), the 'Trebellianum' (see on 14. 46, 2) and 'Neronianum' from nearly the same time.

[8] As in the case of Octavius Sagitta (13. 44). The charge brought against Pomponia Graecina was remitted to a family tribunal (13. 32, 3).

[9] See 13. 33, 3, and note; Juv. 8, 92.

[10] 13. 30, 1.

[11] 13. 30, 2, &c. Subsequent cases are to be added (14. 18, 1; 28, 3; 46, 1), making a total of some twelve persons tried for 'repetundae' down to 814, A.D. 61, a greater number than we have in any similar period. Another case, that of Saevinus Pomptinius, not mentioned in the Annals, but alluded to in H. 1. 77, 6, may very probably belong to this period. In the extant account of Claudius, only two cases are given (12. 22, 4; 59, 4), in the latter of which the charge is stated to have been false.

[12] 13. 42–43.

[13] 13. 43, 6.

[14] 13. 30, 1; 33, 4; 52, 1–3. It is not clear as to some of these trials, whether they were held before the senate or Caesar (see notes).

for a time the title of 'pater patriae'[1]; 'when I shall have deserved it,' is his answer declining a vote of thanks[2]; other extravagant compliments are refused[3]; nor will he permit his first colleague in the consulship to swear to his 'acta'[4]; the first honours for which he makes request are to the memory of his father, and to the services of his former guardian[5]. His liberality is shown in magnificent gifts to friends[6], in the donative to the soldiers[7], the unusually large congiarium to the people[8], the remission of burdens[9], also in a subvention, perhaps to remedy past maladministration, to the public treasury[10]. Above all, he is to win renown by princely clemency: and speech upon speech are composed for him[11], set to the strain of the writer's famous treatise[12]; while their sincerity is attested by repression of delations[13], by acquittals[14], mitigation or remission of sentences[15]; so that whatever credit was due in this respect to the age of Augustus, or the first period of Tiberius, pales before the glory of a prince[16] who exclaims 'would that I could neither read nor write,' when a death-warrant lies before him for signature[17].

The duty devolving on his advisers of framing a public policy, which should favourably impress the Roman world, was at the very outset called into action by the turn of affairs in the East, as elsewhere described[18]. It is sufficient here to note that both in vigour of action and definiteness of purpose, an emphatic contrast was shown to the weakness and corruption of the previous period; and that the whispered misgivings of adverse critics[19] were not only silenced by the appointment of Corbulo, but swept away in a torrent of extravagant compliments awarded by the senate before a blow was struck[20].

[1] See above, p. 53, 6.
[2] Suet. Ner. 10.
[3] 13. 10, 1–2; note on c. 41, 5.
[4] 13. 11, 1.
[5] 13. 10, 1.
[6] 13. 34, 2, 3. This is noted as a general characteristic in Suet. Ner. 10; but the other chief special occasion mentioned in this period by Tacitus (13. 18, 1) had a sinister aspect as connected with the death of Britannicus.
[7] In this he only followed the example of Claudius (12. 69, 3).
[8] 13. 31, 2, and note.
[9] A fictitious remission is mentioned in 13. 31, 3, and some really valuable measures tending in that direction in c. 51. The latter are certainly made to be his personal act.
[10] 13. 31, 2, and note.
[11] 13. 11, 2.
[12] The 'de Clementia' of Seneca was composed about this time.
[13] 13. 10, 3; 43, 7.
[14] The charge against Pallas and Burrus (13. 23), probably also that against Celer (13. 33, 1), were tried before him. See also 13. 52, 1, and note.
[15] 13. 11, 2; 32, 2.
[16] 'Nemo iam divum Augustum nec Tiberii Caesaris prima tempora loquitur' (Sen. de Cl. 1. 1, 6).
[17] 'Vellem nescirem literas' (de Cl. 2. 1, 2; Suet. Ner. 10).
[18] See below, ch. iv.
[19] See the summary of public opinion in 13. 6, 2–6. Some are even made to imagine Nero as showing the youthful military genius of Pompeius or Octavianus.
[20] 13. 8, 1.

Elsewhere, our only record of foreign or provincial affairs is that better appointments seem to be made, and imperial interests seem more cared for than under the later Claudian rule. Veranius, from whom much was expected, succeeds Didius in Britain, and on his speedy death is succeeded at the close of this period by Suetonius Paulinus[1]; a new legatus of Lower Germany takes prompt action against occupations of territory previously overlooked[2]; a corrupt practice by which provincial governors managed to win condonation for their iniquities by indulging their people with gladiatorial shows, is forbidden[3].

As regards the home government, while the senate is encouraged to the discharge of the duties left to it[4], the supersession of so many of its functions and those of its magistrates, by procurators and other imperial officers, continues as under the Claudian system[5]; and an important further step is taken towards withdrawing the public treasury from senatorial control by placing it under praefecti, who, though senators of high rank, were the emperor's officers[6]. But the general reaction against Claudian venality and corruption is emphasized by the dismissal of Pallas[7], and appointment of a successor whose qualities made him long acceptable[8]. The same spirit is manifested in the onslaught on the extortions of the 'publicani,' an occasion memorable for the impulsive proposal recorded as directly originated by Nero, to abolish 'vectigalia' generally[9]. If we are to suppose the measure contemplated to have been really as sweeping as Tacitus has conceived it to be[10], and that the young emperor had any real comprehension of its scope[11], and any deliberate idea of establishing universal free trade throughout the empire, and leaving its whole income to be levied by direct tribute on the provincial subjects, we must see in it the first and most striking assertion of a purpose, more or less present in all his extravagances, of ruling by popular support; the goodwill aimed at in this case being that of Roman citizens everywhere, who paid no tribute, though contributing with all others to the 'vectigalia.' His

[1] See below, ch. v.

[2] 13. 54, 3, foll. On the general spirit shown in those quarters see c. 53, 1; 54, 1.

[3] 13. 31, 4, 5.

[4] A praetorian cohort is placed at the disposal of those appointed to check riot at Puteoli (15. 48, 3).

[5] See above, p. 35.

[6] 13. 28, 5.

[7] 13. 14, 1. The act would be so interpreted, though other reasons are given as prompting it.

[8] Claudius Etruscus (see note l. l.).

[9] 13. 50, 1, foll.

[10] It has been suggested (see note on 13. 50, 1), that the abolition was only intended to apply to Italy and the colonies of Roman citizens; but there is no evidence of such limitation. Schiller (p. 347, foll.) credits Nero with a wise and farseeing statesmanship in the matter.

[11] He is only represented as suggesting it to cut short the difficulty of controlling the publicani.

advisers, while prudently dissuading him from this headlong impulse, encouraged no doubt, and probably prompted, his bids for popularity in other directions, such as the largesses already mentioned [1], the assignment of public land to veterans to recruit the decaying population of Italian towns [2], the confidence shown in the populace by the withdrawal of the guard from the theatre [3], the erection of a new amphitheatre for the favourite amusement of the city [4].

Sustained by such measures, and by the renown and victories of Corbulo, the new government was no doubt winning golden opinions on every side; and it is probably to this combination of an energetic and successful foreign policy with an outwardly upright and popular home government, that these years of Nero owe the emphatic encomium given them by his great successor Trajan, as a period with which no other since the foundation of the principate could stand comparison [5]. To those who study the history as we have it, such high praise is hard to justify; nor would it seem as if Tacitus meant us to regard it as more than a period in which evil tendencies were kept somewhat in check, or skilfully concealed [6].

Such a view becomes eminently true, if we look at the development during this period of Nero's own character; of which even the best side stood in startling contrast to any ideal of a Roman autocrat. Youth might indeed excuse mere frivolity, such as that which made him at once on becoming princeps place himself under the instruction of the great harper of the day [7], fly from the task of composing his own speeches and edicts [8], and spend his time in a round of amateur attempts at engraving, painting, singing, driving, varied at intervals by fits of verse-making [9]. Yet, even this would wear a graver aspect, as men got to know that some of these pursuits had taken such hold on him, that his one ambition, restrained as yet by his mother's influence, was to exhibit his talent in public [10]. Still more ominous was it to hear that the ruler of the Roman world roamed the streets after dark with a band of rioters, wounding and beating quiet people, and turning the night into a scene of pillage [11]; that a young man of

[1] See above, p. 57.
[2] 13. 33, 2.
[3] 13. 24, 1.
[4] 13. 31, 1. The comparative humanity of the first show exhibited in it is worthy of record: Suet. says (Ner. 12), 'neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem.'
[5] According to Aurel. Vict. (Caes. 5, Epit. 5), Trajan was accustomed to say, 'procul differre cunctos principes Neronis quinquennio.'
[6] Thus he speaks of Nero's 'abdita adhuc vitia' (13. 1, 4).
[7] 'Statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnum citharaedum . . . arcessivit, diebusque continuis . . . assidens . . . et ipse meditari . . . coepit' (Suet. Ner. 20).
[8] 13. 3, 4.
[9] 13. 3, 7.
[10] 14. 14, 1.
[11] 13. 25, 1, foll.

rank, who had struck him in these brawls unwittingly, had been compelled to suicide[1]; that the riots of the theatre, always dangerous[2], and now all the more so from the withdrawal of the guard[3], were actually stimulated by his secret encouragement, and still oftener by even his open participation[4]; that the great families had already their foretaste of impending danger in the banishment of Cornelius Sulla[5]; that it was not the worst but the best side of his mother's character, her truer conception of princely dignity[6], her support of his noble and virtuous wife Octavia[7], that most estranged her from him. Above all, the murder of Britannicus, laid to his charge in the very first year of his rule, however condoned by men of lax morality[8], was the first step leading to the revolt of better minds from him. Without attaching too much credit to the alleged details of the deed and the horrors surrounding it, in which his already consummate wickedness is set forth to us[9], without even dismissing the supposition of a natural death as altogether impossible[10], we nevertheless find the universal belief of antiquity[11] too well supported by the obvious motive for such a crime[12], and too fully in accordance with the character and subsequent atrocities of Nero, not to deserve the general credence which historians still award to it.

[1] 13. 25, 2.

[2] See 1. 54, 3; 77, 1.

[3] See above, p. 59.

[4] 13. 25, 4. The evil became so grave that the guard had to be brought back, and the pantomimists expelled again (cp. 4. 14, 4) from Italy. The description in Suet. (see notes) goes even beyond that of Tacitus.

[5] 13. 47, 4. For the grounds which would make him seem formidable to Nero, see below, p. 70.

[6] See 14. 13, 3.

[7] See 14. 1, 1.

[8] 13. 17, 2.

[9] 13. 15, 4–17, 3.

[10] The question may reasonably be raised, why so comparatively public an occasion was chosen to perpetrate a crime which had been already attempted and could have been easily carried out under circumstances of privacy (c. 15, 6): again, whether we can suppose people to have been then able, by whatever decoction or concentration (see Suet.), to produce a poison so deadly as to take instantaneous effect, notwithstanding its dilution first in water, afterwards in the drink with which the water was mixed (c. 16. 3): also whether the sudden collapse of speech and breath described (l. l.) can be explained by the action of any then known poison as well as by epilepsy (c. 16, 5). If however we are to trust the statement (c. 17, 1), that his funeral had been arranged before the feast, these doubts become indeed weak by comparison.

[11] Tacitus alone gives the details of the actual administration, and the behaviour of the guests. Suetonius (Ner. 33) is mor brief on these points, but professes t know more about the preparation behin the scenes. The only detail in Dio that respecting the appearance of the bod at burial (see note on c. 17, 1). Ou earliest informant, Josephus, states in An 20. 8, 2, that Nero 'got Britannicus to b so poisoned that the public should n perceive it.' In his earlier work (B. I. 13, 1), he merely mentions it with th other similar crimes of Nero as fac already fully known to his reader Seneca, whose words we doubtless read the edict wherein Nero deplores his lo and throws himself for consolation public sympathy (c. 17, 5), is made in h last moments to speak of the murder an undoubted fact (15. 62, 3).

[12] See above, p. 55.

It was again within this period, in the fourth year of his rule[1], that a new and overpowering influence took hold of him, that of the beautiful and abandoned woman who, adding judicious coyness[2] to consummate profligacy, and combining in herself the characters of the intriguer[3], the wit[4], the devotee[5], and the fatalist[6], was enabled during the seven remaining years of her life to keep a firm hold on his affections[7], and to lead him on from crime to crime.

The remainder of this sketch will deal rather with distinct subjects than successive periods, and show the way in which various parts of his character unfolded themselves. One such subject is almost completed in the Fourteenth Book, which begins with one and ends with another of the two great atrocities of his domestic life.

With regard to the first of these, the graphic narrative of Tacitus is confirmed in its main points by other writers, though for much of the detail and nearly all the antecedent circumstances he is our sole authority.

It would be an error to suppose that when the struggle for political ascendancy had been decided against her, and the show no less than the substance of regency had vanished[8], Agrippina was no longer a force to be reckoned with. At what seemed then the crisis of her fate, a single interview with her son had so worked upon him as to change the whole face of the situation[9]; and even as the breach went on widening, the habit of submission to that terrible will had become such second nature, that Nero never dared to indulge his longing to exhibit himself on the stage[10]. Poppaea again could feel that never, while Agrippina lived, could she hope to become Nero's wife[11], and that he could easier be led to compass her death than to defy her openly. So she plies him with all the weapons of sarcasm, reproach, lamentation, tenderness[12], herself well

[1] See 13. 45, 1.

[2] 13. 45, 2; 46, 3, &c.

[3] Her skill in working upon Nero is shown repeatedly. See 13. 46, 4; 14. 1, 1; 61, 3, &c.

[4] The expression 'sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium' seems intended to be stronger than the strict sense of the words would show.

[5] She was strongly inclined, if not actually a proselyte (see Appendix on 15. 44), to Judaism, the most spiritual religion then generally known. See note on her burial (16. 6, 2).

[6] The number of astrologers admitted to her privacy is noted in H. 1. 22, 2.

[7] His affection for her throughout is noticed in 16. 6, 1. She on the other hand is described (13. 45, 3) as wholly without feeling ('neque adfectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostenderetur illuc libidinem transferebat').

[8] See above, p. 55.

[9] See above, l. l.

[10] The influence of Agrippina, shown by the immediate outbreak of Nero in this direction after her murder (14. 13, 3), may be compared with that of Livia Augusta. Though Tiberius was a strong ruler and had nearly reached his seventieth year, her hold on him, though rarely outwardly noticed, was such that her death was a breaking loose from restraint (5. 3, 1) and a new departure in his life (6. 51, 5).

[11] 14. 1, 1.

[12] 14. 1, 2–4.

aware of the end to which she was leading him, and supported by the connivance of those advisers who found it convenient to promote the estrangement of mother and son and to shut their eyes to its consequences [1].

It is characteristic that Agrippina should be represented as attempting the most revolting means to win back her son [2], and when this failed, purposing, as though her last stroke was spent, to retire to some secluded spot [3]. Whether it be true or not, that her vile scheme was turned skilfully to account to make him avoid her society [4]; certain it is that aversion had soon turned to deadly hate, that some time before the end of his so-called 'quinquennium [5]' the project of cold and deliberate matricide was shaping itself in his mind [6], and that soon the only question was that of the means [7].

The description of the last scene has few rivals in historical narrative [8]. We have the show of reconciliation and of ardent renewal of affection, lulling to rest the suspicions which previous experience of attempts against her, and positive hints of that now contemplated [9] had caused her to entertain, the last banquet, the passionate farewell, in which hypocrisy seemed not to be unmixed with some lingering love, the calm night, as if divinely sent to make the crime indisputable [10], the bungling attempts to carry out the plot, her presence of mind, preservation, and bold effort to make show of treating the whole as accident, the panic of Nero, his hasty consultation with Burrus and Seneca, the desperate attempt to make out an assassin in her messenger [11], the despatch of Anicetus to 'make good his undertaking,' the scene at the villa, the tragic command 'ventrem feri,' her death under a multitude of wounds [12], her hasty burial [13]. Superstition adds its touch in the story of a wailing voice or a trumpet call heard near the tomb [14], besides the other apparatus of the tragic drama [15], and recorded prodigies at Rome [16]. Nero, realising the vastness of his crime only on its completion [17], is hardly reassured by the congratulations on the spot [18], or by the effusive acceptance of the lying missive from the pen of

[1] They are represented as unable to believe matricide possible (14. 1, 5).

[2] Tacitus himself seems chiefly to accept the story from its suitability to her character (14. 2, 4).

[3] 14. 3, 1.

[4] Seneca is made to employ at this crisis the agency of Acte (14. 2, 2).

[5] The whole scheme was matured and executed by the March of the following year. See on 14. 4, 1.

[6] Besides the influence of Poppaea, the sense that he had now a firmer hold of power is represented as ripening his plan (14. 1, 1).

[7] 14. 3, 2.

[8] 14. 4–8.

[9] 14. 4, 6.

[10] 14. 5, 1.

[11] 14. 7, 7.

[12] 14. 8, 6.

[13] 14. 9, 2.

[14] 14. 10, 5.

[15] Suet. Ner. 34.

[16] 14. 12, 3.

[17] 14. 10, 1.

[18] 14. 10, 2–4.

Seneca[1] by senate[2], people[3] and provinces[4]; till at last after lingering months in Campania[5], reassured by the encouragement of the crew of villains who are already represented as surrounding him[6], and heralding his return by the ostentatious pardon of some of his mother's victims[7], he comes back in a kind of royal progress[8], celebrating in the Capitol what is described as his triumph over the enslaved conscience of Rome[9], and relieving his mind by plunging into dissipation.

The facts of the story, with the exception of some details[10], are not questioned. It is more to the purpose to ask whether any ground of imperious state necessity, any genuine belief that 'either she or Nero had to perish[11],' can be alleged to palliate the deed. Lawless and daring as she was, possessed of unbounded wealth[12], with the praetorians at least so far for her as not to be counted on to act against her[13]; it might seem that the keys of a revolution lay within her grasp. On the other hand, she knew that by success she would only enter on a new phase of danger, and that whoever she had set in Nero's place would be first to regard her as too formidable to live[14]. Her best defence is found in the indictment laid before the senate[15], in which we may be sure that the ingenuity of Seneca had raked together all that rested on a tittle of fact or could anyhow be made to seem credible. We are referred back to her attempts to assume a regency, to her vindictive endeavours to retaliate on the nobles, soldiers, and people who had refused to swear allegiance to her[16]; her misdeeds as wife of Claudius are thrown into the scale[17]; but as against her son, beyond the silly tale of Agerinus and his dagger[18], not a word is laid to her charge. As a set off to the infamy which Seneca has to bear for composing this document, we may well acquit

[1] On this official defence see below. It had the effrontery to speak of the shipwreck as accidental, and to offer for acceptance the story of Agerinus and his dagger (14. 11, 3), and made Nero speak of himself as unable to realise his preservation or to rejoice at it (see note on c. 11, 4).

[2] 14. 12, 1. Thrasea alone is recorded as protesting by leaving the senate house.

[3] 14. 13, 1.

[4] The loyal address from Gaul begged him by the mouth of Julius Africanus 'ut felicitatem tuam fortiter feras' (Quint. 8. 5, 16).

[5] 14. 13, 1, and note.

[6] 'Deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia regia fecundior extitit' (14. 13, 1). Cp. 'histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio' (H. 2. 71, 1).

[7] 14. 12, 5.

[8] 14. 13, 2.

[9] 'Publici servitii victor' (14. 13, 3).

[10] The story that Nero gazed on his mother's corpse, given as doubtful by Tacitus, seems refuted by other facts stated (see note on 14. 9, 1).

[11] This is suggested as the thought of Seneca and Burrus at the last crisis (14. 7, 3).

[12] 12. 7, 7; 13. 13, 3, &c.

[13] Burrus states that they would not lift a hand against a daughter of Germanicus (14. 7, 5).

[14] The words in 13. 21, 8, whether really spoken by her or not, well express her position.

[15] 14. 10, 5.

[16] 14. 11, 1.

[17] 14. 11, 2.

[18] 14. 10, 5; 11, 3.

him and Burrus of being cognisant of the plot beforehand, a charge doubtfully made [1], unsupported by evidence, and in itself improbable. Men of that age and experience would hardly have caught at the suggestion of the freedman, to get up a sham shipwreck on a calm night in the bay of Baiae.

Thus died Agrippina, at the early age of forty-three [2], at the bidding of the son for whom her greatest crimes were perpetrated, after having been for ten years the most prominent woman up to that date in all Roman history. It may seem a fitting retribution that one who had so blackened other reputations by her memoirs [3] should have the load of her own sins aggravated by falsehood, and that the greatest known intriguer should have been the victim of counter-intrigue; nor has anything but the atrocity of her murder won sympathy for one whose end was otherwise but a fitting climax to her life.

It excites surprise that full three years should have intervened before the murder of Agrippina was followed by the divorce of Octavia and marriage of Poppaea. But few qualities are more remarkable in Nero than his timidity, and the manner in which he felt his way from crime to crime, as if to ascertain gradually how far he could safely venture. In the present case, the realisation of his own chief longing, the public exhibition of his accomplishments, though tentative and gradual, yet in some form began at once; but the elevation of Poppaea from mistress to lawful wife, an object of far more interest to her than tc himself, was so delayed as to make her fear that she had intriguec in vain. It was not till his shy, quasi-private appearance as a charioteer in his gardens [4] had been succeeded by his entry on the stage at the Juvenalia [5], not till the adverse murmurs at the institutior of the Neronia [6] had been somewhat silenced by the experience o it [7], not till the opportune death of Burrus had placed the commanc of the praetorians in safer hands [8], and Seneca had retired witl shattered influence into half privacy [9], not till the dangerous Rubelliu Plautus had followed Sulla into exile [10] and both had after an interval been put to death [11], not till he saw these and all his othe atrocities regarded as matters of public admiration and enthusiasti rejoicing [12], that he had courage to turn over another page in hi domestic history [13].

[1] 14. 7, 2. Seneca's bitter enemy, Dio, feels no such doubt (see note).

[2] For her age see Introd. i. 139, 145.

[3] See Introd. i. p. 11.

[4] 14. 14, 4.

[5] 14. 15, 6.

[6] 14. 20, 2, foll.

[7] 14. 21, 7.

[8] 14. 51, 5.

[9] 14. 56, 6.

[10] 14. 22, 5.

[11] 14. 57–59.

[12] 14. 60, 1.

[13] It might have perhaps been delaye yet longer, but for the fact that Poppae was about to become a mother (14. 61, 5

The divorce and murder of Octavia have been always looked upon as beyond the reach of question or palliation; and such details as are given by other authors agree in the main with Tacitus [1]. We may note how the long hesitation of Nero was warranted by the difficulties which actually took place, by the break down of the first attempt to set up a charge against her through the unflinching loyalty of most of her slaves, and by the reception of the first news of her divorce with such a demonstration of popular feeling as had rarely set itself up against a Caesar [2]. The display of force with which it was met was a sufficient deterrent to prevent a repetition [3]; Anicetus was only too ready to crown one infamy by another [4]; and after the mockery of a domestic trial on the renewed charge of adultery, she was sent to the ill-omened rock of Pandateria, where the end soon followed [5]. The tragedy of her life, more terrible than perhaps any in history or legend, is brought out by the eloquent description of the historian [6]. Some nine years ago she had in mere childhood entered as a bride the house which was to be a living tomb to her; her father's had been followed rapidly by her brother's murder; her husband had treated her from the first with coldness and aversion, regarding her very parentage and the popular sympathy with her as a grievance [7], and had given such affection as was in his nature to give, first to a freedwoman, then to a rival bent on compassing the wife's destruction; even in Agrippina her last protector of some sort was taken from her; her degradation was embittered by the foul outrage of the charge preferred against her; her place of exile called up only the memory of those who before had perished in it; her last piteous appeal was addressed to none but the soldiers who had command to execute her; her lifeless head was brought to be her rival's gazing-stock. When he comes to the decree of thanksgivings and votive offerings, Tacitus can only beg the reader to take for granted what he cannot bring himself to specify [8].

and Nero was no doubt desirous of legitimate offspring. The alleged murder of his aunt Domitia soon after that of Agrippina (Suet. Ner. 34) is not mentioned, and may probably not have been believed, by Tacitus.

[1] The 'Octavia,' if we could be assured that it was the work of Curiatius Maternus, or any writer of the period, would be our oldest authority. But this is very doubtful (see Teuffel, E. T. ii. 285, 7). We may note for what it is worth that the story is told there mainly as in Tacitus; but the agency of Anicetus is omitted, and the exile and death made to be the consequence of the riot. Suet. (Ner. 35) confuses the charge made by Anicetus with the earlier one (c. 60, 2).

[2] The chief demonstration is not represented as directly hostile to Nero personally, but as an outbreak of tumultuous joy at the news that Octavia, who at that stage had been divorced by civil process and sent away to Campania with a gift by way of dowry, had been recalled (14. 61, 1).

[3] 14. 61, 2. [4] 14. 62, 3.

[5] 14. 63, 2. [6] 14. 63, 4.

[7] 'Nomine patris et studiis populi gravem' (14. 59, 4).

[8] 14. 64, 5.

Some three years more[1] sufficed for the career of Poppaea, and to close with it Nero's domestic history. At the birth of her child, she was raised to the rank of Livia and Agrippina by receiving the title of Augusta[2], nor did she during her remaining short time outlive her influence; and Nero, if, as was supposed, he had caused her death by a passionate blow[3], was none the less sincere in deploring it. Men knew well enough that her wantonness had been equalled by her heartless cruelty[4]; yet Thrasea alone ventured to protest by his absence[5] against the extravagance of her funeral honours[6] and the deification tha followed[7]. Her place was soon filled by Statilia Messalina[8], who is not known to have exercised any influence on Nero, and may be dismissed from mention.

Hardly less important than the horrors of his domestic life, in thei effect on Roman sentiment, were the various public displays of hi unbounded vanity. Their repression under his mother's influence ha been already noticed[9]; and even after her death Seneca and Burru were able for a while to modify what they could not hinder. The firs attempt, in 812, A.D. 59, to satisfy one only of his longings, an that by a mere private exhibition in his gardens[10], achieved only nominal success; the limitation to a few favoured spectators soo passing on to the permitted, afterwards to the invited presence of a the many who cared, and the many more who felt compelled to preten to care, to see the charioteering of an emperor[11]. His other leadin taste was in the same year partially gratified by the device of a festiva which, by its exceptional and quasi-family character[12], might seem t excuse not only the licentious revelry of its surroundings[13], but even h own 'début' as a scenic musician, and the strange incongruity of harper appearing on the stage, not only with a 'claqueur' band Roman knights[14] in the audience, but even with his guard of soldiers ar

[1] The death of Octavia took place on June 9, 815, A.D. 62 (see on 14. 64, 2), and that of Poppaea after the games in 818, A.D. 65 (16. 6, 1).

[2] 15. 23, 1.

[3] This is treated as a certainty by all our authorities (see note on 16. 6, 1), but probably rests only on popular rumour; a belief that she was poisoned (which Tacitus rejects) being also current.

[4] 16. 7, 1. She is called (with Tigellinus) 'saevienti principi intimum consiliorum' (15. 61, 4). For the supposition that she may have instigated the persecution of the Christians, see Appendix to Book 15.

[5] 16. 21, 2.

[6] On the peculiarity of her funeral, a its costliness, see 16. 6, 2, 3, and notes.

[7] 16. 21, 2, and note.

[8] See on 15. 68, 5.

[9] See above, p. 61.

[10] 14. 14, 3, foll.

[11] That he appeared afterwards in t Circus Maximus is mentioned by Su (Ner. 22), and, being no more than parallel act to his appearance in t theatre of Pompey, is probably true. showed himself as a charioteer at the m sacre of the Christians (15. 44, 7).

[12] On the Iuvenalia see 14. 15, 1, note.

[13] 14. 15, 3.

[14] 14. 15, 8.

the stern praefect of praetorians making proper show of admiration at his side[1]. For some time this safety-valve sufficed: at the first 'Neronia'[2] he was content to be a spectator, and to receive the uncontested prize of eloquence[3]; in daily life he would affect the reputation of a poet[4], or such ironical show of interest in graver studies as consisted in amusing himself by pitting against each other in discussion the grim-visaged professors of philosophy who were well pleased to be his guests[5]. Five years later[6], when 'so grand a voice'[7] could no longer be so imprisoned, he could still be satisfied with a city nominally Greek, and sang in the public theatre at Naples[8], passing rapidly in the following year, after the suppression of the great conspiracy had emboldened him, to an exhibition at the next 'Neronia' in the great theatre of Pompeius[9], a step followed a year later still by the final climax of his tour of victory through the great historic games of Greece[10].

The description given by Tacitus of Nero's first appearance on the stage of the greatest Roman theatre[11] is in his most graphic manner. We are to see him recite a poem and retire, and then, as if in obedience

[1] 14. 15, 7.

[2] On the institution and character of this festival see 14. 20, 1, foll. and notes.

[3] 14. 21, 8.

[4] 14. 16, 1, foll. It is not quite clear (see note) whether Tacitus means to say that this taste was genuine, or not. He certainly states that the verses which passed as Nero's were really a joint composition.

[5] 14. 16, 3.

[6] In 817, A.D. 64.

[7] 15. 33, 1. Men might at least expect that if an emperor sung on the stage, he should be preeminent; but the 'heavenly voice' for which men wearied the gods with prayers, vows, and sacrifices (see 16. 22, 1), is stated to have been hoarse and feeble and in all respects mediocre (see note on 15. 33, 1).

[8] 15. 33, 2.

[9] 16. 4, 2.

[10] See Appendix to Book 16. We are unfortunately unable in this part of Nero's life to check the high-flown description of Dio (63. 8–17) by the judgment of Tacitus, and have only to make the best of a narrative bearing evident marks of exaggeration. We cannot well doubt that he spent a full year in the country, and managed, by alterations of calendar and custom, not only within that time to compete in all his accomplishments in all the great public games, but also to enter into the local contests of all the cities, so as to collect an incredible number of crowns (given in Dio, 63. 21, 2, as 1808); and that while any remained to be gained, he was deaf to all intimations that his presence was required in Rome (Id. 63. 19, 1; Suet. Ner. 23); also that he stooped to act all kinds of parts (63. 9, 4; 10, 2). On the other hand, the story that he destroyed all the statues of previous victors (Suet. Ner. 24) is inconsistent with the fact that many such were subsequently to be seen; and, while we cannot suppose Nero not to have made use of the tempting opportunities for art pillage then presented to him, such an estimate as that of 500 statues taken from Delphi alone (Paus. 10. 7, 1) is in itself incredible; and such wholesale plunder not easy to reconcile with our record of the vast number of statues still remaining in the cities and temples of Greece in the time of Pausanias himself, or in that of Pliny. Also the statement of his extortions from, and execution of, great numbers of wealthy Greeks (Dio, 63. 11, 1), while probably by no means without foundation, bears strong marks of overstatement, and is supported by no names or details of any kind. On these and other points see Schiller, pp. 246–252.

[11] 16. 4–5.

to the voice of the people, come forward with a show of reluctance, harp in hand, scrupulously observing the minutest rules of professional etiquette, making his obeisance to the demoralised assemblage, and trembling, or affecting to tremble, before his judges[1]. We are shown the contrast of the drilled and disciplined applause, and well-assumed if not genuine enthusiasm of his great clientele, the Roman rabble[2] with the ill-concealed contempt of the municipal, provincial, and other respectable sections of the audience, who had to bear the blows of the soldiers at one moment for slackness, at another for ill-timed clapping. We have the higher classes, not daring to be absent, some crushed to death in the press, some struck down in their seats by diseases arising from exhaustion, with every look of weariness and disgust noted down by spies and sure to be sooner or later resented, and Vespasian scolded by a freedman for nodding in slumber, and brought into such peril as well-nigh to baulk his destiny.

It must be borne in mind that, side by side with the genuine and righteous feeling of disgust at this degradation of imperial majesty repeating on a greater scale and in more manifold forms the extravagances of Gaius[3], was a less creditable current of old Roman prejudice against Greek amusements[4]. This is seen in full strength in the murmurs at the institution of the 'Neronia[5]', where Tacitus freely admits that the force of argument was not wholly on one side[6], and that the gloomy anticipations were not justified by the result[7]. At a time when the old national military exercises, invidiously contrasted with the palaestra[8], must have been growing more and more obsolete, we can see that the best minds should have welcomed, on the score of humanity and refinement, any counterattraction to that of the amphitheatre; but the feeling above noted is certainly a force to be estimated, as also the dismay felt at the rush of the Roman nobility to hire themselves out for the stage, the circus, or the arena. Such precedents as had already existed[9] must have served only to set off a contrast

[1] Tacitus says 'ficto pavore'; but in the state of mind into which Nero had worked himself, such nervousness might well be genuine. How deeply he was imbued with the spirit of a professional musician is shown especially by the unabated fervour of his ruling passion at the supreme crisis of his life (see Suet. 41; Dio, 63. 26, 2, 4), above all by his τὸ τεχνίον ἡμᾶς διαθρέψει when he felt that the empire was lost to him (Id. 27, 2), and the 'qualis artifex pereo' of his last moments (Id. 29, 2; Suet. Ner. 49).

[2] 'Crederes laetari, ac fortasse laetabantur per incuriam publici flagitii.'

[3] See Suet. Cal. 54.

[4] The general passion for Greeks and all belonging to them, which Juvenal satirises (3. 60, foll.), though it neither began nor ended with Nero, must have received its chief impulse under his rule.

[5] 14. 20, 2, foll.

[6] 14. 21, 2, foll.

[7] 14. 21, 7.

[8] 14. 20, 6.

[9] See note on 14. 14, 5.

which, besides the broken-down descendants of great historic names [1], knights of position and known service [2], and even elderly senators who had filled a career of public honours, stooped to the degradation of contending in the circus or in the amphitheatre, or went through all the antics of the comic stage [3]. They could plead, no doubt, that they dared not refuse the bribe held out to them [4]; but the example was contagious and longlived; and men could still see the clown tricks of a Fabius or Mamercus when there was no longer a Nero to compel [5]. Still more new, and far more prolific in evil, was the demoralisation of women, from the lowest to the highest rank, by public appearances in all these capacities [6], and the creation, or at least first open exhibition, of the type of the unsexed viragoes who continued for more than a century to outrage decency [7]. To all this has to be added the demoralisation due to the shameless example of profligacy set by the prince himself [8], and to the public scandal of his entertainments; in which the mere luxury of the table, though reaching in his day a climax to which it had been steadily rising ever since the time of Actium [9], was far outweighed by their outrageous licentiousness [10].

Gradually also the Roman nobility began to feel a danger that touched

[1] See 14. 14, 5, and note.

[2] 'Notos equites Romanos operas arenae promittere subegit' (14. 14, 6).

[3] See the description of the Iuvenalia of 815, A.D. 59 (14. 15, 2), and the additional statements of Dio and Suet. noted on 14. 14, 5, 6, which receive some support from 15. 32, 3 (where see note). The statement of Suet. that many were not decayed spendthrifts but 'existimationis integrae,' is borne out by the expressions of Tacitus.

[4] 14. 14, 6.

[5] See the whole passage (Juv. 8, 183–210). According to the satirist, they were as ready in his day to sell themselves to the ordinary games of the praetor as to those of an emperor. The old pride of rank which forbad senators and their families to earn a living by honest trade must have been indeed signally punished.

[6] See 14. 15, 3; 15. 32, 3, and notes.

[7] The description of such in Juv. 1. 22 (where see Prof. Mayor); 2, 53; 6, 246–267, is well known. On the prohibition, cir. A.D. 200, see note on 15. 32, 3.

[8] See 15. 37, 8, 9; 16. 19, 5, and notes.

[9] See 3. 55, 1. The ransacking of earth, sea, and air for dainties, and their collection from all parts of the world, is dwelt on by writers of this period (Sen. ad Helv. 10, 3; Ep. 60, 2; 89, 22, &c.; Plin. N. H. 26. 8, 28, 43), but certainly cannot have been peculiar to it; and Nero, though spending much of his time in feasting (see 14. 2, 1, and note), is not so distinctly charged with filthy gluttony as was previously Claudius or afterwards Vitellius. The great extravagance under him seems to have taken a more refined form, and to have lain chiefly in the accessories of the feast, the profusion of gold plate and jewels (Plin. N. H. 37. 2, 6, 17), unguents and flowers (Suet. Ner. 27), the crowd of attendants, singers, dancers, and such novelties of all kinds as ingenuity could suggest: nor is it to be denied that the table luxury of that age is not apparently all that declamation makes it, and that it may often have been equalled or even eclipsed in more modern times. On the whole subject see Schiller, p. 516, foll.; Friedl. iii. 31, foll. On the example set in other forms of luxury, such as his own travelling equipage (Suet. Ner. 30), and that of Poppaea (Plin. N. H. 11. 41, 96, 238, &c.), see Friedl. ii. 29.

[10] The beginning of such demoralisation is noted at the Iuvenalia (14. 15, 4, 5), the development at the feast given by Tigellinus (15. 37, 2–7); and both Tacitus and Suet. (Ner. 27) speak of similar scenes as frequent.

their existence far more closely, as they saw that men of their order began to be struck down cautiously and tentatively, that if they were few and isolated, they were extremely eminent, that a steady purpose seemed to be working itself out, and that definite charges and legal forms were almost or altogether dispensed with. Cornelius Sulla, the son-in-law of Claudius and a representative of the name of the famous dictator, and Rubellius Plautus, a direct descendant of Octavia[1], were men round whose names fancied conspiracies had been made to gather[2]; and first one, then the other, had been banished or induced to banish himself on some invented or imagined charge[3]; and some time afterwards, on some pretext not made public[4], soldiers had been sent to execute the exiles without more ado; a vague and general report being laid before the senate afterwards, to be followed by the mockery of posthumous condemnation[5]. Higher even than that of either of these was the lineage of the Junii Silani, the only direct descendants of Augustus[6] save Nero himself; and the onslaught on this family commenced by Agrippina[7] was carried on by Nero in 817, A.D. 64, by a private trial, resulting in the death of its chief living representative[8].

Still more ominous, as showing that not only the few highest, who might aspire to the imperial dignity itself, were menaced, was the revival in 815, A.D. 62, against one of the praetors of the year[9], of that terrible weapon of tyranny in former times, the law of 'maiestas'[10], which had been long in desuetude[11], but of which they were now made again to feel the edge; while Nero's evident displeasure at the course taken under the

[1] For his pedigree, see Introd. i. 141.

[2] On that connected with Sulla see 13. 23, 1; on that respecting Plautus, 13. 19, 3. Both charges are represented as groundless, and the accusers are punished, but both must have left their mark on Nero's memory.

[3] The charge against Sulla is represented (13. 47) as wholly made up, and contrary to his character; the compulsory retirement of Plautus is assigned to no other cause than the occurrence of a comet and another omen (14. 22, 5). The exile of the former took place in 811, A.D. 58, that of the latter in 813, A.D. 60, the deaths of both in 815, A.D. 62.

[4] The idea of the potency of the name of the dictator in Gaul and of the descendant of Drusus in Asia, and the probability of support to the one from the German, and to the other from the Syrian legions, is given as the private counsel of Tigellinus, who desired to put Nero's vague terror into definite shape (14. 57). As regards Plautus, some desperate scheme was regarded by his friends as possible (14. 58, 3).

[5] 14. 59, 5, 6.

[6] See Introd. i. 139.

[7] She may be said to have caused in 802, A.D. 49, the death of L. Silanus and exile of Junia Calvina (12. 4, 1; 8, 1); she had ordered the murder of M. Silanus in 807, A.D. 54 (13. 1, 1), and had (certainly in self-defence) caused the exile of Junia Silana in the following year (13. 22, 3).

[8] 15. 35, 2–5. The chief charge against him was that of the ambitious titles borne by his freedmen. He committed suicide before condemnation; but Tacitus evidently attached no credit to the statement of Nero that he had intended to spare his life.

[9] 14. 48, 1, foll.

[10] For the working of this law under Tiberius, see Introd. i. viii. 121, &c.

[11] 14. 48, 3, and note.

leadership of Thrasea, showed that the extreme sentence of death had been expected [1]. Even a lower class would be alarmed by the current belief [2] that in the same year the once all-powerful Pallas and another leading freedman had fallen victims respectively to the emperor's avarice and animosity [3].

Thus all in prominent positions would feel that they were drifting back into a similar condition of constraint and jeopardy to that which had prevailed under former princes, and that while their danger increased, their safeguards one by one were struck from them [4]. The death of Burrus, in which again foul play was commonly believed to have had a share [5], took place in the same year which so many events combined to make ominous [6]; and in the same year Seneca, isolated by this loss, and, by evident decay of influence, marked out for the attacks of those who wished him ill [7], could only avert his danger by a prompt offer to surrender all his property [8], and by a cautious withdrawal from all outward show of eminence [9]; so that men had no longer to reckon on the influence of these trusted counsellors, but on that of Tigellinus and Poppaea.

On minds thus prepared to expect and believe the worst, terrible impression must have been made by the great fire of 817, A.D. 64, and by the rumours that Nero himself had been its author. From this imputation, which Tacitus alone of our authorities treats as even open to doubt [10], the judgment of recent critics has been on the whole disposed to absolve his memory. The improbability of the motives assigned [11], his absence at the outbreak [12], the energetic measures taken by the government for its suppression [13], the bounty shown to the sufferers [14], weigh considerably

[1] 14. 49, 3. He had evidently not intended sentence of death to be carried out, but to win the glory of clemency by modifying it (c. 48, 3); which the proposal carried by Thrasea had taken from him.

[2] 14. 65, 1. The expression used ('creditur') shows that there was no evidence for the suspicion of poisoning; but the belief, however groundless, has to be taken into account.

[3] The story given by Dio (see note on 14. 19, 1) of persons put to death in 812, A.D. 59, by soldiers on a charge of conspiracy, is discredited by the silence of Tacitus.

[4] 'Gravescentibus indies publicis malis subsidia minuebantur' (14. 51, 1).

[5] 14. 51, 1–3. It seems to be admitted that he had a natural disease, but to be alleged that the salve was poisoned.

[6] 815, A.D. 62.

[7] 14. 52.

[8] In the interchange of speeches given in 14. 53–56, the courtliness of Seneca, saved from sinking into mere servility by good taste and touches of dignity, as well as the profound hypocrisy of Nero, are admirably imagined. The offer, not accepted, may have been renewed later (see on 15. 64, 6).

[9] 14. 56, 6.

[10] See 15. 38, 1, and note. Tacitus seems to incline to think him guilty of the second outbreak (15. 40, 3).

[11] The 'gloria condendae urbis notae et cognomento suo appellandae' (15. 40, 3; cp. Suet. Ner. 38) has no appearance of being actually sought, and might have been acquired without a conflagration. Other idle tales given in Suet. (l. l.) and Dio (62. 16, 1–2) are not noticed by Tacitus.

[12] 15. 39, 1.

[13] 15. 40, 1.

[14] 15. 39, 2; 43, 2.

against a suspicion so slenderly supported[1]. The belief itself was les an impulse of the moment[2] than an after-growth[3], gathering strength n doubt from the stories that he had pillaged the ruins[4], and from th patent fact that he had seized all the best of the vast desolated area t construct a palace on a scale previously unknown save perhaps i Oriental history. The famous expedient by which this suspicion was t be averted by fastening it on others, is treated of elsewhere[5]: our judg ment on Nero's own share in it will depend much on whether we believ him to have been himself the incendiary, and deliberately to have sacri ficed those whom he had the best reason for knowing to be innocent, o to have been, like others, in the dark as to the real cause of the fire, an to have believed tales which represented the Christians either as actuall its authors, or as, from their 'hatred of the human race'[6], likely to hav been so. In any case, history must record against him the reckles eagerness with which the charge was caught up, and the fiendish brutalit which turned the executions into a public amusement, such as shocke even the hardened sense of those whose misgivings were to have been s at rest by it[7].

To such ample reasons for alarm and indignation[8], other grounds discontent were contributing strength. The military disaster in Britai and disgrace in the East[9] may have shaken the allegiance of the soldie to a prince who had little personal hold upon them, and whose st seemed no longer in the ascendant: the popularity of Nero with the mass must have received a check from the strong feeling at his enforceme of the cruel decree against the slaves of Pedanius Secundus[10], and fro the enthusiastic sympathy with Octavia[11], and could be further unde mined by keeping alive the belief[12] that the catastrophe which had co

[1] Much weight cannot be given to the fact that persons caught spreading the flames said that they acted under orders (15. 38, 8). The story that he sang the burning of Troy during the conflagration (c. 39, 3, and note) is characteristic, and hardly likely to have been altogether invented, but proves no more than that his theatrical passion could not let slip such an opportunity.

[2] At the time of the actual fire he is represented as hurrying about without a guard (15. 50, 6), and evidently in no fear of the people.

[3] 15. 39, 3; 44, 2.

[4] Suet. Ner. 38.

[5] See Appendix to Book 15.

[6] 15. 44, 5.

[7] 15. 44, 8.

[8] In the sketch of Nero's career above given, some events later than the Pison conspiracy have been mentioned for co venience. But these will easily be d tinguished from those present as actu motives in A.D. 65 and previously.

[9] The insurrection in Britain took pla in 814, A.D. 61; the capitulation Paetus in Armenia was known in Ro at the beginning of 816, A.D. 63. Su sequent successes had not achieved m than a restoration of the position in eit case.

[10] For the sentence itself, the sena and especially L. Cassius, was responsib but Nero had supplied the force whi made its execution possible (14. 45, 3).

[11] See above, p. 65.

[12] Without adopting Schiller's vie that the belief in Nero's incendiarism w created by the conspirators, we must s

ives in numbers[1], and reduced thousands to homelessness, was due to a mere freak of his outrageous wantonness.

Such sparks could always kindle a conspiracy[2]; and the schemers of a lower stamp who thought that their opportunity was come, could band themselves with genuine patriots[3], ready to dare anything to free the Empire from a monster. Actual conspirators are generally few, and were so, as far as we have means of knowing[4], in the present case; but a small band of resolute men might easily, as in the case of Gaius, find their opportunity; and their real hope of success lay in the manifold support which they had ground for expecting afterwards. It was at that date a bold step to seek a successor for Nero altogether outside the family of Augustus; but the man of their choice, C. Piso[5], would commend himself to the nobles and senate by his ripe age[6] and exalted lineage[7], and to various classes by his forensic eloquence exercised on the weaker side, his wealth and bountiful gifts, his winning courtesy and handsome person; while those who hated the cruelty alone of the Neronian rule, and liked its moral laxity, might be assured that in him they had no straitlaced rule to fear[8]. They might count thus on many chances of his acceptance; although they had no support to expect from the most respectable section of the nobility, the party of Thrasea and Soranus, too uncompromising in their opposition to monarchy as such to plot for a change of masters[9], least of all for that from one voluptuary to another; and although they had to guard against the more dynastic minds who might favour the young Silanus[10], or bold spirits like the consul Vestinus,

ose them active in sustaining it. See the words of Subrius Flavus in 15. 67, 3.

[1] 15. 38, 7; 39, 2.

[2] The character of the 'Opposition' under Nero and its various sections are very fully discussed in Schiller, pp. 666–95.

[3] See the contrast drawn between the motives of Lucan and of Plautus Lateranus in 15. 49, 3.

[4] Tacitus gives the names of only five senators as undoubted conspirators; Piso, Lucan, Plautius Lateranus, Flavius Scaevinus, and Afranius Quintianus (c. 48–49). Besides these, two others were put to death, Seneca and Vestinus; the complicity of the former being treated as doubtful (c. 56, 2), that of the latter positively denied (c. 68, 3). Three others, Novius Priscus, Glitius Gallus, Annius Pollio, and perhaps some more, appear among those mentioned in c. 71 as punished but not really convicted. The knights, to judge from c. 50 and c. 71, were not numerous, nor (except Faenius Rufus) eminent. Of the other officers of the guard, three tribunes and three centurions are given (c. 49, 2; 50, 3); besides whom four other tribunes are represented as degraded on mere suspicion (c. 71, 5).

[5] See 15. 48, 1, and note.

[6] He was a consular of probably some seventeen years' standing (see note, l. l.).

[7] From the time of Tiberius, the Calpurnii Pisones had no rivals except the Aemilii Lepidi (Introd. i. p. 85) who were now no longer heard of.

[8] The importance of this feeling may be seen in the support won by it for Otho (H. 1. 13, 10, &c.). That it worked both ways would however appear, if any faith is to be placed in the story of an inner plot to set aside Piso for Seneca (c. 65, 1).

[9] The position and character of this party are more fully described below (p. 80, foll.).

[10] 15. 52, 3. Those who attached importance to descent from Augustus could

who might strike out a line of his own when the crisis came[1]. In the light of what had followed on the death of Gaius, none would be so short-sighted as not to reckon with the praetorians; but the accession of the praefect Faenius Rufus, who was quaking under the insinuations of his colleague Tigellinus[2], seemed a tower of strength to them, and the support of several other important officers of the force, backed by a liberal donative, might do the rest[3]. That the last word still would rest with the armies of Germany and the East, who were little likely to accept a master whom they had no voice in choosing, was a truth that perhaps needed to be taught by a later experience[4].

Tacitus has shown the reality of the plot, against the popular rumour which discredited it as a fiction[5]; and for all its details he is practically our sole authority[6]. Nero and his partisans must indeed have believed in his destiny, when they saw how, after the plot had been kept for two years secret[7], and had even escaped the danger caused by the indiscretion of Epicharis[8], it was brought to light the very day before it was to have been carried into action[9]; how Piso tamely threw away the one chance left to him[10]; how, when Nero was surrounding himself with soldiers in his panic[11], ignorant of the traitors among their ranks[12], the baseness with which they turned upon their associates frustrated another chance of his destruction[13], and led them also to the fate they had so justly merited[14].

We have probably to be on our guard throughout against statements heightened for effect[15]. The contrast of freeborn men, Roman knights, senators, rushing to save themselves by denouncing their dearest friends and relatives, with the freedwoman who alone defied the rack to conceal those almost unknown to her, may possibly be overdrawn[16]; the general

find no other candidate. His instructor, Cassius, probably belonged to the party of Thrasea.

[1] 15. 52, 4. [2] 15. 50, 4.

[3] Piso was to wait in readiness to be carried to the camp; and, according to Pliny, Antonia, daughter of Claudius, was to accompany him (see c. 53, 4, and note).

[4] It seems probable that Piso, had he succeeded, might have had a similar career to that of Otho.

[5] 15. 73, 1–3.

[6] Suetonius alludes to it only in a few lines (c. 36). The meagre account in Dio, or rather Xiphilinus (62. 24), makes no mention of Piso, but describes the plot as that of Seneca and Rufus, mentioning besides by name only Subrius Flavus and Sulpicius Asper, as to whom he seems to follow Tacitus.

[7] The first movings of the conspiracy appear to date not later than 816, A.D. 63 (14. 65, 2), and it had been ripe for execution at the time of the fire (15. 50, 6), but was delayed till the Circensian games in April 818, A.D. 65 (15. 53, 1).

[8] 15. 51.

[9] 15. 54, 1. [10] 15. 59.

[11] 15. 57, 4.

[12] 15. 49, 2; 50, 3.

[13] 15. 58, 4.

[14] 15. 66, 1.

[15] It should be remembered that all the trials were private and that no more was known than the statement laid by Nero before the senate (15. 73, 1). Hence no doubt the great obscurity in our narrative and the way in which the condemnation of persons who had not before been mentioned is brought in (c. 71).

[16] 15. 57, 3, 4. The expression 'passim

lescription of Rome in a state of siege, 'the very sea and river placed ınder guard'; armed men pervading the fora, the great houses, even the suburban districts [1]; the 'troops of chained prisoners' dragged to trial [2], ınd the crowd of funerals in the streets [3], cannot easily be reconciled with he names and facts given in detail [4]: even the terrible irony of universal ublic thanksgiving side by side with universal private mourning, may vell be taken with some allowance for rhetoric [5]; but the main narrative, oth in what it states, and no less in what it does not state [6], bears the tamp of truth upon it.

Our chief interest in the Pisonian conspiracy lies in its having caused he deaths of Seneca and Lucan. As regards the complicity of the ormer [7], his standing intimacy with Piso, and recent withdrawal from ersonal intercourse [8], would suggest that he was aware of the plot but eclined to mix in it; his removal from Campania to the neighbourhood f Rome at the critical time may have been a coincidence [9]; his alleged nswer to Piso's message rests on the verbal report of a single witness ıreatened with torture [10], and was neither admitted by himself [11], nor nmistakeable in meaning [12]. His thorough knowledge of Nero, oppaea, and Tigellinus may well have predisposed him to welcome any scape from them; while on the other hand his political foresight, no less ıan his age, and the retirement of life which he had found so welcome [13],

onscios edere' may no doubt refer to ome of those mentioned in c. 71, besides ıe three names given in c. 56, 4, but ears evident marks of exaggeration.

[1] 15. 58, 1. The description in 16. 27, shows the military terrorism employed a far lesser crisis.

[2] 15. 58, 3.

[3] 15. 71, 1.

[4] It has been already mentioned (see oove, p. 73, note 4) that seven senators e recorded as put to death. Besides ese, the 'reliqui coniuratorum' (c. 70, would no doubt include those knights, bunes, and centurions named in c. 50, ıose deaths had not been previously entioned, except Natalis and Proculus 71, 2), Gavius Silvanus and Statius oximus (c. 71, 4). We have thus evince of about seventeen persons put to ath; seventeen others are named in 71 as sentenced to lesser penalties; e as pardoned, acquitted, or left unticed. Nor does confiscation appear to ve been uniformly enforced; that of the operty of Seneca seems implied (c. 62, and note), but with probably some ovision left for Paulina (see on c. 64, 1); e property of Lucan passed to his father (16. 17, 4); the wills of Piso and Rufus are mentioned (c. 59, 8; 68, 2), and may have been allowed to pass by making Nero in part heir.

[5] The thanksgiving may have been often genuine, as many, especially the populace, must have thought anarchy worse than Nero.

[6] The vague language in Dio, 62. 24, 3 would represent every charge as believed and every accused person as condemned. Tacitus bestows no notice on the story given in Suet. Ner. 36, that the whole families of those condemned were afterwards poisoned or starved to death.

[7] Dio (62. 24, 1) makes him and Rufus the chief conspirators. With this the guarded language of Tacitus (c. 56, 2; 60, 3, 7) may be well compared. Two of his friends, Novius Priscus and Caesennius Maximus, were so far involved in his fate as to suffer exile (15. 71, 6, 11).

[8] 15. 60, 4; 61, 1.

[9] 'Forte an prudens' (c. 60, 7).

[10] c. 56, 2.

[11] It is noticed that his denial (cp. c. 60, 5; 61, 2) is not altogether explicit.

[12] See c. 60, 5, and note.

[13] See Sen. Ep. 83, 6, &c.

would have disinclined him to take active part in a desperate venture; and in any case it is most improbable that he was privy to the inner plot, if such there was, to force a shortlived and dangerous greatness on himself, at the cost of double-dyed treachery to his friend[1].

If the baser side of Seneca's character has been throughout this narrative presented oftenest[2], it is but just to notice how Tacitus, who is certainly no blind admirer[3], brings out not merely his tenderness to his wife[4] and cheerfulness to his friends[5], his dignified bearing and almost inspired eloquence under the protracted agonies of death[6], but also the steady composure with which he had looked forward for years to such an end in prospect[7], and the simplicity of his ideas, as evidenced by the asceticism of at least his later life[8] and the instructions for his unostentatious funeral, drawn up long ago in the days of his greatest splendour[9].

With Lucan, far less sympathy has been felt, less perhaps than he has actually deserved. Introduced in youth to the friendship of Nero[10], he had owed to court favour a quaestorship before the legal age, and a place in the college of augurs, and had won fame in the Neronia by a poetic eulogy on his patron, pitched, we may be sure, in the same key as the opening address in the Pharsalia, unrivalled in extant literature for fulsomeness[11]. The first three Books of that Epic, probably the only ones made known in his lifetime[12], besides thus commending themselves,

[1] The story is given as a mere rumour (c. 65, 1).

[2] See above, pp. 23; 33; 45; 54; 60, 11; 62; 63. It is fair to add, that the credit which he claims for himself, of never having been a mere servile flatterer, is not contrary to known facts. See 15. 61, 3, and note.

[3] See 13. 3, 2; 11, 2; 18, 1; 14. 11, 4, &c.

[4] 15. 63, 1–4. The story given by Dio (see note on c. 63, 2) would be inconsistent with the version adopted by Tacitus, and was no doubt known to and disbelieved by him.

[5] 15. 62, 1–2.

[6] 15. 63, 7.

[7] 15. 62, 2, 3. The story that Nero had previously attempted to poison him (15. 45, 6) is given in its place only as a rumour, but afterwards treated as a fact (15. 60, 3).

[8] 15. 45, 6.

[9] 15. 64, 6.

[10] The particulars of Lucan's life are known through two ancient biographies, and need not here be further entered into.

[11] Phars. 1. 33–66. Some of the sentiments may remind us of Vergil's address to Augustus in the first Georgic; but Lucan goes far beyond his predecessor. All the horrors of civil war are regarded as more than recompensed by having led up ultimately to his rule: he is besought when he ascends to heaven, to take up his position in the centre, lest elsewhere he should destroy the equilibrium of the universe. It is perhaps just to remember the poet's youth.

[12] It has generally been assumed, on the evidence of his biographer, that the first three Books had received their final corrections and had been published (probably about 814, A.D. 62). Dean Merivale (c. 54) questions the alleged superior finish of these Books, and thinks that although they had been doubtless made known by frequent recitation in portions, the actual publication was to have been delayed till the completion of the whole. Mr. Heitland, in his Introduction to Mr. Haskins' recent edition of the Pharsalia, notices a few roughnesses of style in the later Books.

show a general sense of self-restraint[1]; and even the later Books[2], which may more faithfully give his real sentiments, while abounding in bitter and determined antipathy to Caesarism as such[3], contain few, if any, unmistakeable hostile allusions to Nero personally[4]. On the supposition that his fatalism[5], and his evident consciousness of the degradation of the senate[6] and people[7], would have prevented his conspiring to restore the Republic, his natural course would have been to stand aside with Thrasea and his followers, who might yet well have distrusted the new-born ardour of this convert from the ranks of courtiers. Yet the intensity of the grievance which armed him against Nero, even if merely personal, should be justly estimated. For one conscious of unrivalled gifts and burning to display them, an absolute prohibition to recite or publish[8], was no other than a sentence of literary death, dictated by the mere spite and jealousy of one who, compared to him, was but a scribbler[9], and whose age made it likely enough that the ban would last the poet's lifetime[10]. Also the story that he attempted to save himself after arrest

[1] These Books, though not without entiments capable of giving offence, such s that in 1, 678, foll. ('cum domino ax ista venit,' &c.), dwell less on the oss of liberty than on the horrors of civil ar, a theme on which Vergil and Horace re no less eloquent. It should be re-embered also that, as M. Boissier has hown ('l'Opposition sous les Césars,' h. vi), a general preference of the so-alled Republican cause to that of Julius aesar, and a coldness towards the emory of the latter, had been tolerated, not encouraged, by Augustus. Cato as glorified by Vergil (Aen. 8, 670) and orace (Od. 1. 12, 35, &c.), Pompeius y Livy (see 4. 34, 4), and the writings of remutius Cordus, though suppressed by iberius, were revived and read afterwards . 35, 5).

[2] It is an open question whether these ooks also had not been made known, in rt at least, by recitation. The poem on e civil war in the Satire of Petronius . 119–124), which is evidently a 'jeu esprit' on the Pharsalia, has been ought to contain imitations of passages m all parts of the poem. Those which pear to be taken from the later Books e collected and compared by Mr. Heit-nd, to whom, as probably to most hers, the resemblances seem hardly ong enough to be conclusive.

[3] Mr. Heitland (pp. 37–42) has shown is, as against Dean Merivale, by a con-derable collection of passages, among which perhaps the most striking are 5, 385–6; 7, 455–9; 638–46.

[4] The passages supposed to contain such are discussed by Mr. Heitland.

[5] Fortune is looked upon as having declared for monarchy (3, 393, &c.).

[6] Dean Merivale considers the senate to be the true hero of the poem; but this, if admitted, would only mean the ideal senate, or that of the last century of the Republic, seen through the mist of time. In such passages as 'nec frons erit ulla senatus' (9, 207), the tone of despair is unmistakeable.

[7] Mr. Heitland cites, as evidence of a consciousness of the degradation and mongrel character of the Roman people, 3, 54–8; 7, 404–5; 539–545.

[8] See 15. 19, 3, and note.

[9] For the list of Nero's recorded poems see Teuffel, 281. 8, 9. They had little chance of a dispassionate estimate; and it is the humour of Juvenal (8, 221) to class the composition of the 'Troica,' no less than the stage-singing, among Nero's atrocities; but (apart from the question how much of what passed under his name was really his own) such a line as that quoted with praise by Seneca (N. Q. 1. 5, 6) 'Colla Cytheriacae splendent agitata columbae,' or those (reputed to be his) preserved in Persius 1. 99–102, will not go to set aside the adverse verdict. That he stooped to write and publish coarse lampoons, appears from 15. 49, 5.

[10] Nero was less than two years older than Lucan.

by informing against his mother, has been perhaps too lightly credited and his end, if not free from a straining for theatrical effect, was n deficient in courage [2].

The immediate outcome of the conspiracy, as of that of Seianus, w a prolonged and continuous reign of terror; and the Sixteenth Book, far as we have it, closely resembles the dreary record of the Sixth, in i monotonous list of executions and enforced suicides [3]. As was the ca after the murder of his mother [4] and at other crises in his life, tl natural timidity of Nero had passed into abject panic [5], which, no that he knew his power [6], led him to strike down any one whom h own suspicions, or those instilled by others, pointed out as dangerous L. Cassius, the great jurist, had a statue of his famous ancestor wi a significant inscription [8]: his friend and pupil, L. Silanus, the last that noble and ill-fated house [9], is alleged to give, as his uncle had give ambitious titles to his freedmen [10]; other charges are thrown in [11], ar exile (followed in the case of the latter by speedy death) is at on decreed [12]. The widow of Rubellius Plautus and mother of his childre preserving too faithful memory of her loss [13], draws down her own fa and that of two others of her family [14]. In this case, without any defini charge that is made known to us [15], the disgusting mockery practis in the case of Plautus himself [16] is again called into play, and senten of execution 'more maiorum' is solemnly passed on those already dea and is modified by Nero as an act of grace [17]. Another is exiled as friend of Faenius Rufus [18]: wealth, and old friendship with Agrippin

[1] Dean Merivale points out that this story could hardly have rested on evidence known to the public, and might easily have been invented to discredit an illustrious victim. The fact that no notice was taken of Acilia (c. 71, 12) makes against it, and the general statement to the same effect (c. 57, 4) is supported by no names or other details.

[2] c. 70.

[3] After the first six chapters, the Book contains hardly any other subject.

[4] See above, p. 62.

[5] 'Pavidum semper et reperta nuper coniuratione magis exterritum' (16. 15, 1).

[6] The saying ascribed to him in Suet. 37 ('negavit quemquam principum scisse quid sibi liceret') is true of his own early career also.

[7] In the cases now to be noticed, Nero no longer judges personally, as in the case of the conspirators (see 15. 73, 1, and note), but thrusts the responsibility on the senate, sometimes himself sendi a letter of indictment (16. 7, 3), b oftener with some ostensible accuser (1 10. 2; 14, 1: 17, 4, &c.). Sometimes missive of death is sent without any tri (16. 14, 5; 15, 3, &c.).

[8] 16. 7, 3.

[9] See Introd. i. 144, note 10.

[10] Tacitus states (16. 8, 1) that th charge was wholly false; and it seems i credible that he should have repeated l uncle's folly.

[11] 16. 8, 2. Three others who we accused escaped.

[12] 16. 9, 2-4.

[13] Three years after his death, she still 'vidua inpexa luctu' (16. 10, 4).

[14] 16. 10, 1, foll.

[15] His freedman is his accuser, b nothing is said of the charge, though was afterwards laid before the senate (1 11, 6).

[16] 14. 59, 6.

[17] 16. 11, 6.

[18] 16. 12, 1.

give colour to a charge against Anteius [1]; personal prowess and soldierly qualities to the same charge against Ostorius [2]: a letter purporting to be written by Lucan is fatal to his father Mela [3], whose own alleged words are published to explain one person's death and to cause another's [4]. Tigellinus is able to avenge himself on Thermus for his freedman's libel [5], and even, by a mere suggestion of friendship with Scaevinus [6], to rid himself of the rival who, in the line in which alone he himself was famous, must have far surpassed him, C. Petronius, who had spent an energy capable of better things [7] on the accomplishment of pleasure; wherein his refined air of careless ease and simplicity, contrasted with the coarse profusion of ordinary debauchees [9], gave his taste a character for originality, and made the stamp of his approval necessary before any suggestion of luxury could commend itself to Nero as sufficiently *recherché* to deserve his notice [10]. Petronius died as he had lived, turning from both the shifts and the consolations of other men [11] as he had disdained their commonplace pleasures, and sending to Nero, in place of the usual last words of flattery [12], a stinging exposure of his vilest, and, as he had hitherto flattered himself, his most secret profligacies [13].

Tacitus pauses in the recital of this dreary carnage to offer an apology for the monotony of his subject, and to bespeak some indulgence for the tame submission of those whom he regards as rather the victims of fatality than of wilful cowardice [14]. It is more pertinent to ask what other course was open to those to whom flight and resistance were alike impossible, or to what support they could have appealed, when each member of the senate was trembling for himself, when even such ineffective popular feeling as had displayed itself for Octavia [15] lay at the command of no Roman noble, when plots such as that which had just failed so signally, were their sole resource.

[1] 16. 14, 3.

[2] 16. 15, 2.

[3] 16. 17, 5. The enforced suicide of allio, the remaining brother of Seneca ee note on 15. 72, 4) must have taken ace after the date at which the Annals ow close.

[4] 16. 17, 8. Both the letter of Lucan Mela and the reference to Crispinus d Cerialis in Mela's own will, are eated by Tacitus as forgeries.

[5] 16. 20, 2.

[6] 16. 18, 5. Plutarch mentions (see te on 16. 17, 1) offence taken at an -judged stroke of attempted flattery, iich may have predisposed Nero ainst Petronius.

[7] He had shown capacity as governor of Bithynia and as consul (16. 18, 3).

[8] 16. 18, 2.

[9] 16. 18, 1.

[10] 16. 18, 4.

[11] He cared not to await the result of the charge (16. 19, 1). The contrast of his last moments with those of other people is described (§ 2–4).

[12] 16. 19, 5.

[13] l. l. Some other traits of him are given in the note on c. 17, 1. On his identification with the author of the Satire see note on c. 18. 1.

[14] 16. 17. A similar apology, though supported on different grounds, is offered in 4. 32–33.

[15] 14. 16, 1.

Many of the conspirators, and of those who perished subsequently, had few claims, or none whatever, on general sympathy; and even the highest ranked in elevation of character below Thrasea and Soranus, to whose fate Tacitus has given more space than to that of any others among the Neronian victims[1]. Yet, with all that is told us, much is still left obscure and unexplained; and the real causes which led Nero to compass their destruction are mainly matter of conjecture.

Thrasea, though undoubtedly the leader of the extreme section of the senatorial 'Opposition'[2], and a man of longstanding and pronounced republican sympathies, had been enabled, although a 'novus homo' from Patavium[3], to go through the course of magistracies and attain the consulship[4], and could not therefore have been always obnoxious to emperors. In the early years of Nero, when his attendance in the senate was constant[5], various servile motions had elicited from him no word of protest[6], and those who had expected greater things had murmured at the waste of his strength on trifles[7]; while even his one strong step, that of rising and leaving the house when thanksgivings and congratulations were decreed on Agrippina's death[8], receives scant praise from Tacitus[9]. Three years later, at the trial of Antistius[10], he appears as a skilful tactician, leading the majority of the senate in a course opposed to Nero's secret purpose, but fully within the terms of the question[11], and veiling his opposition under well-chosen compliments[12]; while his only subsequent recorded speech[13], if conceived in a narrow spirit of Roman pride, could yet have been in no way unacceptable to the court[14]. It would seem likely that he had been driven into more pronounced hostility by the ascendancy of Poppaea, and that his three years of continuous absence from his place in the senate[15] had begun at the date of the vows and thanksgivings at the birth of her child[16]. It is

[1] 16. 21-35.

[2] See the general description of him and his party in Schiller, pp. 669, foll.

[3] 16. 21, 1.

[4] See note on 13. 49, 1. He was also one of the college of 'quindecimviri' (16. 22, 1).

[5] 'Adsiduum olim et indefessum' (16. 22, 1).

[6] 'Silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus' (14. 12, 2).

[7] See 13. 49, 1, foll. That he had not confined himself to such, is shown by the incidental mention (16. 21, 3) of the part taken by him in the condemnation of Cossutianus Capito (see 13. 33, 3).

[8] 14. 12, 2.

[9] The criticism (l. l.), 'sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit,' is somewhat ungenerous (see note there).

[10] 14. 48, 5.

[11] Cp. 'datam et absolvendi licentiam' (14. 49, 4).

[12] 14. 48, 5. On this occasion also, his persistence is somewhat ungenerously imputed in part to vanity (c. 49, 5).

[13] That on the subject of votes of thanks by provincial subjects to governors (15. 20, 2, foll.).

[14] A vote in accordance with it was passed, 'auctore principe' (15. 22, 2).

[15] 16. 22, 1.

[16] 15. 23, 1.

ertainly at that date that we find the first open mark of Nero's displeasure [1], which, though followed immediately by an outward show of econciliation, must have left a sting behind in both minds [2]. After this, gain for three years we hear no more; and then, without any additional ircumstances to explain it, the attack is launched upon him, beginning vith an invective by his old enemy Capito Cossutianus [3], followed by a econd prohibition from the emperor's presence, and a dignified demand n his part to know the charge against him, which is answered by an istant summons of the senate to despatch the trial [4].

No charge whatever of the most remote or indirect complicity in the 'isonian or any other conspiracy is ever alleged or hinted [5]: dereliction f public duties, an offence never before made the subject of a capital harge or criminal prosecution of any kind [6], is all that the accusers have go upon [7], or that the emperor even glances at in his rescript to the nate [8]; the rest is mere inflation of rhetoric. The orators are careful point out how important, and how closely touching the emperor personally, were some of the occasions on which he had been absent, such the solemn vows and ratification of 'acta' at the beginning of each ar [9], the vote of divine honours to Poppaea, the attendance on her neral [10], the trials of Silanus and Anteius [11]; nor do they fail to note that ot senatorial duties alone had been thus contemptuously avoided; that the college of the 'quindecimviri,' at the offerings for the preservation the prince and for his 'divine voice' [12], Thrasea's absence had been no ss conspicuous; even an old story of want of heartiness at the 'Juvenlia' is thrown in [13]; and on this slender foundation the elaborate fabric a charge of treason and impiety is built up [14]. Still more remarkable the way in which his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, and his friends conius Agrippinus and Curtius Montanus are thrown in with him, aprently at the last moment, and on charges yet more flimsy [15]. The first

15. 23, 5. The words 'praenuntium minentis caedis' are exaggerated.

15. 23, 6: the congratulations of Seca (see note) must have increased the sion.

16. 22. [4] 16. 24.

The suggestion of Schiller (p. 686), t some new conspiracy entirely unwn to us may possibly have been on , is wholly groundless. In so public ial, of which the minutes of the senate st have contained a full account, it seems ossible that any such charge should e perished altogether unrecorded.

See note on 16. 22, 1.

See c. 22 and 28.

16. 27, 2.

[9] 16. 22, 1.

[10] 16. 21, 2; 22. 5.

[11] 16. 22, 1 (see note).

[12] l. l.

[13] 16. 21, 1, and note.

[14] The speeches, whether actually historical or not, give a specimen of the way in which facts are stretched into charges. 'Spernit religiones, abrogat leges' is their way of expressing his absence when the deification of Poppaea was decreed, and when the 'acta' were ratified.

[15] 16. 28, 2. They are alluded to (without being named) in the previous speech of Capito, as his 'sectatores' or 'satellites' (16. 22, 3).

is vaguely described as 'sharing his madness,' the second as 'the hereditary enemy of princes,' the third as author of 'detestable verses,' of which no further account is given [1]. That these had followed Thrasea's course of abstinence from public life is nowhere stated; and it must be inferred that their private and personal connection with him is the only real ground of their association in the charge.

We are thus led to suppose that in Nero's present suspicious mood the existence of such a coterie seemed in itself to be dangerous. Considerable in numbers, and comprising persons of the highest political and social standing [2], it lived in isolation; much as France has seen Legitimists, Bonapartists, or Republicans living in an inner world of their own under a hostile government. With probably no more belief that any restoration of the Republic was possible, than we have seen it to be likely that Lucan had [3], they yet consecrated their lives to its memory; they kept high festival on the birthdays of Cassius and the Bruti [4]; their leader was himself the biographer of Cato [5], and had married the daughter and namesake of the heroic Arria [6]; his utterances were to them a fountain of inspired wisdom [7]; nor was he unwilling to take them into his counsel whether to explain his past [8] or to guide his future course [9]; while outside themselves no opinion deserved to be taken into account. Strong governments have found their wisdom in tolerating such bodies, and even in respecting them; but in the course of terrorism on which Nero was now launched, it was easy to persuade him that in dealing with such opinions, he could not stop at the banishment of Cassius [10].

Other difficulties are raised by the attack on Soranus, which, while simultaneous, and apparently concerted with that on Thrasea [11], comes from altogether distinct accusers and rests on different charges [12]. He had certainly not been always in opposition: fourteen years previously he had courted Claudius and Pallas by moving a decree of money and honours to the latter [13]; nor had he ever afterwards taken any part in the senate which Tacitus has cared to mention; nor is he stated to have been

[1] 16. 28, 2. The expression would suggest that they were scurrilous libels; but this is expressly denied, and literary jealousy on Nero's part is suggested (c. 29, 3). Possibly they may have been Republican rhapsodies, in Lucan's vein.

[2] Cp. 'inlustrium virorum feminarumque coetum frequentem egerat' (16. 34, 2).

[3] See above, p. 77.

[4] Juv. 5, 36.

[5] Plut. Cat. Min. 25; 37.

[6] 16. 34, 3. She would be thus, like Paconius, 'in principes odii heres' (16. 28, 2).

[7] 'Audiret senatus voces quasi ex aliquo numine supra humanas' (16. 25, 2).

[8] Cp. 'rationem poscentibus amicis' (13. 49. 5).

[9] Cp. 'inter proximos consultavit,' &c. (16. 25, 1).

[10] Cp. 'frustra Cassium amovisti,' &c. (16. 29, 9).

[11] 16. 21, 1.

[12] 16. 23, 1; 30, 1.

[13] 12. 53, 2.

friend of Thrasea, or Republican in sentiments. The nominal charges gainst him are evidently no more than pretexts; his friendship for Rubellius Plautus, who had been four years dead[1], and his conduct as roconsul of Asia at an equally distant date[2]; while the perhaps more ormidable charge of magic had evidently not arisen till he was already ndicted on the other grounds[3]. The only known circumstance affecting im and Thrasea alike was their common Stoicism[4]; and, in default of ther explanation, it is suggested that the profession of its tenets was the al reason for striking now at him, and accounts also for an important art of the hostility to Thrasea and his followers.

This sect[5] had now reached a dignity and importance beyond any hich it had hitherto attained in Rome. It had triumphed over the tran- ent popularity of Epicureanism[6], had softened much of the eccentricity hich had moved the ridicule of Horace, and had supplied the more rnest-minded with at once a philosophy and a religion; nor would it em as if its crew of impostors[7], who had nothing of the monk except e cowl, the hypocrites with an affectation of austerity in dress and meanour combined with licentious profligacy of life, could have been ten as numerous as when they stirred the wrath of Juvenal[8]. From its nk and file came most of the teachers from whom Roman youths drew eir supply of moral maxims and of telling rhetoric[9]; while many of its gher minds had the missionary and didactic spirit[10] which breathes no s through the satires of Persius than the essays of Seneca[11]; its pro- sors are the domestic chaplains and spiritual directors of great houses[12],

16. 23, 2; 30, 1.

See note on 16. 23, 1.

This appears from Servilia's defence, ting that she had consulted magicians y respecting the result of the pending l (16. 30, 3; 31, 1). The account Dio is different (see note).

He had been the 'discipulus' (Juv. 3,) of Egnatius Celer (16. 32, 2).

The great subject of Roman Stoicism only here be entered into in regard to bearing on the political history of this od. For further information, a ge- al reference must be made to such ks as Zeller, 'Stoics,' &c. Ch. xii. T.; Sir A. Grant, Ethics of Aristotle, ay vi; Merivale, Hist. Ch. 54; Fried- ler, Sitteng. iii. 615, foll.; Schiller, p. 8, foll. Its bearing on religion is wn by Bishop Lightfoot on the Epistle he Philippians (Dissert. ii. 'St. Paul Seneca'). Obligations have here to cknowledged to most of these works.

See Grant, p. 346.

[7] Tacitus glances at the ascetics who were glad to feast at Nero's table (14. 16, 3), and implies that Egnatius Celer, who was 'habitu et ore ad experimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans' (16. 32, 3), was no solitary instance (see also 15. 45, 4). We are reminded throughout of the unworthy Pharisees, existing side by side with such men as Gamaliel.

[8] Such strong words as 'quis enim non vicus abundat Tristibus obscaenis?' (Juv. 2, 8) are of course not to be taken too strictly, but may be compared with the current statements respecting the monastic orders at the close of the middle ages.

[9] See Grant, p. 344.

[10] Id. p. 352, foll.

[11] The life of Epictetus, as a slave of Nero's freedman Epaphroditus, belongs partly to this period, but his career as a teacher begins later.

[12] Livia, at the death of Drusus, 'conso-

and attend to suggest the hope of immortality or other philosophical con-solation at the last[1].

It had not generally been regarded as politically dangerous, though i had numbered individual victims under the empire[2], and though thei reverence of Cato would associate itself with his cause, however remot the constitution for which he had died might be from any ideal common wealth. But now that Lucan had undoubtedly conspired, and Senec and Musonius Rufus[3] were supposed to have done so, it was easy fo Tigellinus to remind his master of the warning which he had given him against Rubellius Plautus, 'that he was of that arrogant sect which mad men sedition-mongers and busybodies[4].' Such an assertion is indeed in strange contrast to the philosophic theory, whereby not only was goo government welcomed by the sage as leaving him free for the higher life[5] but even bad government was not held to call upon him for a hopeles struggle against it[6]; his state was the universe, and in that alone could he truly busy himself[7]; he would submit freely and willingly to that to whicl he must submit anyhow[8], unless his position became such as to justify suicide[9]. It was thus, as has been well said, 'not a stimulus to action but a consolation under inactivity[10];' and the attitude inculcated, whateve we may think of it in the light of Seneca's practice, was altogether in accordance with that of Thrasea. But under a reign of terror, when to be conspicuous is to be dangerous, worse arguments have been known to pass muster against an obnoxious citizen: Rubellius had been an objec of fear, and Soranus was his friend and fellow-Stoic: Thrasea's every look and gesture, imitated by his sourfaced crew, was intended for an insolent censure on Nero's life[11]; his Stoic disdain made the disaffecte all over the empire look eagerly to the public journals[12] to mark step by

latori se Areo philosopho viri sui praebuit' (Sen. ad Marc. 4, 2). See other instances given by Bishop Lightfoot (p. 310), and Friedl. (p. 656).

[1] See 14. 59, 2; 16. 34, 2; and the contrast described in 16. 19, 3. The immortality of the soul, though not an essential tenet of Stoicism (see Merivale, p. 237), was held by most of these Stoics more or less strongly.

[2] Kanus had suffered under Gaius (Sen. Tranq. An. 14), Caecina Paetus under Claudius.

[3] 15. 71, 9.

[4] 'Adsumpta etiam Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat' (14. 57. 5).

[5] 'Errare mihi videntur, qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces esse ac refractarios, [et] contemptores magistratuum ac regum eorumve, per quo publica administrantur. E contrario eni nulli adversus illos gratiores sunt: ne inmerito; nullis enim plus praestant qua quibus frui tranquillo otio licet' (Se Ep. 73, 1).

[6] 'Si respublica corruptior est qua ut adiuvari possit, si occupata est mali non nitetur sapiens in supervacuum' (Se de Ot. 3, 3; cp. 8, 1).

[7] Id. 4, 1; Ep. 68, 2.

[8] 'Volentes quidem non trahuntur fortuna, sequuntur illam' (de Prov. 4, 1) 'quid est boni viri? praebere se fat (2, 8).

[9] De Ira, 3. 15, 3; Ep. 17, 9, &c.

[10] Merivale, Ch. 54.

[11] 'Rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lascivia exprobrent' (16. 22. 3).

[12] 16. 22, 6.

ep his secession[1] from the state; and it was easy to conceive him as nother Tubero or Favonius, as bent on 'first destroying the empire for berty, then liberty itself' for something yet more visionary[2].

If Nero contemplated any general blow at the whole body[3], he took, as as usual with him, but one step at a time, and struck down those only hose position gave importance to their tenets. Even as it was, to force e senate to condemn such men was beyond anything which he had yet emanded of it; and there may have been as much real timidity as tifice in choosing the moment when public attention was taken off by e approach of Tiridates[4], in the rescript pointing to Thrasea without nturing to name him[5], in raising the cry that the whole constitution was stake, in menacing the senate, apparently under pretext of protection, th an unprecedented show of military force[6].

'Of the one long day's sitting[7] we have but the record of the touching fence of Servilia and Soranus[8], of the baseness of one client of the tter[9] and the loyalty of another[10], of the intimidated senate in the midst bristling weapons, yet deeply moved by the memory of the venerable der[11] who had not stooped to face the indignity of trial[12], and powerless acquit even his still more innocent associates[13]. Beyond this, we have bare decision, the vote of an enormous reward to the accusers, d the hardly complete description of the end of Thrasea[14], reminding in many points of that of Seneca. If such death scenes seem to us be rather theatrical than genuine, it is well to be reminded that is the privilege of patriots in miserable times to be excited, strained, natural; and hence we can understand how it was that from the rondists of France the Roman Stoics obtained such sympathy and niration[15].'

After we lose the guidance of Tacitus, but few names, and hardly anyng more than the names, of further victims survive to us. The

'Secessionem iam id' (16. 22, 2); cp. n illi consulta haec, non magistratus Romanam urbem videri' (c. 28, 6).

16. 22, 8.

On the very weak evidence of Philotus (Vit. Ap. 4, 35), Nero has been to have banished the philosophers; this is generally altogether disbeed (see Merivale, l. l.). Besides those mentioned, he is said to have banished nutus (see note on 14. 59, 2).

16. 23, 3. The other motive suged for bringing on the trial at this is less probable.

16. 27, 2.

16. 27, 1, where see note.

[7] Cp. 16. 27, 1; 34, 1.

[8] c. 30–32.

[9] c. 32, 3.

[10] c. 33, 1.

[11] c. 29, 1.

[12] See note on c. 26, 8.

[13] c. 29, 2, 3.

[14] A few words only appear to be lost on this subject; but some account was probably also given of the end of Soranus and Servilia. The censure in Agr. 42, 5 of those who 'per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt,' alludes no doubt to the way in which Helvidius provoked his fate under Vespasian, but can hardly also refer to Thrasea.

[15] Grant, p. 349.

remarkable fact that Corbulo and the two brothers Scribonius Rufus an Proculus (the legati of the two 'Germaniae') were all in one year put t death [1] would show that Nero had conceived suspicion at the same tim of the commanders of all his greatest armies; but nothing whateve remains to indicate its ground. Beyond these names, we have no detail o the many cruelties of Nero in Greece [2]; beyond the name of Sulpiciu Camerinus, none respecting those perpetrated by Helius as his vicegeren at Rome [3]. A few words of Suetonius tell us that to the other famil murders were added those of his adoptive sister Antonia [4] and his stepso Rufrius Crispinus [5]; a single line of Pliny alludes to the fate of the si wealthy possessors of half the province of Africa [6]; our accounts of th reaction under Galba give us names of several delators whose careers seen hardly to have begun when the Annals break off. We are told that th Scribonii fell before the delation of Paccius Africanus [7]; Licinius Crassus and Salvidienus Orfitus [9] and their families before that of Aquiliu Regulus; that Eprius Marcellus had added other noble victims to Thrase and his friends [10]; that infamy had been incurred on similar grounds b Vibius Crispus [11], Annius Faustus [12], Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Attianu Cestius Severus [13]; and for exactions or other misdeeds by the freedme as Polyclitus, Vatinius, Patrobius [14], Petinus [15], also by Calvia Crispinilla [1 and others. When to such indications we add the inference derive from observing how few of the cases mentioned in the extant narrativ of Tacitus would have been known to us without it [17], we can see ho far we probably are from being able to form even an approxima estimate of the bloodshed and other acts of tyranny of the last two yea of Nero.

Among these latest victims our great interest centres in Corbulo; b as to any explanation of his fate we have but conjecture to go upo

[1] Dio, 63. 17, 2–5. Their deaths are placed in 820, A.D. 67.

[2] Dio, 63. 17, 1.

[3] Dio, 63. 18, 2.

[4] Suet. Ner. 35: cp. 15. 53, 4, and note.

[5] Suet. l. l.: see note on 13. 45, 4.

[6] 'Sex domini semissem Africae possidebant quum interfecit eos Nero princeps' (N. H. 18, 6, 7, 35).

[7] H. 4. 41, 3.

[8] H. 1. 48, 1; 4. 42, 1.

[9] 4. 42, 1; Suet. Ner. 37.

[10] Cp. 'quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium inpulerit' (H. 4. 7, 4). The Sentius mentioned just above (§ 3) may have been one of them.

[11] H 2. 10, 2, 6; 4. 41, 4; 42, 6.

[12] H. 2. 10, 2.

[13] H. 4. 41, 2. Besides all these, t poet Silius Italicus lay under the imput tion of having been a delator (Pl. Ep. 7, 3), but is nowhere mentioned as su in Tacitus.

[14] H. 1. 37, 8; 2. 95, 4.

[15] Plut. Galb. 17.

[16] Her extortions in Greece are me tioned in Dio, 63. 12, 3, but are not allud to in the notice of her in H. 1. 73.

[17] Of those punished for real or alleg participation in the Pisonian conspira only four or five names are given by D or others; of those mentioned by Tacit in Book 16, only Thrasea and Soran It may be similarly shown how few of t victims of Tiberius mentioned in t Sixth Book have any record in any ot author.

Supposing it probable that he occupied Armenia, without opposition from the Parthians, till the journey of Tiridates to Rome was accomplished [1], his tenure of that country would have reached its natural end when that prince returned invested by Nero with the diadem; and, as the ordinary government of Syria had been for some time in other hands [2], no disgrace would be implied in his recall to Rome; though the existence of some suspicion or jealousy may be inferred from Nero's having neither taken the obvious course of transferring him and his legions to the Jewish war, nor retained him to direct the expedition (probably already in contemplation) beyond the Caucasus [3]; nor could Corbulo himself have failed to notice the want of confidence in him implied by the appointment of Vespasian and Mucianus [4]. His own officer, Arrius Varus, appears to have been his chief accuser [5]; and we are allowed to see, even from the accounts of Tacitus, that there were occasions on which ground of accusation may well have existed [6]. But the suddenness with which Nero summoned him, and the precautions taken to throw him off his guard [7], seem to point to some pressing panic, and lend weight to the suggestion that his name may have been mixed up, without any complicity on his own part, in the conspiracy of which his son-in-law Annius Vinicianus is thought to have been the head [8]. As to his own unflinching loyalty, repented of only at the last moment of his life, our authority speaks unhesitatingly [9].

It is in the narrative of the final catastrophe that we have above all to deplore our loss of the guidance of Tacitus; by which the many points left in such great obscurity, respecting the real aim of Vindex, and his relations with Galba and Verginius, might have been cleared up [10], and some explanation given of the causes which had led alike the Gallic levies and the German and Spanish legions, and governors of such various characters and possibly discordant motives, to agree at least in treating any continuance of the Neronian rule as impossible [11]. It is indeed easy to suppose that such

[1] See below, ch. iv.

[2] Cestius Gallus had been appointed 816, A.D. 63 (15. 25, 5).

[3] See H. 1. 6, 5; Suet. Ner. 19.

[4] The death of Cestius Gallus, and the appointment of these two officers to command in Judaea and Syria is probably to be placed at the end of 819, A.D. 66. See Appendix to Book 16.

[5] H. 3. 6, 2.

[6] See below, ch. iv. p. 121.

[7] *Ἐντιμότατα μεταπεμψάμενος . . . καὶ πατέρα καὶ εὐεργέτην αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὀνομάζων* (Dio, 63. 17, 5).

[8] See note on 15. 28, 4; Appendix to Book 16.

[9] Dio, l. l. In 62. 19, 4, he is spoken of as strongly urged to become emperor but steadily refusing. Tiridates is also said (63. 6, 4) to have remarked to Nero, *ἀγαθὸν ἀνδράποδον Κορβούλωνα ἔχεις.*

[10] Such inferences with respect to the judgment of Tacitus on these points as are suggested by allusions in the Histories are noticed in Appendix to Book 16.

[11] See Appendix, l. l. The professed purpose of Vindex, and (at first) of Galba, to restore the Republic, can hardly be assumed to have been sincere; and Verginius does not seem to have gone further in this direction than to assume that Nero had forfeited the principate, but to main-

general and standing grounds of military discontent as were shown in the mutiny of so many legions at the death of Augustus against an emperor of known vigour and capacity, who had even been their own victorious general[1], would have been aggravated at this time by the news of the conduct of their imperator in Greece and elsewhere, and by jealousy at the donatives and other gifts lavished on the praetorians[2]. It is again evident that the fate of Corbulo and the Scribonii must have taught all provincial commanders what they had to expect, and warned them that it was safer to take advantage of the discontent of the troops than to repress it: and that a state of things would thus come to exist which a single spark might set in a blaze. For the further progress of the revolt, the weakness, passing at a step from contemptuous indifference to abject panic, with which Nero attempted to face the situation, would seem sufficiently to account.

As regards the last crisis, that of the defection of the praetorians, a few words of Tacitus come in to confirm the general account. To this body their long standing allegiance to the Caesars[3] had not only the force of habit, but was also a necessity of their existence: the proclamation of a Republic would have been their sentence of disbandment; nor had they any desire of their own for even a change of ruler. Fourteen years of laxity and indulgence had taught them to love a vicious prince as deeply as their predecessors had ever respected a strict one[4]; and the contrast of Galba could hardly have been more attractive in anticipation than it proved to be in reality[5]. But the intrigues of Nymphidius[6] found their all-powerful support in Nero's own cowardice; and a false report that the flight which he was known to be contemplating had already taken place left them no resource but to make the best of the only rival then before them[7], however visionary might be their hope of the enormous donative offered in his name[8].

tain that it was for the senate and people of Rome to choose a successor.

[1] See 1. 17; 35.

[2] On such standing jealousy cp. 1. 17, 9; on Nero's gifts to the latter force, cp. 12. 69, 3; 15. 72, 1, and notes. The extent of the military disaffection suggests also that there may have been some truth in the statement of Suet. (see note on 16. 3, 1), that the soldiers' pay had fallen into arrear.

[3] This force is described as 'longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus' (H. 1. 5, 1), in even a stricter sense than that in which the legions were so.

[4] 'Ita quatuordecim annis a Nerone assuefactos, ut non minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur' (H. 1. 5, 3).

[5] 'Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam' (l. l.).

[6] See Appendix, l. l.

[7] Hence Tacitus speaks of the force as 'ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et inpulsu quam suo ingenio traductus' (H. 1. 5, 1); and Piso is made to say, by a pardonable stretch of rhetoric, 'et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem' (H. 1. 30, 7).

[8] 30,000 H. S. each (Plut. Galb. 2). They are represented (Id. 18) as hoping at least to get as much as Nero had given which was half that sum.

Tacitus has not left us even a word of allusion to the last scene; but as the narrative of all historians could only have rested on the testimony of three or four eye-witnesses, it is not likely that the accounts materially varied. He would no doubt have delighted to contrast the ghastly irony, which at the last hour deplored the loss to the stage[1], and strove even in its agony to bring out scraps of literature[2] and forced efforts of expression[3], with the serenity and self-possession which had marked the last hours of the tyrant's most illustrious victims.

An important historical question remains to be considered, how far the personal outrages and excesses of the emperor affected the general administration of the empire. We have certainly no evidence of exceptional misgovernment, such as the universal disturbance of settlements under Gaius, or of such rampant venality and corruption as was prevalent under Claudius; nor, until the last year, is there evidence of any general breakdown of authority. On the other hand, the reputation gained in the first 'quinquennium,' over-rated, as we have seen reason o think it has been[4], is far from being sustained throughout the later period; and we seem to have an impression of mingled wisdom and weakness, as if Nero had been never without good advisers[5], but had either listened to them or followed his own impulse as the humour took him. This may especially be illustrated by the strange interpolation of the episode of Tigranes in the otherwise consistent policy maintained throughout the Eastern war[6]. The rebellion in Britain was dealt with in a spirit of judicious conciliation[7]; the Jewish war was taken up on a scale befitting its seriousness[8]; but in neither case had ny previous account been taken of the widespread and deepseated auses of discontent which had led to the outbreak. Again, in the nidst of that war, for which assuredly all the strength available in he East was needed, we hear of two projected expeditions, that to the Caucasus, which perhaps at a more opportune time might have been

[1] 'Qualis artifex pereo' (Suet. Ner. 49).

[2] He is made to quote Homer (ἵππων ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὔατα βάλλει) on earing the sound of the horsemen in ırsuit of him (Suet. l. l.).

[3] Several such are collected by Suet. .d Dio, as 'ergo ego nec amicum habeo c inimicum:' 'haec est Neronis decocta:' φειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις: ἄγε ἔγειρε αυτόν: 'haec est fides,' &c.

[4] See above, p. 59.

[5] The part played by the 'concilium principis' (see 13. 50, 2; 15. 25, 2, &c.) in all cases where the emperor had no strong personal interest, is apt to be underrated. Petronius Turpilianus and Nerva are thought to have been among Nero's later counsellors. (See 15. 72, 2, and note.)

[6] See below, p. 115.

[7] See below, ch. v.

[8] See Appendix to Book 16.

justifiable[1], and one to Aethiopia[2], for which no intelligible reason has ever been assigned. In the provincial governorships[3], good appointments are so far mingled with bad as to preclude either general praise or censure. In Britain, Suetonius Paulinus and Petronius Turpilianus are succeeded by Trebellius Maximus[4]; in Germany, Verginius Rufus is balanced by Fonteius Capito[5], in Spain, Galba by Otho[6], in the East, Corbulo by Caesennius Paetus[7]; while Porcius Festus is alone well spoken of among the later Jewish procurators[8]; and if credit is given for selecting such men as Vespasian and Mucianus[9] to deal with the insurrection, it must be remembered that the cruelty of Gessius Florus had occasioned it, and the incapacity of Cestius Gallus had made it formidable[10]. The absence of trials for 'repetundae' under the later years of Nero[11] would rather, in connection with such appointments, suggest that redress had become more difficult, than that governors had become more pure.

In other measures, the same mixed character is to be traced; we have on the one hand well-meant attempts to restore the decaying centres of Italian life by fresh colonisation[12], the extension of Latin rights to one or more Alpine districts[13], the incorporation of Pontus Polemoniacus in the provincial empire[14]; and, side by side with these, such characteristic strokes as the shortlived act of impulsive folly by which Greece was restored to freedom[15], and the extortionate subsidies levied everywhere after the fire[16]. Similarly, in the measures taken after that catastrophe, the wise and liberal bounty to the sufferers[17], and the bold and comprehensive plans for such reconstruction as should not

[1] On this project see below, p. 125, 7. Troops were not indeed drawn from the East for it; but reinforcements may have been diverted which were needed there.

[2] Dio, 63. 8, 1. Troops were being collected for it in Egypt (H. 1. 31, 8; 70, 2).

[3] A complete list of all Neronian governors of whom we have record is given in Schiller, p. 383, foll. It will be remembered that during the first five years the appointments made contrasted favourably with those of the Claudian time. (See above, p. 58.)

[4] He is described as 'per avaritiam ac sorde contemptus exercitui invisusque' (H. 1. 60, 1).

[5] Tacitus calls him 'avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum' (H. 1. 7, 2).

[6] That Otho governed Lusitania well is expressly asserted (13. 46, 5); but the circumstances of his appointment were scandalous.

[7] See below, p. 117, foll.

[8] See Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 1, where he is contrasted with his successor Albinus, and with the still further change from bad to worse in Gessius Florus.

[9] See Appendix to Book 16. The appointment of Vespasian is the more remarkable as he was in disfavour (16. 5, 5).

[10] See Appendix, I. I.

[11] For the numerous cases in the earlier years see above, p. 56.

[12] 13. 31, 2; 14. 27, 2, 3.

[13] See 15. 32, 1, and note.

[14] Suet. Ner. 18. Marquardt shows (i. 202) that this is to be dated in 816, A.D. 63.

[15] See Appendix, I. I. Pausanias states (7. 17, 2) that Vespasian promptly reversed the measure, ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

[16] 15. 45, 1.

[17] 15. 39, 2; 43. 2, 3

only make the recurrence of such disasters less likely[1], but should also replace by streets and buildings more worthy of the mistress of the world the mean and winding thoroughfares of the hasty and frugal restoration after the Gaulish conquest[2], has to be contrasted with the wholesale appropriation, implied to have been without compensation[3], of all the best and most central area of the city by the emperor himself. It is also to be noticed that the financial liberality towards the state, for which he is made to take ostentatious credit[4], stands in strange relation to the profligate wastefulness of his general expenditure[5], above all, to the prodigious sum of 2200 million H.S. squandered in indiscriminate largesses[6], leaving an empty exchequer which the utmost severity of his successor strove in vain to replenish[7].

The fact that no marked changes in the system of government originated under him, but those already in progress moved with accelerated pace, is due rather to circumstances than to himself. The profession of respect for the senate at the beginning of his rule was not, and could not well be, accompanied by any real restoration of the functions which Claudius had taken from them[8], and was exchanged for pronounced hatred[9], and the extermination of many of its noblest families. Some had entered into conspiracy, others had provoked his animosity by mere pre-eminence or energy[10], the order as a whole less creditably by their abject servility, and probably by giving more and more evidence that their growing incompetence and antiquated rules[11] made them rather a hindrance than a help in the task of government. Hence the threat to carry the Claudian system out to its completion by abolishing the order altogether, and governing the

[1] 15. 43, 4.

[2] 15. 43, 1. The criticism in § 5 where see note) would show that the ubstitution of broad for narrow streets vas not an unmixed gain.

[3] See 15. 42, 1, and note.

[4] 15. 18, 4. The reference is doubtful see note there), and the strictures which e is represented as making on his predeessors can hardly have applied with truth o any but Gaius.

[5] Suet. gives several details (Ner. o) which we have not means of criticisng.

[6] 'Bis et vicies millies sestertium donaonibus Nero effuderat' (H. 1. 20, 2); a um about equivalent to eighteen millions terling. It seems implied that this sum overs the gifts not of his whole rule, but f his last years only. Plutarch (Galb. 6) speaks of them as gifts to actors and athletes. The rewards of delators are perhaps also included.

[7] Galba tried to get the gifts back from the recipients (H. 1. l. l.), and (failing this) even from those who had purchased of them (Plut. Galb. l. l.; Suet. Galb. 15).

[8] See above, p. 35.

[9] Hence the subtle form of flattery ascribed to Vatinius, 'I hate you, Caesar, because you are a senator' (Dio, 63. 15, 1).

[10] Cp. 'magnitudo famae exitio erat' (3. 55, 3); 'gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit' (Agr. 6, 3).

[11] The annual tenure of all magistracies, and the idea (departed from only under pressure of emergency) that any senator was equally fitted for any function, and that all partition of duties should be by lot, must have become more and more out of date.

empire by means of knights and freedmen[1]: hence also the rise of the latter body[2], somewhat checked at the outset of his rule[3], to nearly as important a position as they had held under his predecessor[4].

As the breach between the emperor and the aristocracy continually widened, he was brought into closer relation with the populace. The transference of the cost of the corn dole from the aerarium to the fiscus, whether actually the work of Claudius or of Nero[5], seems to have borne its chief fruit under the latter. The mass who now thus in the most direct manner looked to the princeps for their food, dispensed in his name and by his officers, and supplemented by other gifts of various kinds[6], and by constant and gratuitous amusements, formed a vast and increasing 'clientela Caesaris,' in comparison with which the adherents of the shattered and impoverished aristocratic houses could have been no more than a handful[7].

In speaking of the Neronian period as one distinguished in the history of literature[8], it should be borne in mind that several of its most eminent names only in part belong to it[9]; that the manysided genius of Seneca, to whose influence the whole movement of this literary revival is generally ascribed, was famous as early as the time of Gaius[10]; and that the example and pursuits of Claudius[11] must have been on the whole more favourable to literature than the ignoble patronage of Nero; who by the literary contests which he instituted, can but at best have promoted an increase in the number of works possessing an average stamp of merit[12]; who condemned Lucan to silence as soon as his fame had established itself[13], valued Petronius only as the inventor of his pleasures[14], and employed Seneca to write his speeches and to prostitute his pen in

[1] Suet. Ner. 37.

[2] The knights were not as much in honour; as the *élite* of that body were closely allied to senators (H. 1. 4, 3).

[3] In 13. 2, 3, Nero is described as not inclined to allow such persons to rule him.

[4] Polyclitus was sent to report on Britain (14. 39, 1); Helius left vicegerent in Italy while Nero was in Greece (Dio, 63. 12, 1); the power of others is attested by the hatred felt towards them afterwards (H. 1. 37, 8; 2. 95, 4).

[5] See note on 15. 18, 4.

[6] Among these may be mentioned 'congiaria' of large amount (see 13. 31, 2, and note) and sales of corn below market price (15. 18, 3; 39, 2). The statement of Dio (see on 15. 45, 1), that the corn dole was suspended after the fire, is unconfirmed and most improbable.

[7] See the important distinction between the 'pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa' and the 'plebs sordida circo ac theatris sueta' in H. 1. 4, 3. From the alleged superiority of the former class it is possible that some deduction should be made.

[8] Besides the well-known names in extant literature, a great number are collected by Teuffel, ii. pp. 35–99, § 280–303.

[9] Those most belonging to it were Lucan and Persius; of whom the latter, as a friend of Thrasea, must have been outside court influence.

[10] Dio, 59. 19, 7.

[11] Pliny (Ep. 1. 13, 3) mentions his paying Servilius Nonianus the compliment of attending his recitation.

[12] It is chiefly by such a poet as Calpurnius (see Ecl. 4. 30, foll.; 87, foll.) that this age is lauded as a new and happy era for poetry.

[13] 15. 49, 3.

[14] 16. 18, 4.

lying defences of his hideous crimes; who numbered all these, and other less famous names, among his victims, as also Musonius Rufus[1], Cornutus[2], Cassius the jurist[3], Verginius Flavus[4], among those whom he sent into exile[5]; and loved to be surrounded only by such poets as could not eclipse himself[6].

In architecture, his extravagance may not have been without its merit in giving a free hand to such men of genius as Severus and Celer[7]; nor is there reason to doubt that the 'domus aurea' was a miracle of costly splendour, and its grounds an unprecedented triumph of landscape gardening; although its glory was too shortlived to allow of much trustworthy information respecting it[8]. For the rest, his engineering projects, however good their aim, seem to have been ill-planned failures[9]; and his endeavour to replace the art treasures of Rome took the easy method of universal pillage[10].

The interest naturally attaching to the last prince of the great Julio-Claudian dynasty has contributed, no less than the events associated with his rule, to secure for him an attention far beyond his actual place in history: yet even the exhaustive researches of H. Schiller seem hardly to invalidate the conclusion already arrived at by Dean Merivale[11], that we have no such means of discovering a truer portrait of Nero behind the misrepresentation of historians as we have in the case of Tiberius or of Claudius. The fact that such misrepresentations were there discoverable may cast a general suspicion on the testimony in this case also; all the more so as the mass of falsification on both sides between which the impartial historian of the empire has to steer, seems in the case of this prince to have reached its maximum[12]: but in the general outline we have no glaring inconsistencies or other definite grounds of

[1] 15. 71, 9. [2] Dio, 62. 29, 2.
[3] 16. 9, 1. [4] 15. 71, 9.
[5] Besides these, Curtius Montanus, who is represented (16. 28, 2) as punished for his literary promise, was excluded from public life (c. 33, 4).
[6] See 14. 16, 1.
[7] 15. 42, 1.
[8] On this palace and grounds see l. l. and note. It is very doubtful whether it ever stood perfect; for the work is stated to have been unfinished at the accession of Otho (Suet. Oth. 7), and the demolition began under Vespasian.
[9] The canal from Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber is represented as undertaken in the advice of these persons in the face of its obvious impossibility (15. 42, 2). The purposed canal through the Isthmus of Corinth (Dio, 63. 16, 1) shared the fate of a smilar project of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 21).
[10] See 15. 45, 3, and note.
[11] Hist. ch. 55.
[12] It will be remembered that Tacitus speaks of the current narratives of all the princes of whom he treats in the Annals as 'florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis compositae' (1. 1, 5). That this was especially the case with the contemporary narratives of Nero, is evident from the emphatic statement of Josephus (Ant. 20. 8, 3).

disbelief; and the balance which Tacitus, here as elsewhere, believes himself to hold, is shown chiefly in a few points which he alone treats as doubtful, while the authorities whom Suetonius or Dio have followed had assumed them as certain, but which, when all needful allowance is made, go for little towards any general reversal of judgment [1]; as is no less the case with other details in which the accuracy of Tacitus himself seems open to question [2]. Were he acquitted on every one of these counts in the indictment, one whose victims included every near relation that he had in the world, and almost every citizen who had given lustre to the age, would have but little to gain by the verdict. Such names as those of Britannicus, Agrippina, Octavia, and Antonia, or such as Seneca, Lucan, Thrasea, Soranus, Corbulo (not to mention many others), are assuredly to be weighed, not merely counted; and such justification or extenuation as is pleaded in one case or another becomes the harder to sustain when all are viewed together.

In accepting the substantial truth of the record before us, it is but just to take account of the circumstances and surroundings which helped to form this prince's character. Besides the vicious domestic influences with which the training of most young nobles had to struggle [3], his life from childhood had been spent in an atmosphere of falsehood, and among all the machinery of intrigue and crime by which still in mere boyhood he had risen to power, with even less experience of life than the worst of his predecessors; bending his earliest energies to escape by fair means or foul from his mother's leading-strings, with the aid of a brilliant teacher, pliant as a reed, and anxious, with (it may well be) good ulterior aims, to sustain his own influence over him at whatever moral cost. His earliest crimes revealed to him the utter degradation of the senate and people, who received his most flimsy justifications with effusive servility [4], and welcomed the matricide's return to Rome with all the honours of a triumph [5]; the former body proceeding, as time went on, to lend with increasing readiness its judicial machinery to strike down whomsoever he might choose to indicate to it [6], or responding to

[1] He thus leaves it open whether Nero gazed on the dead body of his mother and made remarks on it (14. 9, 1), whether he caused Burrus, Pallas, and Doryphorus to be poisoned (14. 51, 1; 65, 1), whether he had himself caused the fire in Rome (15. 38, 1). It may also be assumed that in some at least of the cases where he has omitted without comment what others have stated, he has done so intentionally.

[2] Among such may be noticed the probable exaggeration in such points as the 'vast multitude' of the Christian martyrs (15. 44, 5), the general expressions used of the numbers tried and executed for the conspiracy (15. 58, 3; 71, 1), and the assumption of the truth (in spite of his own previously expressed doubt) of the alleged attempt to poison Seneca (15. 60, 3).

[3] Quint. Inst. 1. 2, 4–8.

[4] 14. 12, 1.

[5] 14. 13, 2.

[6] For the mere hints which sufficed in the case of Thrasea see above, p. 85.

the announcement of murders already perpetrated by decreeing such public thanksgivings as had been usual after signal victories[1]. To complete his demoralisation, such men as Tigellinus accustomed themselves to practise for their own ends upon his fears[2], as others had practised on those of Claudius; and the timidity so characteristic of him at all stages of his career[3] becomes in the last crisis of his life a state of abject terror, in which he is powerless to act for himself, and is left by the desertion of his advisers to his miserable end.

Those in the higher ranks who had thus helped to make him what he was hastened to pass sentence of deposition and death, to wreak their vengeance on his memory and name, and to make illusory displays of reedom[4]; while the numbers who had lived on his bounty to his and heir disgrace deplored a patron whose like they could never hope again o find[5]. Those of them who believed in the news of his death, and ontinued long to deck his grave with flowers[6], were important enough o make Otho and Vitellius seek their favour by paying respect to his nemory[7]: many on the other hand took advantage of the mystery urrounding his end to keep up the belief that he yet lived and would eturn to execute vengeance and resume his rule[8]. The strength of uch a belief is shown by the support given to pretenders, not only soon fter his death[9], but even some twenty years later[10]; and by the long ontinued Christian expectation of the reappearance of the arch-tyrant nd persecutor as the coming Antichrist[11].

[1] On the murder of Sulla and Plautus pplications were decreed, and Nero uncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis cipi videt' (14. 59, 6; 60, 1). The ill more flagrant instance on the murder Octavia leads Tacitus to say 'praemptum habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes sserit princeps, totiens grates deis actas, aeque rerum secundarum olim, tum pubcae cladis insignia fuisse' (14. 64, 5). his effusive servility is probably not the aracteristic of the main body, whose mperament is rather that of the crushed bmissiveness ('sueta maestitia') which acitus contrasts with their more penetrat- fear at the trial of Thrasea (16. 29, 1).

[2] 14. 57, 1, &c.

[3] Cp. 15. 36, 3; 16. 24, 3, and above, . 62, 64, &c.

[4] See Appendix to Book 16; also the scription in H. 1. 4, 3: 'patres laeti, urpata statim libertate licentius, ut erga ncipem novum et absentem: primores uitum proximi gaudio patrum.' Their ents there mentioned are no doubt the bs whom Suetonius describes (Ner. 57) as appearing at his death in caps of liberty. The same persons were no doubt the 'vulgus' who had believed the Pisonian conspiracy to have been a mere invention to get rid of hated nobles (15. 73, 2).

[5] 'Maesti et rumorum avidi' (H. 1. 4, 3).

[6] Suet. Ner. 57.

[7] H. 1. 78, 3; 2. 95, 2.

[8] 'Vario super exitu eius rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque' (H. 2. 8, 1). Suet. states (l. l.) that men posted up edicts in his name, 'quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri.'

[9] The case described by Tacitus in the following year (H. 2. 8–9) is spoken of as if it was one of several ('ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus').

[10] Suet. l. l. This pretender, and the support given to him in Parthia, are alluded to in H. 1. 2, 3: 'mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio.'

[11] See Appendix to Book 15. St. Augustine finds it necessary to rebuke even in his own day a belief that Nero yet lived (de Civ. Dei, 20. 19).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN RELATIONS WITH PARTHIA AND ARMENIA FROM THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS TO THE DEATH OF NERO.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—This subject has lately received full treatment from Mommsen (Hist. v. ch. 9), to whose work the reader must be generally referred, and to whom constant obligations must be acknowledged. Information has also frequently been derived from the same author's notes on the 'Res Gestae Divi Augusti' ('Monumentum Ancyranum'), and from Prof. Rawlinson's 'Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy' (London, 1873). The chronology and geography of the campaigns of Corbulo have been most carefully investigated in Egli's work [1]; and great light has been thrown on the general chronology of the Parthian kings by the evidence of their coinage, on which the latest authority is that of Prof. Percy Gardner ('Numismata Orientalia,' Pt. v. London, 1877), from whom the dates of their reigns here given are taken [2].

THE following list of the Parthian and Armenian kings belonging to this period will be of service in following the succession of events. :—

PARTHIA.	ARMENIA.
(1) Orodes I. B.C. 56–38.	(1) Artavasdes I. B.C. 56 or 55–34 [4].
(2) Phraates IV. B.C. 38–2 [3].	(2) Artaxias II. B.C. 33–20.
(3) Phraataces, B.C. 2–A.D. 4.	(3) Tigranes II. } cir. B.C. 20–6.
(4) Orodes II. A.D. 4–7 or 8.	(4) Tigranes III. and Erato } cir. B.C. 20–6.

[1] 'Feldzüge in Armenien' 41–63 n. Chr., in Vol. i. of Budinger's 'Untersuchungen zur Römischen Kaisergeschichte,' Leipzig, 1868.

[2] The coins give date not only of the year (computed from the Seleucid Era, Oct. 1, B.C. 312), but also of the Parthian month. There is however a complication from the lunar mode of reckoning; and an element of uncertainty arises from the fact that in most cases the name given on coins is only 'Arsaces,' and the succession of a new king has to be determined only by the change of effigy. For the Armenian chronology, we have no such assistance; and the coinage of its kings of this period appears to cease from about 30 A.D.: see Langlois, Numismatique d'Arménie, p. 44.

[3] On these Parthian kings (2–6) see 2. 1–3, and notes. The interruption of the reign of Phraates by Tiridates, cir. B.C. 33–30, is noted below, p. 98.

[4] On these Armenian kings (1–11) see 2. 3–4, and notes.

PARTHIA.

(5) Vonones I. A.D. 7 or 8–11.
(6) Atrabanus III. A.D. 11–40.
(7) Gotarzes, A.D. 40–41 [1].
(8) Vardanes, A.D. 41–45.
(9) Gotarzes (restored), A.D. 45–51.
(10) Vonones II. July, Aug. A.D. 51 [2].
(11) Vologeses I. A.D. 51 (Sept.)–77 or 78 [3].

ARMENIA.

(5) Artavasdes II. } cir. B.C. 6–1.
(6) Tigranes III. and Erato (restored), } cir. B.C. 6–1.
(7) Ariobarzanes } cir. B.C. 1–A.D. 11.
(8) Artavasdes III. } cir. B.C. 1–A.D. 11.
(9) Tigranes IV. } cir. B.C. 1–A.D. 11.
(10) Erato (restored), } cir. B.C. 1–A.D. 11.
(11) Vonones, cir. A.D. 11 or 12.
(12) Artaxias III. A.D. 18–35 [4].
(13) Mithridates, A.D. 35–52 [5].
(14) Radamistus, A.D. 52–54 [6].
(15) Tiridates [7].
(16) Tigranes V [8].
(17) Tiridates, recognised from A.D. 63 [9].

In relation to Parthia, far more than to any other part of the empire, ie dictator Caesar had left to his successors a legacy of war: for in iis case there was not merely (as in the case of Britain) a failure to e redeemed, but the great military disaster of Crassus to be avenged; id a projected expedition in force had been only frustrated by his eath. The Parthian king, quickened by a sense of his danger, seized gerly the opportunity which the dissensions of the two leading triumrs soon afforded him [10], and poured his forces over the frontier, under e leadership of his son Pacorus and the Roman exile Labienus. This vasion, in which Decidius Saxa, the legatus of Antonius in Syria, as overpowered and slain, and Syria, Palestine, and nearly the whole Asia Minor were left for nearly two years (713–714, B.C. 41–40) the mercy of the invader, was effectually rolled back in the two llowing years (715–716, B.C. 39–38) by the decisive victories of Ventius Bassus, whereby not only was Roman prestige thoroughly restored, t a dynastic crisis was brought about in Parthia, resulting in the position and murder of Orodes by his son Phraates.

On these kings (7–9), see below, p. 105.
See 12. 14, 7, and note.
See 12. 14, 8, and note. There are changes in the type of coinage during l reign. The first, in which a youthful e occurs, between A.D. 55–58, is taken mark the rebellion of Vardanes (see 13. 7); after which period, as the old type s not restored, it is thought that the ogeses who continued to rule until the cession of Pacorus in A.D. 77 or 78 4. 51, 1; Suet. Dom. 2) is not the e person as before. The testimony of citus certainly recognises no such nge; and it is possible that the old king altered the type: see Gardner, p. 13.

[4] See 2. 50, 2; 6. 31, 2, and notes.
[5] See 6. 32, foll.; 11. 8–9; 12. 44–47.
[6] See 12. 49–51; 13. 6, 1.
[7] See 12. 50, 1, foll.
[8] See 14. 26, 1; 15. 6, 1, and notes.
[9] See 15. 27, foll.
[10] He had previously afforded assistance to Cassius, and sent troops to Philippi. The terms of agreement then entered into are unknown, but may possibly have included such a bargain as Pompeius was prepared to make after Pharsalia, purchasing the help of the great king by the surrender of Syria.

The Eastern policy of Antonius, which these events and his reconciliation with Octavianus left him free to prosecute, appears to have been conceived on the grandest scale, and to have embraced no mere effacement of past disasters, but the creation of a great Roman empire of the East, no less extensive than that of the Seleucidae, centred in himself and in his children, and combined with his never-abandoned scheme of supremacy in the West[1]. The preliminary steps had been taken by securing the support of the Armenian king and bringing the Iberian and Albanian tribes of the Caucasian region into a position of dependence; Palestine was secured by aiding Herodes to expel Antigonus; in the enemy's country the support of the powerful subject Monaeses, probably also that of the king of Media Atropatene, was reckoned on; and the splendid army of sixteen legions, with other troops making up a total of more than 100,000, with which Antonius at last took the field, late in the season of 718, B.C. 38, was not unworthy of the enterprise; but the vast scheme ended in ignominious failure and a disastrous retreat, in which only the military genius of the general saved his army from the fate of that of Crassus. With the shattered remnant, nothing further was achieved in the following year than the invasion of Armenia and seizure of its king Artavasdes, in punishment for his desertion in the previous campaign. The impaired energies of Antonius would probably in no case have been equal to further action on a large scale; and his dreams of Eastern empire were soon ended by his fall and death.

We can thus understand the situation which presented itself to his rival after the victory of Actium and the submission of Egypt left him free to deal with it. Phraates, thoroughly hostile, and flushed with recent victory, had been fortunately prevented from taking advantage of the civil war by a temporary revolution which had driven him an exile into Scythia before his rival Tiridates[2], and was apparently just then regaining his throne. Armenia, which had been in vassalage for a generation, was thoroughly alienated by the treacherous capture of its king; whose son Artaxias, after gaining power by national and Parthian aid, had thrown away the scabbard, like Mithridates, by a massacre of all Romans within his dominions; and the work of Lucullus and Pompeius would have had to be done over again, with such aid as the petty surrounding kingdoms could furnish.

[1] See Momms. Hist. v. 360; E. T. ii. 24.

[2] The intestine troubles of Parthia are alluded to by Horace in Od. 3. 8, 19; the vicissitudes of Tiridates and restoration of Phraates in 1. 26, 5; 2. 2, 1[7]; probably also in 1. 34, 14. A few coi[ns] are found which apparently belong t[o] Tiridates, and which bear date in 72[1], 722, B.C. 33, 32 (Gardner, p. 10).

It is no doubt true, as Mommsen points out[1], that Augustus, by not t once employing the vast army then at his disposal in enforcing a ecisive settlement of the whole Eastern question, by the recovery of he captives and standards, and restoration of Roman supremacy in rmenia, sacrificed such an opportunity as could never again recur, nd of which a great military genius such as the dictator Caesar would ssuredly have taken advantage. At the same time, the apparent easons against such a course are not far to seek. The failure of ntonius, with a force excellent in numbers and quality, could not ut be an impressive warning to one who could not pretend to equal s strategic capacity; the army on the spot, eager for dismissal and ward, and evidently not without mutinous tendencies[2], could have een in no humour for one or more campaigns in the pitiless climate Armenia[3], or for such an expedition beyond the Euphrates as had een fatal to one, and wellnigh also to the other, of the only Roman mies which had yet attempted it. At the same time, so sagacious politician would readily see that the security of his own position, compared with the frequent revolutions of those Eastern dynasties, ould not only protect him from any repetition of the attempt of corus and Labienus, but would surely sooner or later offer an oppor- nity, when a demand, backed even by moderate military force, might tort compliance from Parthia or Armenia, or from both. Certain is, that his speedy reduction of his army to a peace establishment eighteen legions[4], of which probably only four were stationed in ria, and none in any other Asiatic province[5], betokened a definite andonment of any great military enterprise in that quarter; while shelter afforded to the fugitive Tiridates, and to the exiled Median ng[6], showed his intention to furnish himself with instruments of rigue.

But Augustus had also to reckon with the force of popular sentiment home, which would not allow national disasters to remain indefinitely venged. We may estimate this from the language of Horace, in ose aspirations during this period[7] the idea of humiliating the great

Hist. v. 371; E. T. ii. 36.

See 1. 42, 5, and note.

That the rigour of Armenian winters proverbial to Romans would appear Hor. Od. 2. 9, 4.

See Introd i. ch. vii. p. 103.

The garrison of the East was cer- y no more than this at a later od, when the total of the standing y had been increased (see Introduction, l.).

[6] See Mon. Anc. 6. 1; Momms. p. 110 foll.

[7] His utterances at this time on this subject, though blended with judicious flattery, strike a far bolder key than that to which the policy of Augustus would correspond, and must be taken to represent national sentiment rather than Caesarian inspiration. In the 'initia fastigii Caesarum' (3. 29, 2), literature was not under such command as afterwards; and

Eastern monarchy is very prominent. As soon as the civil wars were ended, which had been 'fulfilling the Parthian's prayer'[1] by diverting the attack, the 'young ruler destined to be their dread'[2] is urged to punish the proud career of the horsemen[3], whose generals had 'twice quelled the ill-starred onset' of the legions and adorned themselves with Roman spoils[4]; whose hordes were even extravagantly imagined as 'threatening the borders of Latium[5].' To face these 'dreaded' enemies[6], and their famous tactics[7], the youths of Rome must be trained[8]; to lead these in triumph and impose a law on them[9] is the national longing; 'Augustus will indeed be a god among men when these and the Britons are added to the empire.'[10]

The opportunity which Augustus was thus calmly biding seemed to have come in 731, B.C. 23, when a demand or petition from Phraates for the surrender of Tiridates, and of an infant son of his own carried off by him, was met by sending back the latter, with a stipulation, which was disregarded or frustrated by delay, for the surrender in return of the captives and standards[11]. It can hardly have been without the co-operation of some internal troubles[12], that the mere presence of Augustus in Syria three years later, unsupported, as far as we know, by any more than the ordinary military force of the province, sufficed to win without a blow all the demands which had been for so many years resisted, as well as the temporary withdrawal of all Parthian support from the vassal kingdoms; so as to enable Tiberius Nero, after personally receiving the standards, to instal Tigranes in Armenia in place of the already deposed and murdered Artaxias[13], and to set Ariobarzanes son of the Artavasdes who had recently died in Rome, on the throne of Media[14].

Maecenas does not seem to have admitted the poet to his political confidence (see Sat. 2. 6, 40–58).

[1] Epod. 7, 9; cp. Od. 1. 2, 21.

[2] Sat. 2. 5, 62.

[3] Od. 1. 2, 51.

[4] Od. 3. 6, 9. It is somewhat difficult to select which are the two occasions spoken of, and the mention of Monaeses is perplexing. See the explanations suggested in Mr. Wickham's notes, and in Momms. R. G. D. A. p. 125.

[5] Od. 1. 12, 53.

[6] Od. 1. 29, 4.

[7] Od. 1. 19, 11; 2. 13, 17.

[8] Od. 3. 2, 3. [9] Od. 3. 3, 34.

[10] Od. 3. 5, 4. The main subject of this ode may have been intended to imply that it was by conquest only that captives could worthily be recovered.

[11] Dio, 53. 33, 1. Mommsen (R. G. D. A. 136) shows reason for supposing that this son was the young Phraates mentioned in Mon. Anc. 6. 1, as a voluntary fugitive, and who was subsequently sent permanently to Rome with his brothers (see on 2. 1, 2), and afterwards sent back to Parthia as king (6. 31, 4). Tiridates appears to have delivered him to Augustus in Spain in 729, B.C. 25 (Just. 42. 5, 5), having himself taken refuge in Syria in 724, B.C. 30 (Dio, 51. 18, 3); see Momms. l. l.

[12] That the expedition coincided with or brought about a revolution in Armenia is plainly indicated; and the unconditional surrender of Phraates seems hardly otherwise to be explained.

[13] See 2. 3, 4, and note.

[14] See Mon. Anc. 6. 9; Momms. p.

The greatest military achievements could hardly have done more [f]or the fame of Augustus than these bloodless victories, eked out, as [th]ey evidently were, by no small amount of grandiloquent falsification. [A]ugustus probably proclaimed then, as later[1], that he could have made [A]rmenia a province, and merely gave it back as an act of grace to a [n]ative prince: 'Armenia Capta,' or 'Recepta,' appears on coins[2]; and the [a]chievement there of Tiberius is ranked with the subjugation by Agrippa [o]f Cantabria[3]: the surrender of the standards is no less commemorated [o]n triumphal medals[4], and may well have figured on many an Augustan [w]ork of art[5], as it does on the noblest of this emperor's extant statues[6]: [p]oetry ranks it with the great military glories of Rome[7], pictures the [tr]ophies as 'torn away'[8] by the victor's hand, the great rivers of the [E]ast as flowing in humbler stream[9], and even Phraates as prostrated [at] the knees of Caesar to do homage for his throne[10]. Ten years[11], [or] even thirty years later[12], the same subject is still an appropriate theme [fo]r compliment.

Phraates continued outwardly to show 'all service of reverence[13],' and [ce]mented the alliance some ten years later by sending all his legitimate [fa]mily to be domiciled in Rome[14]; a step fruitful in consequences by

[1]1–113. Artaxias appears to have held [M]edia with Armenia.

[1] Mon. Anc. 5. 24–28.

[2] See Cohen, i. pp. 71, 113; No. 200, [2]0, 361.

[3] Hor. Ep. 1. 12, 27.

[4] Such appear to be numerous: see [Co]hen, i. p. 99, No. 255–267, also pp. [1]3, 112, No. 298, 357. In some of them a triumphal arch or chariot is repre[sen]ted. The statement of Dio (54. 8, 3) [tha]t Augustus had an ovation is incor[rec]t, as the only two occasions mentioned [in] Mon. Anc. 1. 21 are otherwise ac[cou]nted for; but it is doubtless one of [th]e occasions on which such an honour [wa]s offered and declined.

[5] A triumphal arch was erected in the [Fo]rum (see Momms. R. G. D. A. 125, [1]); and the great temple of Mars Ultor [in t]he Forum Augusti was built to receive [th]e standards (Mon. Anc. 5. 42, and notes), [whi]ch had been at first deposited in the [Ca]pitoline Temple ('signa nostro resti[tuit] Jovi,' Hor. Od. 4. 15, 6; cp. Prop. 4. [?]).

[6] The famous statue in the Vatican [(Br]accio Nuovo, 14), which has this sub[jec]t for the ornamentation of the cuirass.

[7] 'Auroramque sequi, Parthosque repo[s]ce signa' (Verg. Aen. 7, 606): for [o]ther allusions see Hor. Od. 4. 5, 25; 14, 42; C. S. 54, &c.; Prop. 3. 10, 13; 4. 5, 48: 12, 3; 5. 6, 79.

[8] 'Direpta' (Hor. Od. 4. 15, 7).

[9] 'Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis' (Verg. Aen. 8, 726): cp. Prop. 4. 4, 4. The date of Hor. Od. 2. 9 is disputed; but it seems hardly possible that the allusion to 'nova tropaea,' which must have been gained after the assumption of the title of 'Augustus' in 727, B.C. 27, can have any other reference. The similar passage in Verg. G. 3, 30 can more easily be explained prophetically.

[10] Hor. Ep. 1. 12, 27. That much of this sentiment was manufactured is evident from the laboured appearance of writing to order in the chief odes of the Fourth Book and elsewhere, in contrast with the comparative freedom of Horace's earlier writings. Augustus himself also no doubt exaggerates the facts in saying (Mon. Anc. 5. 42): 'Parthos . . . supplices amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.'

[11] Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 256.

[12] Ov. F. 5. 579–594; Tr. 2. 227, 228.

[13] 'Cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat' (2. 1, 2).

[14] See l. l. and note. This act, represented by Tacitus as a precaution against internal treachery, is assigned by Josephus to an intrigue of Thermusa, mother of the illegitimate Phraataces, to better the posi-

supplying for many a year to come a stock of Romanised princes of the blood to be set up as claimants for the throne. During the latest years of Augustus, Roman influence seemed to have reached its highest point when the first of these princes, Vonones, was formally summoned and accepted as the rightful heir, and maintained himself for some few years on the throne of the Arsacidae [1].

Nevertheless, the Parthian kings generally made no scruple of inter-posing from time to time in Armenia [2]; in which, from the appointmen of Tigranes II in 734, B.C. 20, we have for nearly forty years an almos continuous history of interference and intrigue, resulting in revolutio and anarchy. The account of these vicissitudes can be read as relate in its place by Tacitus [3]; but it will be well to compare here the alterna-tives open to Rome in dealing with this Afghanistan of the ancien world.

Subsequent experience may be taken generally to have shown tha a policy of complete non-interference would have been best, and that th efforts of Rome were far more needed in extending and consolidatin the empire in other quarters; but Augustus could not slight the tradition of the Republic, or allow it to be said that even an imaginary limit of th empire had receded under him. Also, from the time of the domicil of the heirs of Phraates in Rome, the idea of bringing the Parthia empire itself under Roman influence through a monarch of the stamp c Vonones must have been constantly present; and for any militar demonstration to support a friendly or threaten a hostile king, the mos practicable route was that which rested on Armenia as a base, and le along the Tigris to Ctesiphon [4]. On the other hand, the transitor success achieved under Trajan cannot well be regarded even as subse-quent evidence in favour of the possibility of holding this kingdom a a province [5], a course which must certainly have been beyond the pale c practical politics when the provincial frontier in Asia Minor had nc extended beyond the Halys [6]. The only remaining alternative, that c

tion of her son, and is magnified by Velleius (2. 94, 2) and others into a giving of hostages through fear.

[1] See 2. 2, 1, and note.

[2] It may probably be this evasion of the real or supposed treaty engagements that leads Horace to speak of the 'infidi Persae' (Od. 4. 15, 23): cp. 'Parthis mendacior' (Ep. 2. 1, 112). The treaty itself continued to subsist in the time of Tiberius (see 2. 58, 1).

[3] See 2. 3–4, and notes.

[4] See 12. 12–13, &c. It may be added that Media Atropatene, which could not be reached but through Armenia, was n at this time considered outside the sphe of Roman influence.

[5] Armenia was formed into a provin by Trajan in 867, A.D. 114, and give back to a native prince by Hadrian fo years later, and from that time return to a condition of ambiguous vassala between the two great empires (s Momms. p. 403; E. T. ii. 72). 'R Armeniis datus' appears on medals Antoninus and M. Aurelius (L'Anglo pp. 45, 46).

[6] See Introd. i. ch. vii. p. 94.

:ontrolling it as a vassal kingdom, is the one which we have to consider as maintained throughout this period, in various forms from substantial dependence to mere nominal acknowledgment of suzerainty, and always under the great difficulty of contending with national affinities and sympathy, balanced no doubt by some dread of Parthian despotism [1].

The empty achievement of escorting Tigranes II to his kingdom by Tiberius Nero was soon nullified by the Parthian sympathies of his family: a repetition of the pageant by Gaius Caesar was attended by resistance which cost his life: the attempt of the Roman party to set up the rejected Parthian king Vonones was too dangerous for the legatus of Syria to support; and at the death of Augustus both Parthia and Armenia had slipped from his control [2].

The fortunate coincidence, that a prince acceptable to Rome, and even in part of Roman lineage, was already the national choice [3], enabled Germanicus in 771, A.D. 18, to repeat the performance of Tiberius and Gaius Caesar without any imposing military demonstration [4] and with far more effect. Artaxias III obtained firm possession of the throne; and Artabanus, who could not have resisted this combination of circumstances, was conciliated by the removal from Syria (which was soon followed by the death) of Vonones [5]. This peaceful settlement was so far successful, that for some sixteen years we hear no more of Eastern politics; but it is evident that Roman influence in Armenia made no real progress, and probable on the other hand that the annexation of the neighbouring kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagene to the provincial empire [6] gave the party of national independence the more ground for thinking that it was from Rome that they had most to fear. It may well be that some encouragement from this quarter, as well as his successes elsewhere and his contempt for the supposed dotage and impotence of Tiberius, emboldened Artabanus, on the death of Artaxias, probably about 787, A.D. 34, at once to seize Armenia for his son, and to address the old emperor with the most defiant arrogance and insult [7].

[1] 'Ambigua gens . . . hominum ingeniis situ terrarum . . . maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia' (2. 56, 1). In 2. 3, 2, their animosity to Rome is ascribed to the perfidious seizure of Artavasdes by Antonius, some fifty years previously; but it must evidently have had a more permanent cause; and the truth seems rather to be admitted at a later stage (13. 34, 5): 'Armenii ambigua fide utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis propiores conubiisque permixti ac libertate ignota illud magis ad servitium inclinantes.'

[2] See 2. 3, 5–4, 5, and notes.

[3] See 2. 56, 2, and note.

[4] This absence of a strong military force was due to the contumacy of Cn. Piso (2. 57, 1).

[5] See 2. 58; 68.

[6] See 2. 42, 6, 7; 57, 4, 5.

[7] See 6. 31, 1, foll., and notes; Suet. Tib. 66.

The narrative of Tacitus[1] gives a full account of the response of Tiberius to this challenge, and the decisive blows struck by him in both directions, by instigating the Iberian prince Mithridates to seize Armenia[2], and equipping another and again another of the Romanised Arsacids, as a leader to the disaffected Parthian nobility[3]. Yet in all this his habitual caution was not lost sight of. His able lieutenant, L. Vitellius[4], was charged to avoid actual collision with the Parthians[5], and to give Mithridates no other material help than such as consisted in distracting the enemy by assuming a threatening position on the Euphrates[6]. The Armenians themselves would seem to have remained passive while their country became a battle-ground between the Parthians and the chief Caucasian nations. Scythian tribes hired themselves out as allies to both, but were in fact present on one side only[7]. The result showed that the Parthian horsemen were no match outside their own country for the more mixed forces[8] and superior hardihood[9] of the Iberians and Albanians; who were not only able to defeat the young prince Orodes[10], but even to gain advantage, by superior local knowledge, over a levy *en masse* led by Artabanus himself[11]. The instability of Eastern thrones is illustrated no less strikingly by the revolution which, following on these disasters, and fomented by Roman intrigue[12], drove Artabanus into exile and destitution in Scythia[13], and made the advance of his rival Tiridates resemble a triumphal procession[14], than by the rapid counter-revolution which so soon brought the old king back again, and returned the pretender, as a discrowned fugitive, to Roman territory[15]. But in all these vicissitudes Mithridates held his ground; the powerful Greek city of Seleucia maintained its revolt[16]; and Vitellius was able, just before the death of Tiberius, to compel Artabanus to make submission and homage, and deliver his son as a hostage[17].

Whatever advantage had been gained was soon scattered to the winds by Gaius, who, on unknown grounds, summoned Mithridates to his presence and imprisoned him[18], set up nothing in place of the government thus destroyed, and left Artabanus, at the close of his chequered

[1] 6. 31–37; 41–44. [2] 6. 32, 5.
[3] 6. 31, 1; 32, 1, 5. [4] 6. 32, 5.
[5] 6. 32, 1: cp. 'Ostentasse Romana arma satis ratus' (6. 37, 6).
[6] 6. 36, 1. [7] 6. 33, 3–5.
[8] 6. 34, 2. [9] 6. 34, 3, 6.
[10] 6. 35, 5. [11] 6. 36, 1.
[12] 6. 36, 2, and note.
[13] 6. 36, 4; 43, 3.
[14] 6. 37; 41, 2–42, 6. [15] 6. 43–44.
[16] On the disputed date of this revolt see 11. 9, 6, and note.
[17] Jos. Ant. 18. 4, 4. The news would appear to have reached Rome after the accession of Gaius, and to have enabled him to take credit for the diplomatic victory (Suet. Cal. 14). Dio (59. 27, 3) would imply that it had actually taken place under his rule.
[18] See 11. 8, 1, and note.

life[1], once more master of the coveted situation in Armenia[2]. On his death, the balance turned no less rapidly in the opposite direction; the civil war between his sons, in which the whole Parthian empire was involved[3], being taken advantage of by Claudius to reinstate Mithridates; who, with the renewed support of his brother Pharasmanes[4], was enabled to overcome the resistance of the satrap[5]; while a Roman force assisted in the reduction of the strongholds[6], and a monition from the emperor checked a rival claimant, the king of lesser Armenia[7]; after which the nation seems to have acquiesced in his return[8]. We find, however, that his rule was marked by severity[9]; that the brave and enterprising Vardanes was only prevented from attacking him by the menacing attitude of the legatus of Syria[10]; and we notice for the first time not only the assistance of a Roman force, as described above, but a small permanent Roman garrison in the country[11].

We have next a striking instance of the way in which the history of this period repeats itself. The cruelty and incapacity of Gotarzes[12] give occasion in 802, A.D. 49, for another embassy to seek a king from Rome; and Meherdates, son of Vonones[13], is sent off in answer to their request. Like Tiridates, he is escorted by the legate of Syria no further than the Euphrates[14], and left there to make the best of his own resources. Like him again, he lets slip the precious time[15], and defers the decisive struggle apparently till the following spring[16]; when we have him advancing from Armenia along the Tigris, osten-

[1] After the extant narrative of Tacitus closes, Artabanus is said to have been again deposed and exiled in favour of an Arsacid named Cinnamus, and to have been again restored by help of Izates of Adiabene (Jos. Ant. 20. 3, 1–3). The evidence of the coinage, which had been previously taken to place his death in the middle of A.D. 42 (Rawlinson, p. 248), is made by Prof. Gardner (p. 12) to fix it to A.D. 40.

[2] This is implied in the narrative of Tacitus (11. 8, 1, foll.).

[3] See 11. 8–10. It is stated by Prof. Gardner (pp. 12, 50) that the evidence of coins appears to support the statement of Tacitus, as against that of Josephus (Ant. 20. 3, 4) and Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 1. 21), in making a short reign of Gotarzes (A.D. 40–41) precede that of Vardanes, and to show that the death of the latter (11. 10, 5) took place about A.D. 45. The view of Mommsen (Hist. v. 379, n. 1; E. T. ii. 45, n. 1), that the immediate successor of Artabanus was his son of the same name, is not necessarily implied by Tacitus (11. 8, 3), and appears to rest on no other evidence. Some coins of Gotarzes contain his name, and bear the strange inscription ὑὸς κεκαλουμένος (υἱὸς κεκλημένος) Ἀρταβάνου; which may possibly mean that the patronymic was part of his title. He would hardly describe himself as 'reputed son.'

[4] 11. 8, 1.

[5] 11. 9, 2.

[6] 11. 9, 1.

[7] 11. 9, 3.

[8] 'Cuncta in Mithridaten fluxere' (l. l.).

[9] 'Atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret' (l. l.).

[10] See 11. 10, 1, and note.

[11] See 12. 45, 3, &c.

[12] 12. 10, 2.

[13] 12. 10, 1.

[14] 12. 11, 4.

[15] In the present case this is ascribed to the insidious advice of his false friend the Arabian prince (12. 12, 4).

[16] See 12. 13, 1, and note.

tatiously occupying the great historic sites of Ninus and Gaugamela[1], soon forced by desertion of allies[2] to face with diminished forces a decisive battle, in which all is lost by the death of his best supporter[3], then by a further treachery falling into the victor's hands, mutilated, and contemptuously left to live[4]; an ignominious conclusion of the policy initiated in the later days of Augustus, of controlling the Parthian empire by means of Romanised Arsacids.

The revolting story[5] of the murder of the old king Mithridates, with his wife and family, at the instigation of his own brother Pharasmanes[6], and by the act of Radamistus, who was at once his son-in-law, brother-in-law, and nephew[7], bears chiefly on the present subject as showing the thorough discredit incurred by Rome through the worthlessness of its officials on the spot[8], and the widespread taint of the 'avarice of the Claudian times[9].' The war of one vassal king upon another is allowed to proceed without interference: the military commander of the fortress in which the king and his family had taken refuge is bribed to urge him, and even to compel him to surrender himself to his treacherous enemies[10]: the court buffoon[11], who by a freak of fortune filled the responsible post of procurator of Cappadocia, after a futile show of interference, is induced by another bribe to support by his sanction and presence the assumption of the crown by the arch-traitor[12]:

[1] 12. 13, 2.

[2] 12. 14, 3.

[3] An inscription (see C. I. G. 4674; Rawlinson, p. 259; Gardner, p. 13), carved over one of Darius Hystaspes on the rock of Behistùn in Kurdistan, is generally taken to commemorate this victory; but the title, Γωταρζῆς σατράπης τῶν σατραπ[ῶν], causes much difficulty. The great king never appears to be elsewhere so designated; and the usual form, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, is used by Gotarzes on coins (Gardner, p. 49). The suggestion (see Mommsen, 341, n. 1; E. T. ii. 7, 2), that it may express his position during his retirement in favour of Vardanes, is inconsistent with the complete effacement then recorded of him (11. 9, 5); nor is it easy to suppose the carved figure with one of Victory above its head to be other than that of the actual king. Of the rest, only two or three isolated words remain, as Ἀλφασάτης, Μιθράτης (by which Meherdates is taken to be meant) and Γωταρζῆς Γεόποθρος (on which see Gardner). It seems open to reasonable doubt whether the inscription has any reference to the events or persons here mentioned by Tacitus.

[4] 12. 14, 6.

[5] 12. 44–51. The whole series of events is related by Tacitus under the year 804, A.D. 51, which must be that in which the intrigues of Radamistus began. The actual invasion of the Iberians (12. 45, 2) and its results cannot well have taken place before the following year, and are perhaps spread over two years; another year must begin after the winter mentioned in 12. 50, 3; and the final occupation of Armenia by the Parthians cannot have taken place before 807, A.D. 54, as the news of it did not reach Rome till after the death of Claudius. See notes on 12. 44, 1; 50, 1; 51, 5; 13. 6, 1.

[6] 12. 44, 5; 45, 2.

[7] See 12. 46, 1.

[8] The one bright exception is the centurion Casperius (12. 45, 5).

[9] H. 5. 12, 3.

[10] 12. 45, 5; 46, 1–5. According to a fragment of Dio (61. 6, 6), Pollio was replaced by a successor named Laelianus, who was equally corrupt.

[11] 12. 49, 1. The rightness of the reading given in the text is here assumed.

[12] 12. 49, 2.

even the legatus of Syria thinks, with the majority of his advisers there present, that all atrocities and quarrels of barbarians were good for Roman interests, and that a king who owed his throne to a deed of infamy would be more manageable than one who had reached it honourably[1]: the legion sent into Armenia to restore order is hastily withdrawn to avoid collision with the Parthians[2]: the garrison which had betrayed Mithridates appears to have evacuated the country[3].

The Parthian empire was now in the hands of the able and enterprising Vologeses[4]; who continued for many years to direct its policy[5], and who now seized the opportunity of fulfilling a standing family compact[6] by supporting his brother Tiridates as the antagonist of the usurper, and occupied Armenia and its chief cities without resistance[7]. His withdrawal during the winter of 805–806, A.D. 52–53[8], gave Radamistus an opportunity of returning; when his vindictive measures[9], added to his previous crimes, roused the spirit of his people; who, after years of tame submission to one ruler after another[10], were at last goaded into insurrection, and drove him from Artaxata in ignominious flight to his Iberian home[11], from whence he appears to have kept up some desultory warfare till the close of the following year[12].

We can thus understand the situation when news was brought to Rome, almost immediately after the accession of Nero, that Radamistus had finally disappeared, that Armenia was again occupied by Parthian forces, and that Tiridates was undisputed king[13]. The policy initiated by Augustus had broken down on all points; the Romanised princes who had been set up as claimants for the great king's throne had one after another failed ignominiously[14]; while in Armenia the unprincipled support given to Radamistus had called into existence an uprousing of national spirit as a new force to be reckoned with, had enabled the Parthians to pose as liberators of the nation from an odious tyranny, and had brought back the antipathy to Roman interference

[1] 12. 48, 2, 3. The speakers are there even made to suggest that the policy of setting up vassal kings of Armenia was intended to promote national discord.

[2] 12. 49, 3, 4.

[3] This is not expressly stated, but appears to be implied in the narrative.

[4] On the date of his accession see above, p. 97; on his origin and descent see 12. 14, 8; 44, 2.

[5] This is here assumed, notwithstanding the doubt arising from a change in the type of his coinage (see above, p. 97, 3).

[6] His brothers had given way to him (12. 44, 2), and were to be rewarded by obtaining through his aid Media and Armenia (see 15. 2, 1).

[7] 12. 50, 1, 2.

[8] This is ascribed to a sickness in his army from the severe winter, or insufficient provision, or both causes (12. 50, 3).

[9] 12. 50, 4.

[10] 12. 50, 5.

[11] See the description of his escape, and the romantic story of his wife Zenobia (12. 51).

[12] 13. 6, 1.

[13] l. l.

[14] 2. 2; 6. 32, foll.; 12. 10, foll.

in that country to much the same point at which it had stood afte the action of Antonius some ninety years earlier[1]. The accession c a new emperor undoubtedly gave opportunity for a new departure i policy; but the necessity of satisfying Roman public opinion and mair taining Roman prestige on the one hand, and the facts of the situatio on the other, still operated to circumscribe it within narrow limits.

The prompt appointment, early in 808, A.D. 55, of a general c the character and antecedents of Corbulo[2], satisfied public opinion a Rome that the Parthian defiance was to be met in a correspondin spirit. Cappadocia, hitherto governed only by a procurator[3], was t be his nominal province; and Ummidius Quadratus, who, in spite c his proved incapacity[4], was still left at his post as governor of Syria was required to send to him two of his legions and a correspondin proportion of auxiliaries, to move his remaining forces to the Euphrate and to make preparation for crossing it; while the neighbouring vass kings, the Jewish prince Agrippa, Antiochus of Commagene, wit Aristobulus and Sohaemus, newly appointed to rule Armenia Mine and Sophene, are directed to assist[6]. Corbulo promptly took possessio of his province[7]; and the mere demonstration of Roman force revea again, as so often formerly, the internal weakness of the Parthia monarchy. A rebellion, headed by the king's son and apparent strong enough to support itself for three years[8], starts up; Vologes hastily evacuates Armenia, and under further pressure sends hostag chosen out of the Arsacid nobility[9]. With this incident, and a pett quarrel arising out of it between the ill-assorted Roman generals[10], a sight of the East for nearly three years is lost to us.

The whole following period is one in which our information is mo unsatisfactory, as compared with what might naturally have been e pected; for although the Roman general is known to have been th historian of his own campaigns, and his work is known to have bee consulted by Tacitus[11], many of the points chiefly interesting to studen of history are left in great obscurity. Regarding it as a military recor

[1] See above, p. 98.

[2] 13. 8, 1: for his previous services see 11. 18–20, and notes.

[3] See 12. 49, 1.

[4] See above, p. 107.

[5] He continued to be legatus of Syria till his death in 813, A.D. 60 (14. 26, 4). P. Anteius had been designated as his successor in 808, A.D. 55, but was detained in Rome (13. 22, 2).

[6] On these kings see 13. 7, 1, foll. and notes. They were to assist either governor, but preferred service with the more v gorous general (c. 8, 3).

[7] 13. 8, 4.

[8] See above, p. 97, note. Some ha imagined a division of the monarc during part of the reign of Vologeses (s Schiller, p. 100, 6).

[9] It is suggested (13. 9, 2) that he m have been glad thus to rid himself dangerous subjects.

[10] 13. 9, 3–6.

[11] See 15. 16, 1, and note.

we find an absence of all strategical details, and rarely get even clear indications of time or place[1]. In the practice of grouping the events of two or more years together, so much is sacrificed to literary effect as to leave the time of the year, and even the year itself, and the distinction of one campaign from another, to be made out from some incidental allusion to season or climate; and again, the general features of the physical geography of the country are wholly ignored; the situation of important places is assumed as known or left altogether vague; and it is only here and there that the mention of some definite locality gives any indication of the routes taken or positions occupied. Nor are the defects less serious in the political history. The policy and instructions of the Roman government, the nature of the negotiations between the contending parties, and the terms proposed or rejected on either side, are oftener left to be gathered than expressly stated.

For most of these defects, Tacitus must himself be held responsible. We can hardly suppose that the chronology of the campaigns was thus confused in the original account; and the knowledge of the geography of Armenia which had grown up in Greece from the time of the Ten Thousand, and in Rome from that of the Mithridatic wars, is stated by Pliny to have entered upon a new era in his time through the additions made to it by Corbulo and from other contemporary sources[2]. It is likely enough, however, that the tendency to grandiloquence noticed by Tacitus himself in Corbulo[3], had left its traces on his work in some general exaltation of his own personality, which has been exaggerated to us rather than reduced, through the desire of the historian to throw a strong light upon what he conceived to be a portrait of true Roman heroism, in contrast to the degradation and effeminacy of Nero[4]. Though evidently not altogether blind to the existence of defects in his hero[5], he has not allowed them to interfere with his idealisation; and

[1] On these points, the account here given is constantly indebted to Egli's work, referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

[2] In coming to this part of his geographical description, he says (6. 8, 23), 'nunc reddatur ingens in mediterraneo sinus, in quo multa aliter ac veteres proditurum me non eo infitias, anxia perquisita cura rebus nuper in eo situ gestis a Domitio Corbulone regibusque inde missis supplicibus aut regum liberis obsidibus.' Pliny elsewhere (5. 24, 20, 83) quotes him and Mucianus as differing authorities respecting the source of the Euphrates, and in another place (6. 11, 12, 30) corrects a prevalent error of those who had served with him respecting the 'Caspiae portae' (see below, p. 125, 7). It is however justly noted by Egli (p. 336, foll.) that Pliny's 'anxia cura' has merely added a number of names and isolated facts to those already known, and that his general knowledge of Armenian geography is still far below that of Strabo, whose work he strangely nowhere mentions, and appears never to have seen.

[3] He is described as 'verbis magnificis' and 'etiam specie inanium validus' (13. 8, 4).

[4] On his fondness for such contrasts, as especially that implied between Germanicus and Tiberius, see Introd. i. iv. p. 28.

[5] Tacitus admits, for instance, besides

throughout the whole history of the war he has selected such incidents alone for prominence as concern Corbulo personally, and has frequently sacrificed the general narrative of events to biographical particulars.

What has been said above will serve to explain the necessity of here supplementing the narrative of Tacitus by such a geographical and chronological sketch as will make it intelligible.

It may be sufficient for the former purpose to trace the three chief mountain systems forming the highlands of Armenia and the river basins and plains of various elevation enclosed by them [1]. The central and highest range, that of the Dujik mountains, a prolongation of the Anti-Taurus, parts at its western extremity the two branches of the Upper Euphrates, the Murad and the Jephrat or Kara-Su; and is prolonged under the names of Dujik Dagh, Binghol Dagh, and others, rising at its eastern extremity to the two highest points in the whole country, those of Great and Little Ararat; at the foot of the latter of which the basin of the Erasch (Araxes) is joined to that of its tributary the Balyk. The southern range, treated as a prolongation of Taurus, or Taurus Niphates, parts the basin of the Murad from that of the Upper Tigris [2] under the name of Mush Dagh, and divides at the great plain of Lake Van into the Arjerosch and Erdoz Dagh south of the lake, and Jebel Nimrud and Sapan Dagh at the north of it, rising further to the north-east to the Ala Dagh [3], in which the Murad and Balyk find their source and watershed. The northern range, enclosing the whole country in its sweep, divides in its western portion the basin of the Kara-su from that of the Ioruk (Akampsis), and in its eastern that of the Araxes from that of the Kur (Cyrus); the watershed of the Kara-su and Araxes being found on the high table-lands, the highest in the whole country and near 7000 feet

the grandiloquence above mentioned, Corbulo's desire to prolong the war for his own advantage (15. 3, 1), his impatience of rivalry (15. 6, 6), his desire to add to the glory of his arrival in succour of Paetus by delaying it till the last moment (15. 10, 7); and gives, not indeed (as should be) for a fact, but for a report, the less creditable version of his arrangement with Vologeses (15. 6, 1–3). These admissions do not affect his general view; but it is not fair to suppose, as Mommsen thinks on one of these occasions (see Hist. v. 390, 1; E. T. ii. 57, 1), that he has no sense of the censure conveyed by his words. He does not always accept Corbulo's own statement, nor does he endeavour to soften his ungenerous words and acts in regard of Paetus (see below, p. 118, 10).

[1] This sketch is drawn mainly from Egli, pp. 294–302, but partly from various other sources. See also the map at the end of this volume.

[2] Another and much lower range, that of Mt. Masius, branching off from this to the south-east, encloses the basin of the Upper Tigris on the south, and was probably in part the southern frontier of Armenia.

[3] This is probably either the 'mons Aga' or 'Capotes,' which Pliny (N. H. 5. 24, 20, 83) gives, on the respective authority of Corbulo and Mucianus, as the source of the Euphrates; the other of them being probably the source of the Jephrat. The Balyk may be the 'Usus' of Plin. 6. 9, 10, 26; the Murad is generally taken to be the Arsanias (see 15. 15, 1, and note).

ıbove the sea, of Erzeroum and Pasin; from which descend eastward the listricts of Kars and Erivan; in the latter of which, on the bank of the Araxes, and near the northern foot of Great Ararat, lay Artaxata, the uncient capital. The roads and passes in such a country were few and lifficult, and most of them during great part of the year impracticable; he routes most open to an invader from the west being either to cross he Euphrates near Melitene (Malatia) in Cappadocia, and follow the course of either of its branches, or to take one of the lines further north, nswering to modern caravan roads, from Armenia Minor and Pontus, or from the Black Sea at Trapezus (Trebizond), to the table land of Erzeroum, and thence to strike at Artaxata. On the south, the ulnerable point was the Bitlis pass, on the west side of Lake Van, ommunicating with the plain of Mush in the centre of the country; vhence again the Khynis pass, over the central mountain ranges, east of he Binghol Dagh, led directly to the plateau of Erzeroum [1]. How far outh of the Bitlis pass the limits of Armenia extended is an uncertain oint; still more so the situation of Tigranocerta [2], stated to have lain n the extreme southern frontier of the kingdom [3], on an elevated site [4], nd close to a river known to Tacitus as the Nicephorius [5].

As regards the chronology, while it appears clear that the narrative ı Book 15 [6] is that belonging to the years 814–817, A.D. 61–63, the pportionment of the narrative in the two previous Books among the receding years is matter of great difficulty; and the only winter ientioned in that period [7] has been assigned by critics to three fferent years.

If we reckon back from what seems clearly made out, the first question ill be whether the events of 14. 23–26, related, as they are, wholly ithout a break, are those of the year 813, A.D. 60, alone, or of the evious year also: we have again to ask whether the beginning of this ırrative is to be taken as separated from that ending in 13. 41, 4, by an tervening unmentioned winter; whether again the events of 13. 34–41 e those of one campaign or two, and whether the beginning of actual stilities is to be placed in 811, A.D. 58, or the preceding year.

As regards the first question, Egli's arguments [8] seem clearly to show

[1] This was the route by which the Ten ousand had passed through the country t the sea; and also that by which Lu- lus had endeavoured to reach Artaxata i 686, B.C. 68.

[2] See note on 12. 50, 2.

[3] The computation of Claudius, cited i Pl. N. H. 6. 9, 10, 27, so places it.

[4] Plin. l. l. § 26.

[5] See 15. 4, 3, and note.

[6] 15. 1–18; 24–31. Although the whole period of the narrative in this Book seems thus clearly defined, its subdivision into separate years is full of difficulty: see below, p. 115, 10.

[7] 13. 35, 5.

[8] Pp. 288, 289. This conclusion rests on the notices of the season of the year implied in 14. 24, 2, 3.

that the occupation of Tigranocerta must be placed late in the autumn, and that few if any events of importance can have followed within the same year; certainly not such as involve a reference to Rome and the initiation of a fresh policy by the government, the mission of Tigranes, his establishment in the kingdom, and withdrawal of Corbulo to Syria[1]. On the other hand, Egli's supposition that the capture of Artaxata and Tigranocerta belong to one and the same campaign[2] involves the difficulty of supposing no break of time at all in so wide a break of narrative; while his chronology is further complicated by his untenable identification of the 'miraculum' observed at the capture of the former city with the eclipse of April 30, 812, A. D. 59[3], obliging him to assign an earlier period to the opening of the campaign than the climate of that region would permit[4]. Yet again, Mommsen's opinion[5], that in 13. 34–41 the narrative is carried down to the close of 812, A. D. 59, involves the difficulty already mentioned, of leaving all the events given in 14. 23–26 to be compressed into the one following year. Also we should hardly expect Tacitus here to antedate without giving some intimation that he is doing so, especially when a debate in the senate on the events, not likely to be thus antedated, is subjoined[6], and another event, obviously belonging to the current year, is introduced immediately afterwards by 'deinde'[7]. If the year 58 be fixed as the date of this campaign, it carries with it that of the previous winter spent in the enemy's country; and we are thus on the whole led to conclude that the narrative in 13. 34–41 belongs to 810, 811, A.D. 57, 58, and that in 14. 23–26 to 812, 813, A.D. 59, 60. But in any decision we have more or less a choice of difficulties; and some of those belonging to this view will have to be noticed in their place.

By adopting this chronology, the period of apparent inaction is reduced to the two years 808, 809, A. D. 55, 56. These are taken to have been spent by Corbulo in the re-organisation of forces demoralised by long inaction. The unfit are discharged, their place filled and the legions made up to full war strength by levies from the neighbouring provinces, and the whole is welded into an army by strict and inexorable discipline[8]. We are also to gather that Corbulo

[1] See 14. 26.

[2] Pp. 284–287.

[3] See 13. 41, 4; 14. 12, 3, and notes.

[4] Active operations are in this view supposed to have opened with the taking of the three forts not later than the beginning of April, and the preceding campaign is made to close at the end of 13. 38, where no break is given.

[5] Hist. v. 386, 1; E. T. ii. 53, 1.

[6] 13. 41, 5.

[7] 13. 42, 1. Various subsequent events in this Book are expressly referred to the current year (see 13. 45, 1; 48, 1; 50, 1; 58, 1).

[8] 13. 35.

vas instructed from the first to make overtures, whereby Tiridates was o be recognised as king, on condition of acknowledging the grant y doing formal homage to the majesty of Rome[1]. But the Arsacidae till held their heads too high to do this, and considered that more han enough concession had been made by the delivery of hostages[2]. Tiridates had for some time been *de facto* king, was strong in national upport[3], in constant expectation of effectual help from his brother[4], nd probably led by the inaction of the Romans to doubt whether they neant serious war in any case.

Corbulo was thus forced in 810, A.D. 57, to begin hostilities in earnest y leading his now thoroughly disciplined army[5] into Armenia, where s training was to be completed by the terrible ordeal of a winter pent under canvas in probably the most inclement region ever held s a Roman winter-quarters[6]. We are told little, save what tends to ring out the portrait of the general, his heroic example to his soldiers[7], s iron discipline in camp and severity to disobedient officers[8], his sight into the treacherous designs of Tiridates[9], and the like. We ather, as it were incidentally, that the locality of the campaign which pened in A.D. 58 was such as to enable the Romans to draw their pplies from Trapezus (Trebizond)[10], and was therefore probably that the great table-land of Erzeroum: also that Tiridates, strengthened some assistance from his brother[11], pursued a system of predatory tacks, without allowing himself to be drawn within striking distance, d of hollow attempts to negotiate[12]; that the Romans were compelled adopt similar tactics[13], aided by demonstrations from the Hiberi d Moschi on the north and the king of Commagene on the west[14], the campaign, necessarily in that climate a short one[15], was brought a crisis by the storming of three forts in a single day[16], followed

He would have been permitted 'ienae id potentiae donum habere' (13. 4), and is thus offered a 'stabile num' (c. 37, 6).

In 13. 37, 4 he is made to complain r datis nuper obsidibus (c. 9, 2) redintegtaque amicitia, quae novis quoque eficiis locum aperiret, vetere Armeniae sessione depelleretur.'

It is gathered from 13. 34, 5, that e was a Roman party, but that it was weakest.

This was constantly delayed, first by pretendership of Vardanes (13. 7, 2, note), afterwards by the Hyrcanian olt (13. 36, 6; 14. 25, 2).

It is seen from 13. 38, 6; 40, 3, that force consisted of the Third, Sixth, and part of the Tenth legions, making up, with auxiliaries, some 25,000 Roman troops besides the contingents of the vassal princes.

[6] 13. 35, 5; 36, 1.

[7] 13. 35, 7.

[8] 13. 35, 8; 36, 5.

[9] 13. 38, 3.

[10] 13. 39, 1.

[11] 13. 37, 1.

[12] 13. 37, 4; 38, 1.

[13] Cp. 'dispertit vires' (13. 37, 2).

[14] 13. 37, 2, 3.

[15] Mommsen, in his account of Lucullus (Hist. B. v. ch. 2), estimates the season for active operations on the table land of Armenia at four months (June—September).

[16] 13. 39, 2, foll.

by a rapid movement along the Araxes, the complete disappearance of Tiridates[1], and the surrender of Artaxata without a battle[2].

The narrative of the next campaign (14. 23, foll.) is again chiefly a personal record of Corbulo, of his dealings with the submissive, the fugitive, the stubborn[3], his heroic example in the endurance of drought and heat, as before in that of piercing cold[4], his economy of Roman lives[5], his escape from threatened assassination[6]. Twice only are we helped, however slightly, by the occurrence of a definite name in the vague line of march. From the mention of his 'passing along the borders of the Mardi[7],' it is inferred that he had marched from Artaxata round the foot of Little Ararat to the high plain of Bayazid, and thence, leaving the basin of the Araxes for that of its tributary the Balyk, over the watershed of that stream and the Murad at Djadin, near the foot of the Ala Dagh, and thence along the latter river through the plain of Alashgerd or Arishgerd[8]. The march must have begun late, as we find the army now exposed to the fierce heat and drought of the short Armenian summer[9] (probably about July) and unable to vary their diet of mere animal food till they reached a region (perhaps Melazgerd) where the corn was ripe (about August)[10] The locality next given ('Tauraunitium') may probably have been the plain of Mush[11], where they would leave the Murad and strike south-eas for the Bitlis pass, and thence to Tigranocerta, which could hardly have been reached before September. With its occupation, and the reduction after some resistance, of Legerda[12], the campaign may be taken to have closed[13].

The impression produced by the news of this campaign at Rom must be gathered from the fact that a complete change of polic was its result. Tiridates had wholly disappeared from the scene, hi feeble attempt, in the autumn or following spring, to re-enter fron Media, had been so crushed as to leave him without apparent hop

[1] He appears to have fled to Media (13. 41, 2; 14. 26, 1).

[2] It is noted above that it seems impossible to suppose, with Egli, that the long march upon Tigranocerta followed in the same season. If however we take it that the campaign closed here, and that the Romans wintered in Artaxata, we could not suppose that Corbulo burnt the city till he evacuated it in the following year. If therefore the view taken here is correct, the natural impression produced by the narrative is misleading.

[3] 14. 23, 1–3.

[4] 14. 24, 2.

[5] 14. 23, 4.

[6] 14. 24, 4.

[7] See 14. 23, 4, and note.

[8] Egli, pp. 307–311. The plain o Bayazid is now traversed by a great cara van road from Erzeroum to Tabriz.

[9] 14. 24, 2. The allusion to 'penuri aquae' is difficult to understand, and ma be a touch added; unless it is meant th many of the streams feeding the Mura were dried up and the herbage wa withered.

[10] 14. 24, 3.

[11] See 14. 24, 4, and note.

[12] 14. 25, 1, and note.

[13] Nipp. estimates the march as one 275 Roman miles.

of resistance[1]; and he was now left out of account, and the old course, o often marked by failure, was re-entered, probably early in 813, .D. 60, by sending out, to be set upon the throne, another Romanised rince, Tigranes, nephew of one of the same name who had ruled or a short time in the Roman interest in the last years of Augustus[2]. The neighbouring princes were bribed, each by a portion of Armenian erritory, to support the new arrangement[3]; a force of 1000 legionary nd 3000 or more auxiliary Roman troops was left in the country; nd Corbulo, after vengeance executed on the disaffected[4], withdrew with is army to Syria[5], as if his work was done.

Yet he must have been well aware that the war, instead of being ver, was only entering on a more serious phase; that to have led powerful army from one end of Armenia to the other[6], in the absence the Parthians, was no real conquest, and that the difficulties would egin again as soon as the backs of the legions were turned; that e new king could not hold his own for a day without Roman help, hile his mere presence was a standing defiance which the Parthians uld not but take up with energy; the more so as the long drag of e Hyrcanian revolt may probably at this time have been opportunely moved[7], and as Tigranes was himself taking up an openly aggressive itude, by invading and endeavouring to annex the Mesopotamian strict of Adiabene[8]. It was probably from his foresight that Rome d now entered upon a path that could only end in failure, that we d Corbulo now shrinking from the responsibility of undivided command, and desiring to confine himself to a purely defensive attitude the Syrian frontier, and to devolve on another the real conduct war in Armenia itself, with the province of Cappadocia as its base[9].

Before these arrangements had been completed, we hear of Vologeses, ly in the spring of 814, A.D. 61[10], as shaking off his habitual caution

1 'Abire procul et spem belli amittere cogit' (14. 26, 1).

2 See 14. 26, 1, and note.

3 14. 26, 3.

4 He is described (14. 26, 1) as treating the country as conquered ('possessionem Armeniae usurpabat').

5 14. 26, 4.

6 The march is represented as not strictly hostile ('non infenso exercitu'), though as one in which precaution was needed against treachery (14. 23, 1).

7 The Hyrcanian rebellion is mentioned as continuing in 15. 1, 1 (a retrospective passage), but as brought to a close when Vologeses begins to act with vigour (15. 2, 1). We must connect with this the notice in 14. 25, 2 of the mission of a Hyrcanian embassy to Rome, sent back by a circuitous route under escort by Corbulo. It is to be supposed that their object, that of gaining active assistance from Roman arms, was seen to be hopeless, and that they made terms soon afterwards with the Parthian king.

8 15. 1, 2.

9 15. 3, 2.

10 All the events in 15. 1–18 are related under the year 815, A.D. 62; but the narrative is evidently taken up from 813, A.D. 60 (14. 26, 4). The chief chronological difficulty arises from the apparently distinct mention of three winters (15. 6, 2; 8, 3; 17, 4), where room can be

and dread of Rome[1], and solemnly in presence of his council investing Tiridates with the diadem, despatching a force to deal instantly with Tigranes, and preparing to attack the frontier with all his strength[2]. Corbulo immediately met the challenge by despatching two legions to Armenia; but the promptness was more apparent than real; for the commanders are said to have been instructed not to be too energetic[3], and the legions were not those which he had trained and led, but the Fourth and Twelfth[4], which had been left in Syria, and could have been hardly more fit for active service than his own had been five years previously. On the other hand, all possible means were taken to secure the frontier of Syria on the Euphrates, and even to threaten an advance from it[5]; and Tigranes, behind the strong walls of Tigranocerta, well provisioned and garrisoned, mocked the feeble siege tactics of the Parthians[6], whose horsemen were themselves reduced to straits through the destruction of the herbage by locusts[7] Under these circumstances we are certainly startled to find the Parthians able, a short time later, to gain in return for their own retiremen from what is represented as a disadvantageous and untenable position no less an equivalent than the evacuation of Tigranocerta, the retrea of the whole Roman army to such winter quarters as it could fin in Cappadocia, the permanent withdrawal of Tigranes, and the oppor tunity of sending to make terms at Rome on the basis formerl proposed[8]. In the imperfection of our record, no trustworthy ex

found for only two; inasmuch as this part of the narrative cannot well be taken to begin before the spring of 814, A. D. 61, and the disaster of Paetus must have taken place before the end of 815, A. D. 62, as the news of it reaches Rome in the following year 'veris principio' (c. 24, 1). It seems best to adopt the reckoning of Nipp. (Ed. 4) rather than that of Egli, and to suppose that the winter implied in c. 6, 2 is that of A. D. 61–62, and that the winter described as impending in c. 8, 3 was not so advanced but that the series of events related in the following chapters took place before it had fully set in, and was the same winter which Paetus afterwards spent in Cappadocia (c. 17, 4), that of A. D. 62–63. See notes on c. 6, 2; 8, 3; 9, 2; 17, 4.

[1] 15. 1, 1.

[2] 15. 2.

[3] The alleged secret instruction, 'compositius cuncta quam festinantius agerent,' and the imputed motive 'quippe bellum habere quam gerere malebat' (15. 3, 1), cannot come from Corbulo's memoirs and seems taken from the accusation brough against him afterwards; nor is the latte sentence easily to be reconciled with hi apparent eagerness to settle matters (se c. 6, 1).

[4] Though we are not expressly so tol in 15. 6, 5, it is reasonable to suppos that the legions now sent were those whic afterwards remained with Paetus (c. 6, 5

[5] 15. 5, 4.

[6] 'Partho ad exequendas obsidion nulla comminus audacia' (15. 4, 5).

[7] 15. 5, 4. Egli points out (p. 29 that the season for such swarms is in Ju or July. Some interval must therefore l supposed between it and the treaty ma at the approach of winter.

[8] Tacitus gives us two versions of tl transaction, the one, that which he repr sents as held by most persons, and whic he himself adopts, and which must ha been that given by the admirers of Co bulo, that Vologeses unconditionally wit drew his forces from Armenia after threatening message delivered to him Nisibis (15. 5); the other, apparently tl

planation of this turn of events is open to us; and it is hardly worth while to speculate whether Corbulo may have foreseen circumstances likely to make the retention of Tigranocerta during the winter impracticable, or whether, being aware, as he must have been, that no other ultimate solution than the recognition of Tiridates was possible, he desired either to win the credit of accomplishing it before his successor arrived, or to leave him to face the responsibilities arising out of its rejection [1].

The spring of 815, A.D. 62, brought with it the rejection of the Parthian embassage [2], and the arrival of L. Caesennius Paetus in Cappadocia [3], bringing with him, either as his instructions from Rome, or as a vaunt on his own part, another change of policy, that Armenia should be freed from puppet kings by becoming a Roman province [4]. It might be not much more costly to effect this object than permanently to keep up Tigranes; but such slight national support as that prince could command could no longer be counted on, and his threat in any case was idle, unless an addition of two or three legions to the normal military establishment was contemplated. Our record of his first and only effort to re-occupy and hold the country is little more than an elaborately contrasted portrait of the two generals; the one, cautious and vigilant, strengthening carefully the defences on the Euphrates, pushing his outposts gradually into the hostile country, and assuming so formidable an attitude as to make any attack on his position evidently hopeless [5]; the other, a braggart in success, and a coward in the face of disaster, starting, in defiance of what are made to have been the plain warnings of the gods [6], with an extravagant design, abandoning it for desultory plunder [7], and prematurely (as it would seem [8]) retiring to the inaction of a winter camp, yet wording his despatches as if the whole kingdom lay at his feet [9], and,

version of his enemies and subsequent accusers, that he made a secret compact to the effect above stated (15. 6, 1). This latter version is evidently in accordance with the actual facts; for the Romans are clearly represented as wintering in Cappadocia (15. 6, 2), and Tigranes is never afterwards mentioned. The only concession which the Parthians appear to have made was the acceptance of the condition, formerly rejected, of doing homage for Armenia (see on 15. 5, 5).

[1] As the ratification of such a compact at Rome was hardly to be expected, the latter is the motive imputed to Corbulo by his hostile critics: 'dilata prorsus arma, ut Vologeses cum alio quam cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo meritae tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret' (15. 6, 3).

[2] 15. 7, 1. [3] 15. 6, 4.

[4] He is made to announce, 'se tributa ac leges et pro umbra regis Romanum ius victis impositurum' (15. 6, 6). From the fact that Tigranes is left so wholly out of account, some have supposed that he had died in the interval.

[5] 15. 9, 1–2.

[6] 15. 7, 2–5. Tacitus recounts the omens with a faith beyond what is usual to him (see note on 15. 8, 1).

[7] 15. 8, 1, 2.

[8] See below, p. 119.

[9] 15. 8, 3.

though quartered in an enemy's country, granting his legions all th indulgences usual in profound security and peace[1]: again, on th approach of the enemy, we have him alternately resting on the advic of his subordinate officers and disdaining it[2], advancing with a sho of courage and retreating in dismay at the first collision[3], dispersin in the supreme crisis a force all too scanty when concentrated, an placing his best troops in an indefensible position to be overwhelme by numbers[4]; then, under the storm of actual attack, abandonin all self-possession, and sending a piteous appeal for help[5] to th colleague whom he had but lately hardly thought it needful even to infor of the approach of danger[6], and finally, blending the strange iror of bombastic messages to his conqueror[7] with a capitulation rankin among the most ignominious in Roman history[8], while the garrisc had still provisions left and was in less strait than the enemy outsid and while the expected succour was but three days distant[9].

This description, drawn no doubt chiefly from the ungenerous repr sentations of Corbulo[10], cannot now be checked in respect of its particula from any other sources[11], but corresponds at least in its general outli with the broad facts of what actually took place. In attempting to de with these we have a total absence of all geography, except the ba mention of the Arsanias[12], Mount Taurus[13], and Arsamosata[14], and su inferences as may be drawn from the statement that Paetus aimed recovering Tigranocerta, and at carrying the war into districts whi Corbulo had left untouched[15]. We should gather that he had crossed t Euphrates from Cappadocia, probably near Melitene[16], and march through the friendly country of Sophene[17]; whence a route led then, now, over the Taurus range and by Arsinia to Amida (Diarbekir), a

[1] 15. 9, 2.

[2] 15. 10, 2. The legatus of the Fourth legion was an officer of great subsequent distinction (see note on 15. 7, 2).

[3] 15. 10, 3, 4.

[4] 15. 10, 5, 6.

[5] 15. 11, 3.

[6] 'Aegre compulsum ferunt, ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur' (15. 10, 7).

[7] 15. 13, 4; 14, 3.

[8] The garrison are represented as persuading themselves that their disgrace was somewhat less than that incurred at the Caudine Forks, or than that of the capitulation of Mancinus at Numantia (15. 13, 2).

[9] 15. 16, 1.

[10] One at least of his statements is regarded with suspicion by Tacitus as 'augendae infamiae compositum' (15. 16, 3). See also the description of his want of magnanimity and generosity towa Paetus, in laying all the blame on him (26, 3), and sending his son to bury t victims of his disaster (15. 28, 3).

[11] The account of Dio (62. 20, 2–22,) for the most part closely follows Tacit, though resting also on independent sourc, whence we get the name of the pl (Rhandeia), and a few other particula; but in the points on which he differs fr Tacitus he appears untrustworthy (notes on 15. 10, 3; 13, 4; 16, 2). T only sentence in which Suet. alludes the disaster repeats and even adds another exaggeration (see note on 15, 2).

[12] 15. 15, 1.

[13] 15. 10, 5.

[14] 15. 10, 6.

[15] 15. 8, 1.

[16] See on 15. 7, 2.

[17] See 13. 7, 2, and note.

thence in whichever direction we take Tigranocerta to have lain[1]. We are told vaguely of forts taken, booty (chiefly corn for winter supply) collected[2], and long distances traversed[3], without any mention of the presence of the Parthian force, which must have been mainly confronting Corbulo[4]. But the campaign seems to have begun late[5], and a decision to have been soon taken to discipline the troops, like those of Corbulo[6], by a winter in the country, and to postpone the attempt to recover Tigranocerta till the following spring, when another legion, probably of better quality[7], would have joined him. With this resolution taken, he may be supposed to have retired, on the near approach[8], rather than at the actual arrival of winter, to the camp constructed probably on the north bank of the Murad, not far above its junction with the Kara-Su[9]; and, according to the reckoning here adopted[10], all the following events were compressed into the few weeks still left open for active operations[11].

Many of the races composing the Parthian empire, and especially those inhabiting the plain of Iran and the adjoining mountain tracts, were better able than Greeks or Romans to endure the severities of winter[12]; and once at least before in the history of the Arsacidae, a decisive victory had been snatched by them in this season[13]. On this occasion, the information that Paetus had dismissed all thought of being attacked and was giving furloughs to all who had asked for them[14], that even the two attenuated legions were not together[15], and that the camp was ill-provisioned[16], must have inspired Vologeses with the idea of suddenly launching on Armenia the force which then faced Corbulo at Zeugma[17], when any regular siege was precluded by the season, and when

[1] That he did not advance far in this direction would appear from the fact that Corbulo is represented in the following year as opening out this route afresh, and clearing the obstructions which had been long accumulating (15. 27, 1).

[2] 15. 8, 2.

[3] 'Longinquis itineribus percursando quae obtineri nequibant' (15. 8, 3).

[4] 15. 9, 1.

[5] The construction of a winter camp began almost at the outset (15. 7, 4; 8, [illegible]); and his raid must have been after harvest time (15. 10, 3). The delay may well have arisen from the unfitness of his legions for service.

[6] See above, p. 113.

[7] The Fifth legion, from Moesia (15. 6, [illegible]), which had been allowed to linger in Pontus (15. 9, 2).

[8] 'Instante hieme' (15. 8, 3).

[9] See notes on c. 10, 1; 15, 1.

[10] See above, p. 115, 10.

[11] That the winter of this part of Armenia is to be distinguished from that of its northern part is shown on 15. 9, 2.

[12] See Rawlinson, 'Sixth Oriental Monarchy,' p. 101.

[13] The occasion is that on which Phraates II. defeated and captured Antiochus Sidetes, in B.C. 128 (Rawlinson, l. l.).

[14] 15. 9, 2.

[15] The position of the Twelfth legion, before it joined the Fourth at Rhandeia (15. 10, 1) is not known.

[16] It is asserted that no pains were taken on the spot to provision the camp (c. 8, 1), and that the corn collected by Paetus himself was spoilt (c. 8, 3), but on the other hand that there was still corn left at the surrender (c. 16, 1).

[17] 15. 9, 2. The headquarters of Vologeses may probably have been at Nisibis (see 15. 5, 2).

the only chance was that of a *coup de main*, which in any ordinary cas must have proved a failure, and which only a series of unforesee blunders crowned with complete success.

The Twelfth legion was brought up to the Roman head-quarters; an the whole army, with its weakness revealed by concentration [1], wa advanced on a reconnaissance in force [2] beyond the Taurus pass [3]; whenc on the first collision both sides seem to have receded, the Romar retreating hastily to their camp, the Parthian advance probably fallin back on their main body [4], a movement so misinterpreted by Paetus as t lead him to think that an isolated force of 3000 legionaries on the heigh supported by a body of cavalry on the plain, would suffice to arrest h enemy's progress. By their speedy annihilation or dispersion, Paetu was left, deprived of his best horsemen [5] and of probably near half h legionaries [6], to hold out with the remnant (now still further weakene by the detachment of a cohort to Arsamosata [7]) till the succour, at la urgently implored [8], should arrive with Corbulo. That the case was sti not desperate is evidenced by the fact that provisions still remained, an that the Parthians, though time was all-important, made no attempt t storm the camp [9]: nor, to do Paetus justice, is he represented by Tacitu as himself inclined to flinch from his undertaking [10], but as forced t make terms by the utter demoralisation of his troops [11]; which, partly n doubt, due to their original unfitness for service, had been aggravate by constantly increasing proof of their leader's incapacity, and final brought to a head when the wounded survivors of the carnage on th mountain returned to increase the consternation and dismay [12].

The terms of capitulation, however less ignominious than rumo afterwards made them to have been [13], were ignominious enough. Th

[1] 15. 10, 1.

[2] It should be noted that for this advance and retreat, as also for his march to the camp from his autumn campaign and for any advance contemplated from it in the following spring, Paetus would have to cross the Arsanias, which, at least for foot-soldiers, would require a bridge (see 15. 15, 6). It would thus seem that materials for constructing a temporary bridge must have been kept in camp, and that it was probably the replacement of this, rather than the construction of a bridge where none had previously existed, that the Parthians enforced (c. 15, 1).

[3] The pass could not have been far off from the camp, as the wounded are able to straggle home (15. 11, 2).

[4] 'Minus acriter institerat' (15. 10, 5).

[5] 'Robur equitatus' (15. 10, 5).

[6] The 3000 were all legionaries (c. 1 1) and must have been nearly half the tw weak legions. Only the wounded a said to have come back (c. 11, 2).

[7] 15. 10, 6.

[8] 15. 11, 3.

[9] The word used ('adpugnare') hard denotes a real assault; and their effor though unusually active, are describ only as made to provoke a sally (15. 1 1): on their incapacity for sieges cp. c. 5. Dio however (62. 21, 2) speaks their showers of arrows as causing pani

[10] 'Se fidem interim, dum vita subp ditet, retenturos' (15. 11, 3).

[11] 'Desperatione exercitus dux subact (15. 13, 4). Dio (l. l.) says nothing this, and lays the whole blame on Paet

[12] 15. 11, 2.

[13] 15. 15, 2. The 'rumor' would that which afterwards became current

amp and its stores were to be surrendered, and the river bridged to nable the victors to carry off their booty[1]; and the evacuation itself, vith the insults attending it[2], broke down the last remains of discipline, and turned the retreat into a headlong flight, in which forty miles vere covered in one day and the wounded abandoned all along the oute[3]; until, probably somewhere near Melitene, this wreck of what ad been a Roman army encountered the troops advancing to their escue[4].

Tacitus, if he has not directly charged any of the blame for this atastrophe on Corbulo, has certainly done so by implication, in attributing is inaction under the first message from Paetus to his desire to win he glory of appearing as a deliverer in the last extremity[5]. What xplanation he may himself have given can be only guessed at; but it nay probably have been that the first message was in no way urgent[6]; nat a force supposed by him to consist of two unbroken legions in trong winter quarters should have been able to take care of itself; that n getting ready a force for instant action[7], despatching it on the first eally urgent message, and hastening by forced marches to the spot[8], e had done all that could reasonably have been expected. Yet it cannot e denied that his whole attitude during the campaign had been that one who desired not to aid but to increase his colleague's difficulties. e had sent to him for the most important service the least efficient gions[9]: his own elaborate preparations, and the forts constructed along e Euphrates, which betokened, if anything, preparations for an offensive ovement, had only served to convince Vologeses that nothing of the nd was intended by them[10], and that he might safely withdraw his army om their neighbourhood; nor had the obvious course been taken of rning these advanced posts to account in support of such a demonstran in force beyond the river as might have recalled the invaders of menia to protect their threatened communications. His rejection of e proposal of Paetus, to lead at once the whole force back into menia[11] (from which Vologeses, apparently in great strait for forage[12], d at once retreated), is intelligible enough. The season was too late to

me. An alleged condition is disputed c. 16, 2; another exaggeration is given Dio (see note, l. l.).

[2] 15. 14, 5; 15, 1.

[3] 15. 15, 3. Not only the Parthians, even the Armenians are there noted as ulting them.

[4] 15. 16, 3. Corbulo had already met a detachnt (15. 12, 3), probably a body of the tives from Mt. Taurus (c. 11, 2).

[5] 15. 10, 7. Unless the suggested motive is a surmise of Tacitus himself, he would seem here to be again adopting the statements of Corbulo's subsequent accusers: see above, p. 116, 3.

[6] This is expressly stated (l. l.).

[7] 15. 10, 8.

[8] 15. 12, 6.

[9] See above, p. 116.

[10] 15. 9, 2.

[11] 15. 17, 1.

[12] 15. 16, 1.

take up new winter quarters in that country; his own force was not on large scale[1]; and the rabble of Paetus would not be an aid but incumbrance: still it is difficult to suppose that his instructions fro home tied him as strictly as he implied, or that his position in Syr held by three nearly complete and thoroughly efficient legions, was much imperilled as he affected to apprehend[2].

The year closes with the retirement of Paetus to winter in Cappadoci and with an interchange of messages between Vologeses and Corbu whereby the latter consented to destroy his outposts beyond the Euphrat on condition of the withdrawal of all the Parthian garrisons left behi in various fortified places in Armenia[4]. Thus all preparation for offe sive movement was abandoned on both sides, and affairs seemed to ha drifted back once more into the position in which the arrival of Paet had found them[5]; but with the difference that Tiridates, the only prin who could hold his own in Armenia by national support without e ternal force, was more than ever master of the situation, and th the prestige of victory had shifted altogether from the Roman to t Parthian side.

The embassy which Vologeses had been 'permitted to send[6],' reach Rome early in 816, A.D. 63[7], and exposed the hollowness of the g conading despatches of Paetus[8]. The Parthian king spoke with j pride of his success and clemency, and wrote as one who had to o terms instead of petitioning. The actual sovereignty of Armenia w treated as no longer in question; but Tiridates would consent to homage for it in presence of the symbols of the empire at the camp Corbulo, and would even have offered to come to Rome for investit if it were not for a religious difficulty[9]. The council of Nero[10], driven find some means of reconciling the facts of the situation with the sa faction of imperial honour, fastened on the last point as one on wh compliance might be extorted, so that they should not seem to h accepted terms from the victor. Outwardly indeed, the Parthian p posals were rejected in a spirit of defiance; but the possibility of suc a compromise was understood to be implied in the conciliatory g

[1] 15. 10, 8, and note.

[2] 15. 17, 2. This overstrained language, probably repeated in his written narrative, seems to account for the exaggeration ('aegre Suria retenta') of Suet. Ner. 39.

[3] 15. 17, 4. [4] 15. 17, 5.

[5] See above, p. 116.

[6] In 15. 14, 5, after specification of the terms of surrender, it is added ironically 'quibus perpetratis copia Vologesi fieret mittendi ad Neronem legatos.'

[7] 15. 24, 1.

[8] 15. 8, 3; 25, 1. Two unfair mi terpretations by Tacitus of the actio of the government of Rome before the arr al of the disastrous news are pointed o in notes on 15. 18, 1, 2.

[9] 15. 24, 1–3.

[10] That the 'primores civitatis' re consulted, is here distinctly stated 5 25, 2).

presented to the embassy[1], and was no doubt distinctly intimated in the new instructions to Corbulo; who (on the recall of Paetus[2]) was now reappointed to the undivided command[3], with such extended powers as would appear to imply the possession of a general 'imperium proconsulare[4]' in the East. His preparations, in accordance with the outward show of uncompromising hostility, were on such a scale as to betoken an intention of complete reconquest. The two broken and demoralised legions which had capitulated were sent back to Syria and replaced by the two famous legions of his former campaigns, to which were added that which should have joined Paetus from Moesia, and another now sent to him from Pannonia; the force being made up by its auxiliaries and the contingents of neighbouring princes to a strength of probably from 40,000 to 50,000 men[5], and forming by far the strongest army in numbers and quality which had ever been despatched against Armenia.

We have again, as in former years, the same personal exaltation of Corbulo. The powers conferred on him are likened to those given in old time to Pompeius[6]; he is made to open out afresh the disused route of Lucullus[7], as if to recall the memory of that famous campaign in which a force, barely amounting to one third of that now following him, had humbled the pride of the first Tigranes[8]. Vologeses, who had offered conditions at Rome as a victor, sends to him as a petitioner and obtains from him an armistice[9]; the respect in which his name is held[10] is such as to make Tiridates accept without hesitation at his advice the terms of submission which had been treated as impossible in the embassy to Nero[11]; after an exchange of courteous interviews, it is in his presence that the dishonour associated with Rhandeia is obliterated on the same spot[12] by the deposition before the eagles and the emperor's effigy of the diadem which Tiridates bound himself no more to wear till he should have received it again at Rome from the hand of Nero[13]; and it is with his dignified hospitality that the scene is closed[14].

As regards any military operations, our information is again vague

[1] 15. 25, 4. Dio (see note) makes such a proposal to have been distinctly intimated to them.

[2] The forgiveness awarded to him (15. 25, 7) would either show that he stood high in Nero's favour, or that some excuse could be made for him. That his reputation was not destroyed by his failure would seem to follow from his having been afterwards appoitned legatus of Syria by Vespasian (see note on 16, 4).

[3] The story that Nero had some thought himself of taking the command, rests only on Dio (62. 22, 4).

[4] See 15. 25, 5, 6, and note. Another legatus is appointed to discharge the civil duties in Syria.

[5] 15. 26, 1, 2.

[6] 15. 25, 6. The comparison of Germanicus (see note) would seem more apposite.

[7] 15. 27, 1.

[8] Plut. Luc. 24, 25.

[9] 15. 27, 1; 28, 1.

[10] 15. 28, 1.

[11] 15. 28, 1; 29, 3.

[12] 15. 28, 2.

[13] 15. 29, 3-6.

[14] 15. 30, 1.

and meagre in the extreme. The mention of the route of Lucull would point to an advance upon Tigranocerta; but there is no reco that he ever reached or approached it[1], and we next hear of him as f off from it as Rhandeia: for the intermediate time we have no oth record of this great army than as striking terror by expelling t principal supporters of Tiridates, destroying their strongholds, and oth acts of desultory warfare, not greatly exceeding those recorded of Paetus For this startling contrast between the magnificent array of force a the results achieved by it, it would be unjust to blame the general, w was no doubt hampered by the instructions of his government, which h to extricate itself from the difficulty of seeming to accept terms which had before rejected by insisting thus absolutely upon investiture at Rom Probably by no other means but by the display of irresistible force the spot, coupled with the conciliatory messages of Corbulo, could t Parthians be made to see that this one point of form alone kept the apart[3], but that, sooner than give up this, Rome was prepared to empl all the strength of the empire. This point once clearly seen, an und standing must have been soon arrived at. Not indeed that Tiridat conceded nothing, or would without considerable pressure have accept a condition which, besides carrying with it a religious difficulty[4], involv the undertaking of a journey of vast length, at the slow pace necessitat by the pomp and state suitable to eastern royalty[5], the liability at eve stage to what he might consider slights or insults at the hands of Rom officials[6], and, above all, a public scene of submission before the eyes assembled Rome[7]; all of them condescensions to which a king and t brother of the Great King could not but be deeply sensitive, however might feel that the substantial spoils of war were after all his, a however truly any such stately sentence as that with with Taci concludes this narrative might more fitly have become the Parthian th the Roman motto[8].

[1] He cannot have taken the field till somewhat late in the summer, as his appointment to the command did not take place till the spring, and he had then to collect and organize his forces.

[2] 'Megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis defecerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum excindit, plana edita, validos invalidosque pari metu complet' (15. 27, 4). The record of the campaign of Paetus had said, 'capta quaedam castella, gloriaeque et praedae nonnihil partum' (c. 8, 2).

[3] It should be added that the bringing to Rome of his own sons and those of Vologeses, Pacorus, and Monobazus as hostages, which Dio (63. 1, 2) represents as done by Tiridates, must be supposed have been part of the condition.

[4] See 15. 24, 3, and note.

[5] See the account given from Dio Appendix to Book 16.

[6] The fear of this is shown by stipulations made on his behalf (15. 31,

[7] The language which Dio (63. 5) makes him use is sufficiently humiliati ἐγώ, δέσποτα, . . . σὸς δοῦλος εἰμι. ἦλθόν τε πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, προσκυ- σων σε ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν, καὶ ἔσομαι τ ὅ τι ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς· σὺ γάρ μοι καὶ μ εἶ καὶ τύχη.

[8] 'Non inerat notitia nostri, apud vis imperii valet, inania tramittuntur'

To recapitulate the phases through which the Armenian question had [i]n these years passed:—at the outset, the offer to recognise Tiridates, [o]n condition of his acknowledging the kingdom as the gift of Rome, [h]ad been made by the Roman government and rejected by the Parthians[1]: [a]t a second stage, when Artaxata lay in ashes, Tigranocerta was [o]ccupied by Roman troops, and Tiridates was a fugitive in Media, the [o]ffer had been cancelled, and Tigranes set on the throne[2]; and after his [w]ithdrawal there had been at least some professed intention of reducing [th]e kingdom to a province[3]: at a third stage, the Parthians had so far [le]arnt prudence as, even in their hour of victory, to offer in some shape [th]e homage which they had at first disdained[4]: in the last, the condition [o]f the personal presence of Tiridates in Rome is insisted on rather to [s]ave Roman honour than as important in itself; a lame and impotent [c]onclusion to so severe a struggle, yet preferable to the only possible [al]ternative, that of the tenure of Armenia as a province and the permanent [in]crease of the military establishment by the force required to hold it[5].

Tiridates returned to Armenia in 819, A.D. 66, as its acknowledged [ki]ng[6]; and the settlement had at least the merit of permanence. The [on]ly expedition subsequently projected by Nero in the East was in the [P]arthian no less than in the Roman interest[7]: the memory of Nero was [h]eld in friendly recollection throughout those regions even after his

..., 2). Nero at least took credit for the [re]storation of peace, which he signified by [cl]osing the temple of Janus (see 16. 28, and note).

[1] See above, p. 113.

[2] See p. 115.

[3] See p. 117.

[4] See p. 122.

[5] The number of legions in the East [ha]d been increased during these hostilities [fro]m four to seven (cp. 13. 8, 2; 15. 26, 2, and notes), and could hardly have [be]en fixed at less than six; and the tem[po]rary weakening of other provinces [wo]uld have had to be made up. This [in]crease would have been irrespective of [th]at actually found necessary by Vespa[sia]n (see Momms. Hist. v. 395: E. T. ii. ...).

[6] It may be assumed that during the [thr]ee years of his absence, Armenia had [be]en occupied and administered by Cor[bul]o without opposition. Two inscrip[tio]ns found close to Kharput (Eph. Ep. v. [1]25) record the construction of a fort in [81]7, A.D. 64, by T. Aurelius Fulvus (see ... 1. 79, 8), legatus of the Third legion, [un]der the orders of Corbulo. This would [at] least show that means were then taken to secure the entrance into Armenia from Sophene. See Mommsen's comments in Hermes, xv. 1880, pp. 289–296.

[7] This expedition is described in H. 1. 6, 5, as directed 'ad claustra Caspiarum ('Caspias portas' Suet. Ner. 19; cp. Dio 63. 8, 1) et bellum quod in Albanos parabat.' The statement in Pliny (N. H. 6. 13, 15, 40) is no doubt correct, that the pass spoken of is that often wrongly called 'Caspiae' but rightly 'Caucasiae portae' (cp. Id. 6. 11, 12, 30), the well-known Dariel pass between Tiflis and Vladikaukas (cp. 6. 34, 4, and note); and the people aimed at must have been, as Mommsen shows (Hist. v. 394, 1: E. T. ii. 62, 1), not the Albani, who lived chiefly, if not wholly, south of the Caucasus, but the Alani near the Tanais and Maeotis, who appear from a confused account in Jos. B. I. 7. 7, 4, to have launched a predatory horde on Media and Armenia at a time which might coincide with and account for this expedition. To furnish forces, the famous Fourteenth legion was withdrawn from Britain (H. 2. 11, 2; 27, 3; 66, 2), and a new legion, the 'Prima Italica' (see Suet. l. l.), enrolled, and detachments were added from Germany

death[1]; nor in the vicissitudes of civil war that followed it was an advantage taken of the crisis by the Parthian king[2]. The agreemen brought about at this time stood the strain for half a century, till th memories of Eastern warfare were again awakened by Trajan.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN UNDER CLAUDIUS AND NERO.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—In this chapter, and in the notes on the corresponding portion of the te constant obligations must be acknowledged to Mommsen, Hist. v. ch. 5; to Hübne treatise 'das Römische Heer in Britannien' (Hermes, xvi. 1881, pp. 514–584), and various notes in his edition of the inscriptions of Britain (C. I. L. vii); to Profess Rhys ('Celtic Britain,' London, 1882); and to many other works which are mention in their place; also to information communicated by Mr. F. Haverfield.

THE writings of Tacitus, even in the mutilated state in which v now possess them, constitute our most complete and most consecuti authority for the whole history of Roman invasion and conquest Britain down to the recall of Agricola (837, A. D. 84), from whom it natural to suppose that most of his information respecting the count and people was derived. It is here proposed, after a slight notice previous events, to enter into so much only of the subject as is compris in the period of the Annals, so much, that is, as would have be related in that work, if it had come down complete to us. An exami ation of his sketch of the geography and ethnology of the island belon

and Illyricum (H. 1. 6, 5); all of which were on their way when the news of the rising of Vindex caused their recall.

[1] Suet. states (Ner. 57) that Vologeses, in a letter to the senate, 'magnopere oravit ut Neronis memoria coleretur,' and that the cause of the false Nero of twenty years afterwards found enthusiastic su port in the Parthian Empire (cp. H. 2, 3).

[2] On the relations of Parthia towa Rome at that period and down to t time of Trajan, see Momms. Hist. v. 39 397: E. T. ii. 62–65.

nore properly to an edition of the Agricola. It is sufficient here to note hat his general knowledge on these points is hardly so much in advance f that of Caesar and Strabo as we should have expected from his date nd his exceptional means of information.

In the Agricola he correctly characterises the results of the invasions f Julius Caesar[1], and refers the long subsequent inaction to the civil ars, the 'politic forgetfulness' of Augustus, and the powerful influence f his ideas on the mind of his successor[2]; an explanation which he ould probably have set forth with more detail in the body of his larger ork.

It must be plain that Caesar's professed object in invading Britain[3] ould have been only very imperfectly and temporarily attained by the ccesses gained in it; and that, if he really believed the independence of e island to be a standing menace to the peace of Gaul, he must have ntemplated some permanent occupation of it; and that this scheme, ough thrown into the background by the great expedition to the East, which his energies were concentrated at the time of his death, was nong the ideas bequeathed by him to his successors. He had shown that land an army in the country and to penetrate its forests was practic- le, and that the means of dividing its people by intrigue were ready to nd; that there would be tribes, such as were in his time the Trino- ntes of Essex[4], as ready to invite Roman interference as had been the dui and Remi of Gaul.

By the partition of the empire under the triumvirate, the execution of e dictator's ideas in respect of the occupation of Britain would fall to e share of his nephew, who was apparently so far penetrated with the cessity of sustaining his reputation by an advance in that direction as have at least made some show of preparing to invade this country as ly as 720, B.C. 34, when he was recalled from Gaul by the Dalmatian ing[5].

The idea of this conquest, though again postponed by the imminent il war[6], is kept prominently before the public mind in the literature the years immediately before and after Actium[7]; and the announce-

'Potest videri ostendisse (Britanniam) teris, non tradidisse' (Agr. 13, 2).

'Mox bella civilia, et in rempubli- versa principum arma, et longa ob- Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium ivus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius prae- um' (Agr. 1. 1.).

'Quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis ibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia ligebat' (B. G. 4. 20, 1).

B. G. 5. 20, 1. The submission of other tribes is mentioned in 5. 21, 1. On the Trinovantes (or Trinobantes) see 14. 31, 4, and note.

[5] Dio 49. 38, 4.

[6] Hence the lament of Horace, apparently at this date (Epod. 7, 7), that the strength of Rome should be spent in self-destruction, instead of 'Intactus . . . Britannus ut descenderet Sacra catenatus via.'

[7] The Georgics, completed in 724,

ment of an expedition for this purpose under the personal command o Augustus must have roused expectation to its height in 727, B.C. 27 This intention again is stated to have been frustrated in the followin year by the rising of the Salassi and the obstinate resistance of th Cantabrians[2]; and some doubt may be allowed whether a conquest o Britain, any more than of Parthia[3], was ever seriously entertained, i the light of his reduction of the vast army that had come under hi command at the close of the civil war to a standing peace establishmen of only eighteen legions[4]. It is at any rate certain that from the yea above mentioned the idea of a British expedition fades out of sight[5], an that, at some time afterwards, some similar combination of policy and goo fortune to that which brought about a peaceful solution of the Parthia question[6] enabled Augustus to save his credit, and to represent his obje as substantially gained, without loss of blood or treasure. Two Britis princes are recorded to have fled from their land to his protection[7]; an the prominence given to this event in the 'Monumentum Ancyranum allows us to suppose that it was duly represented at the time in some lig favourable to Roman dignity[8]; while some more unmistakeable acts o homage are instanced by Strabo[9], who describes the island generally a

B.C. 30, contain the aspiration, 'tibi serviat ultima Thule' (1, 30), and already anticipate the expected triumph, by representing British captives drawing up the curtains of the stage in the ideal votive games of Vergil (3, 25).

[1] This no doubt supplies the motive of the prayer to Fortune, 'Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos' (1. 35, 29). In another ode (3. 5, 3), Caesar is reminded that he is to win the dignity of deification in life by adding Parthia and Britain to the empire. In Propertius (5. 3, 9), 'Arethusa' imagines 'Lycotas' facing the enemies of Rome all over the world, among them the Briton 'with his painted car.'

[2] Dio 49. 25, 2.

[3] See above, p. 99.

[4] See Introd. 1. vii. p. 103; Momms. R. G. D. A. p. 73, foll.

[5] In Tibullus (?) 4. 1, 150, this conquest is imagined as reserved for Messala ('te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus'); but the date and authorship of this poem are very doubtful.

[6] See above, p. 100.

[7] 'Ad me supp[lic]es confug[erunt] reges . . . Britann[o]rum Dumnobellau[nus] et Tim' . . . (Mon. Anc. 5. 54; 6. 2). The first of these is generally identified with the 'Dubnovellaunos' shown by coins to have ruled in Essex and part of Kent, where he may probably ha been successor to the king of the Trin vantes protected by Julius Caesar. T second name, which is now wholly go may have been 'Tincommius' (Evans, p 158, 500), though Mommsen (R. G. D. p. 139) doubts it. The date is unknow

[8] This expulsion of friendly princes a hostile party must really have been loss of Roman influence. Dumnobella nus was probably driven out by Cunob linus.

[9] *νυνὶ μέντοι τῶν δυναστῶν τινες τ αὐτόθι πρεσβεύσεσι καὶ θεραπείαις κα σκευασάμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σε στὸν φιλίαν ἀναθήματά τε ἀνέθηκαν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδόν τι παρεσκ ασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον* (4. 3, p. 200). The date at which Stra was writing would fall into the last ye of Augustus, or even later; but so change appears to have taken place early as 741, B.C. 13, when Horace wr (Od. 4. 14, 47), 'te (audit) beluosus, remotis Obstrepit Oceanus Britann Some ten or fifteen years later, Ovid (15. 752) seems to have taken his cue depreciate the dictator's exploit ('Scili aequoreos plus est domuisse Britannos as, at a later date, Lucan (2. 571) ma Pompeius reproach him with posit defeat ('Territa quaesitis ostendit te Britannis').

ndered friendly, and adds what we may suppose to be the official asons against its occupation as a province[1].

The example of Augustus, and his precept against extension of the npire[2], were no doubt a sufficient law to Tiberius, under whom the ntinuance of friendly relations is attested by the treatment of the ship-recked soldiers of Germanicus by British princes[3]. The long as-ndancy of Cunobelinus (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare), who estab-hed his capital in the Trinovantian town of Camulodunum[4], and who ust have been paramount, if not sole ruler of south eastern Britain, m the later years of Augustus to almost the year of the Claudian vasion, was evidently a period of peaceful and commercial intercourse, d extension of Roman influence[5]. It is however evident that the mediate antecedents of the invasion are connected with the fortunes his family: one of his sons, Adminius, is the fugitive whose surrender, h a few followers, Gaius is said to have magnified into a national omission[6]; Bericus or Vericus, the suppliant to Claudius[7], may ssibly have been another; two others certainly are, as will be seen, the in objects of the attack, and the leaders of the national resistance.

Mommsen maintains that the occupation of Britain was necessary to security of Gaul, and must have been sooner or later undertaken[8]. s not, however, evident that the island Celts had been any source of quiet during the long period of peace[9]; though there seems to be ne reason to think that the detention of Adminius and Bericus was

τοὐλάχιστον μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς τάγματος ζοι ἂν καὶ ἱππικοῦ τινος, ὥστε καὶ φόρους γεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, εἰς ἴσον δὲ καθίσταιτ' ὸ ἀνάλωμα τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῖς προσφερο-νς χρήμασιν. The estimate of one on and a body of cavalry was far w the force actually required to hold country.

Addideratque consilium coercendi in-erminos imperii' (1. 11, 7).

'Quidam in Britanniam rapti et re-i a regulis' (2. 24, 5).

It is given as the town of the Tri-ntes in Ptol. 2. 3, 22, and as the λειον of this king in Dio, 60. 21, The view, partly resting on the si-rity of name, partly on its being :what nearer to the estuary of the nes (see 14. 32, 2, and note), that ite was that of Maldon, is now rally abandoned in favour of Col-er (see below, p. 142, and note on 32, 5). Of his coinage, generally ibed as minted at Camulodunum, it ted (Evans, p. 292) that very many mens, of fifteen different types, have been found at Colchester, and none at Maldon.

[5] His coinage is strongly assimilated to the Roman type, and was probably struck by Roman artists. The same is true to some extent of that of his brother Epaticcus, and their father Tasciovanus (see Evans, Anc. Brit. Coins, p. 289, foll.). The same author notes, as evidence of the extent of his influence, that his coins, though found chiefly in Essex, are traced also in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Nottingham, Herts, Beds, Bucks, Oxon, Middlesex, and Kent. Suetonius (Cal. 44) calls him 'Britannorum rex.'

[6] Suet. l. l.

[7] Βέρικος γάρ τις ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιν ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν πέμψαι (Dio, 60. 19, 1). There is no further evidence about him; the coinage inscribed 'Verica' being of much earlier date.

[8] Hist. v. 157; Eng. Tr. i. p. 173.

[9] The only Gallic rising in the time of Tiberius (3, 40–46) is in a wholly different quarter.

resented as a grievance, and that some note of defiance was blow across the Channel[1], which may have had its share, with the remem brance of former failure, in irritating the Roman pride. Also, in such ruler as Claudius, personal vanity, and the desire to out-do his pr decessors, must count for something. Suetonius, as might be expecte thinks his desire to win the full honours of a triumph a sufficient expl nation of the whole undertaking[2]; and the monotony with which th rhetorical boast, that he had been first to extend the empire beyond th Ocean, is paraded in his own speech[3], in the triumphal inscription and in contemporary epigrams[5], shows the light in which he wished th achievement to be regarded. Lastly, the prominence of Narcissus in th narrative of the despatch of the expedition[6] suggests the cupidity freedmen and other courtiers as another great prompting motive[7], an that the increased trade may have led the Romans to exaggerate t mineral and other wealth of Britain no less than they had before d preciated it[8].

The circumstances of the time were favourable to a new extension the empire, in so far as the general tranquillity on the northern a north-eastern frontier allowed the garrisons there stationed to be duced below the strength which Augustus (in his later years) a Tiberius had considered necessary[9]. It is, however, to the credit those who organised this expedition, that they foresaw that it could be undertaken without some augmentation of the standing army[10], a

[1] The expression in Suet. Cl. 17 (‘Britanniam . . . tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas’) appears rightly taken by Mommsen to mean more than internal discord, and probably to imply some threatened pillaging on the Gaulish coast.

[2] ‘Cum, decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus, . . . vellet iusti triumphi decus, unde adquireret Britanniam potissimum elegit’ (Suet. l. l.).

[3] ‘Oratio Claudii’ (App. to Book 11) col. i. l. 39. See also the caricature of this boast in the mock dirge of Seneca (Lud. 12. 3, 25–35).

[4] See below, p. 140, 9. The words there are a probable supplement.

[5] Eight of these, probably composed at the time of the triumph, are preserved (Anth. Lat. Ed. Teubn. i. 419–426), and are all in much the same strain. One (424) may be taken as a specimen: ‘Mars pater, et nostrae gentis tutela Quirine, Et magno positus Caesar uterque polo; Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos? Sol citra nostrum flectitur Oceanum. Ultima cesserunt adaperto claustra profundo, Et iam Romano cingimur Oceano.’

[6] Dio states (60. 19, 2) that, when soldiers were unwilling to embark, N cissus mounted the tribunal to add them; that they refused to listen to whom they regarded as still a slave, drowned his speech by cries of *ἰὼ σατ-νάλια*, but were nevertheless shamed compliance.

[7] This cupidity is made prominen the speech attributed to Calgacus (Agr. 30, 5), ‘soli omnium opes atque inop pari affectu concupiscunt,’ and in the mark ascribed to Caratacus (see note 12. 36, 6). In Agr. 12, 6 the metal Britain are called ‘pretium victoriae,’ its pearls are spoken of.

[8] Strab. l. l.

[9] For the disposition of the force that time see Introd. i. vii. p. 103.

[10] In place of the four legions withdr (see below), two new ones, the XV migenia and XXII Primigenia, were rolled; the former replacing the le drawn from Lower, the other the legions drawn from Upper Germany,

ıat they planned it on no such paltry scale as that estimated under ugustus[1], but on one really commensurate with the magnitude and ifficulty of the enterprise, and more nearly following the actual experience furnished by the second expedition of Julius Caesar[2].

Four complete legions[3], all well known subsequently in British warıre, were drafted for the service, the 'Secunda Augusta' and 'Quartaecima Gemina Martia' from Upper Germany, the 'Vicesima Valeria ictrix' from Lower Germany, and the 'Nona Hispana' from Pannonia; hich province also furnished a 'vexillatio' or detachment, probably om 500 to 1000 strong, from another of its legions, the 'Octava ugusta[4].' This would give a strength of from 20,000 to 25,000 gionaries as the nucleus of the army, to which must be added more an as much again, for the 'alae' and 'cohortes' of auxiliary or nontizen troops[5], making the whole army probably nearly 60,000[6].

The great flotilla collected to transport these troops and to protect eir landing was no doubt the commencement of the 'classis Britannica;' hich plays a conspicuous part in the campaigns of Agricola[7], and hich appears afterwards to have had its principal station at Lymne 'portus Lemanis')[8].

The same appreciation of the importance of the expedition was shown

ving both that province and Pannonia akened each by a legion. See Marardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 434.

See above, p. 129, note 1.

In that campaign, in which he crossed Thames, and is thought to have ched Verulam (see note on 14. 33, 4), force consisted of five legions, thorghly trained in war, and 2000 cavalry.

The names of all these are mentioned the narrative of the rising of Boudicca 14. 32, 3; 34, 1; 37, 6). The Fourth was recalled in the last years of ro (see below, p. 140, 5), and the three er legions furnished detachments to army of Vitellius (H. 3. 22, 2). The ond ('Adiutrix') appears to have taken place of the Fourteenth, and to have n itself recalled by Domitian. The th was annihilated in the time of drian and replaced by the Sixth ('Vic'); which, as also the Second ('Auta') and Twentieth, remained in Britain ing the whole period of Roman occuon. The names of soldiers belonging ll these and also to other legions occur numerous inscriptions. See Index, . L. vii.

This is inferred from the inscription hich Gavius Silvanus, a 'primipilaris' hat legion, is recorded to have received decorations from Claudius in the British war (see note on 15. 50, 3). His tribuneship in the praetorian guard would, no doubt, be of later date.

[5] The narrative in Dio (60. 20, 2) mentions Celtic auxiliaries; and eight Batavian cohorts are mentioned in H. 1. 59, 2 as attached to the Fourteenth legion. The inscriptions in Britain record a great number of 'alae' and 'cohortes,' drawn from various tribes of Gauls, Germans, Thracians, and others of the Western provinces. It is not easy to say which of them belonged to the original invading force; but military 'diplomata' of the time of Trajan and Hadrian (C. I. L. vii. 1193–1195) show that many of these corps were as permanent in the country as the legions.

[6] Hübner gives a total of 70,000, which is rather an outside estimate. Mommsen rates it only at about 40,000.

[7] Agr. 25, 1, &c.: cp. H. 4. 79, 5; Marquardt, ii. 503. The transports for the first force may have been supplied from the Rhine fleet, and the special British fleet may have grown up afterwards.

[8] The inscription of a 'praefectus classis,' and several inscribed 'tegulae' have been found there (C. I. L. vii. 18, 1226), not apparently of early date.

in the selection of its officers. It is doubtless due to the imperfection c our history of this period that so little is known of the previous life c Aulus Plautius Silvanus, the commander-in-chief, who can hardly b supposed to have owed his advancement in any degree to his relationshi to one of the emperor's wives[1]. He is called by Dio 'a senator of th highest reputation[2],' is known to have been consul some fourteen yea previously, and at some time legatus of Delmatia[3], and must have bee at this time in command of some important province connected with th expedition[4]. His capacity may be taken as established by his achiev ments; and he was supported by subordinates, to command whom mu have been in itself no mean honour. Foremost among them stands th great name of Vespasian, who was then legatus of the Second Legic after his praetorship[5], and whose distinction in this war was afterwar regarded as his first 'designation by fate' for future eminence[6]. In son command under him was his elder brother Flavius Sabinus[7], bett known as the city praefect of the great year of civil war[8]. Apparent in command of another legion was Cn. Hosidius Geta[9], already know as having succeeded to, and carried out to its completion, the dari strategy of Suetonius Paulinus in Mauretania[10], and afterwards credit in this campaign with having once at least snatched a victory out of defeat[11]. The names of the other 'legati legionum' are unfortunate lost to us; but we find a still more distinguished staff following in t personal train of Claudius. First among these is another tried sold and future emperor, Servius Sulpicius Galba[12], another a consular of lo standing, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, who had already won triumph honours for some previous exploit[13]. Among others of the same hi

1 The divorce of Plautia Urgulanilla 'ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionem' (Suet. Cl. 26) would have rendered any of her relations obnoxious rather than otherwise to Claudius.

2 *βουλευτὴς λογιμώτατος* (60. 19, 1).

3 See note on 13. 32, 3.

4 It is possible to suppose him to have been successor to P. Gabinius in Lower (Dio, 60. 8, 7), or to Galba in Upper Germany (Suet. Galb. 6); but there is no evidence of his having held either post. A more natural supposition would make him to have been legatus of Gallia Belgica, in which the army was got together. This province was usually held by a legatus of only praetorian rank, but may have been for this special purpose given to a consular, as we find Corbulo placed in charge of the inferior province of Cappadocia (see note on 13. 8, 2).

5 H. 3. 44, 2; Suet. Vesp. 4.

6 'Monstratus fatis Vespasianus' (A. 13, 5).

7 *ὑποστρατηγοῦντά οἱ* (Dio, 60. 20, 3

8 H. 3. 64, 1, &c. The statement Dio, 60. 30, 1, that Titus also accompan his father to this war, and on one occas saved his life in an encounter, has b copied into many narratives, but is ch nologically impossible; inasmuch as received date of the birth of Titus (S Tib. 2) would make him only two ye old at this time.

9 Dio, 60. 20, 4. That he held suc post is probable from the facts th stated, that he received 'triumphalia' this war, and that he was not a consul

10 Dio, 60. 9, 1.

11 Dio, 60. 20, 4.

12 See Suet. Galb. 7, where it app to be implied, but is not clearly sta that he accompanied Claudius.

13 For his consulship see 4. 62, 1,

ank were the high-spirited Gaulish senator, Valerius Asiaticus[1], and robably the last colleague of Gaius, Cn. Sentius Saturninus[2]; while mong younger men of promise was Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus[3], a ear relation of the commander-in-chief, who shows a record of great ubsequent achievements in Moesia[4].

Even this formidable army did not embark on an expedition beyond ne Ocean without reluctance[5]; and appears, after embarkation, to have een driven back by stress of weather, but to have been reassured by a ieteor travelling westward, and to have set out again in that direction, nd to have effected a landing at three places unopposed. From this oint our only narrative, that of Dio, is very vague, and contains many ifficulties[6]. It states that Caratacus and Togodumnus, who had lately ucceeded to the power of their father Cunobelinus, endeavoured to raw the Romans into morasses, but were overtaken and successively efeated; that some part of one of the nations subject to them, the oduni[7], made voluntary submission and received a garrison; that soon terwards, at the crossing of an important river, a determined resistance as offered, and the crossing effected after two days of fighting, in which espasian and Hosidius won great distinction; that from this point the ritons fell back upon the Thames, and crossed it at some point within dal influence, profiting by their knowledge of the fordable points; that e Gaulish auxiliaries swam across after them, and other Roman troops ossed by a bridge somewhat higher up; but that this advanced force

te, for his 'triumphalia,' Suet. Cl. 17. ne recently discovered inscription on s tomb (see 'Times,' Apr. 6, 1885), is ought to show that he had been legatus Mauretania.

[1] See 11. 3, 1.

[2] Eutropius (7. 13) speaks of Britain 'devicta' under Claudius, 'per Cn. ntium et A. Plautium.' No Sentius s ever commander-in-chief; but it has en inferred that such a person took part the expedition, and that the consul of 4, A.D. 41, is meant.

[3] The biographical record contained the inscription prominent on the well-own family Mausoleum at the foot the heights of Tivoli (Or. 750; Wilm. 45) speaks of him as 'comes Claudi esaris in Britannia,' and details his sequent services: on their date see ilm. l. l.

Among subordinate officers may be ed C. Julius Camillus, L. Gavius Silnus (see 15. 50, 3), and M. Vettius lens, all of whom received decorations r. Insc. 363, 3568, 6767), also Xenophon, afterwards known as the physician of Claudius, who is shown to have filled the important position of 'praefectus fabrum' (see on 12. 61, 2).

[5] See the anecdote of Narcissus cited above (p. 130, n. 6). The point of embarkation is not stated. That of Julius Caesar (B. G. 5. 2, 3) had been Portus Itius (probably Wissant), that of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 17) was Gessoriacum (Boulogne); which was generally used afterwards, and is supposed to have been used on this occasion also.

[6] See Dio, 60. 19–21.

[7] μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούνων, ὧν ἐπῆρχον Κατουελλανοὶ ὄντες (Dio, 60. 20, 2). On the Boduni see below: the name 'Catuvellauni' is found in an inscription (C. I. L. vii. 863), and traced in that of the prince Cassivellaunos of Caesar's time, and is now read by Müller for Κατυευχλονοὶ οἱ καὶ Καπελάνοι in Ptol. 2. 3, 21, as that of the people who lived in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire and had Verulam for one of their towns.

received a severe check, and the Britons, though Togodumnus had n perished, appeared in no way dispirited; whereupon Plautius, in accor- ance with previous instructions, halted the whole army on the bank the Thames, and sent for further reinforcements[1] and for the presen of the emperor himself.

In this narrative, the most definite detail is the mention of the Bodu, and it is a great question whether it is not also the most misleadi. The name, which is otherwise unknown, has been naturally taken to an error of transposition for that of the Dobuni, who in the time Ptolemy had Corinium for their town[2], and must have occupied a distr coinciding mainly with Gloucestershire. This, added to the statem of Dio that the expedition sailed westward, led most modern critics put the landing-places considerably further west than would otherw be supposed[3], and to take the river at which the chief resistance v encountered to be as far distant from the place of landing as Gloucestershire Avon, or some other stream in that part of the countr. But on this supposition, the retreat of the Britons from any such po to the south side of the estuary of the Thames seems wholly inexp- able[5]. If, on the other hand, we conclude, with Mommsen[6] and othe,

[1] Dio states (c. 21, 2) that among these were included elephants, a rare adjunct to Roman warfare.

[2] Μεθ' οὓς Δοβοῦνοι καὶ πόλις Κορίνιον (Ptol. 2. 3, 25). The name of Corinium is clearly traced in 'Cirencester,' and appears also to form part of 'Durocornovium,' which answers to that town in the Itinerary. Hübner appears however (C. I. L. vii. p. 22) to doubt their identity, and to take the latter only to be Cirencester. The name 'BODVOC,' found on coins in this district, is taken to be that of a prince rather than of the people (Evans, 134–139).

[3] As for instance at Clausentum (Bittern, near Southampton) and other places near it. Hübner suggests that this port was named after the emperor ('Claudientum'). From this point an advance is supposed in the direction of Venta (Winchester) and Calleva (Silchester), and thence to the north-west. See Hübner, das Römische Heer, pp. 527–529.

[4] The place garrisoned (see above) has been taken to be Glevum (Gloucester); which would on this supposition have been the first position permanently occupied by the Romans in Britain.

[5] The view set forth by Dr. Guest, in his treatise on the campaign of Plautius (Origines Celticae, &c. ii. pp. 399, foll.), agrees in the main with that stated ab as to the direction taken, but differs some important points. He thinks th the landing was effected probably Richborough, Dover, and Hythe, that the Britons abandoned Kent with a struggle; that their first stand (in wh Caratacus was defeated) was near chester, the second (in which Togodum was defeated) near Cirencester; that unnamed river to which the Britons th fell back, and where the chief battle t place, was really the Thames, which crossed at Wallingford; that the so-ca Thames which the Britons afterw crossed, and at which the Roman adva was checked, was really the tidal est of the Lea, near Stratford; and that place where Plautius then waited London, where his camp formed the permanent castellum, and where he not think that there is evidence of previous British settlement. He supp this view from a passage in which Al (who is supposed to have followed s confused Welsh Chronicle) ascribes Caesar a march somewhat resemb the above (but stated as by way of W lingford to Cirencester); but the diffi ties involved seem extremely great. Pl tius could hardly be unaware that headquarters of the resistance lay on

at the word read Βοδοῦνοι represents the name of some tribe which we e unable to identify[1]; or that, if they are identical with the Dobuni, eir submission has been misplaced in order of time[2]; the whole narra- e can be explained in a far more probable manner. The three nding points can be placed on the south-eastern coast[3]; the first int of concentration may have been at or near them; the resistance ll have been encountered still within Kent; and the unnamed river at ich the chief struggle took place could be the Medway[4].

The time occupied before sending for Claudius, or between that and ; arrival, can only be estimated in the light of the statement that he

:th and north-east of the lower Thames, l that the royal city of Cunobelinus s the chief aim of the campaign; and s seems to make it hardly possible to ppose that he would have allowed him- f to be led in a wholly opposite direc- 1 to a point 160 miles from his only ure base, and would have followed his my again thence through another long : of country, which those retreating ore him would already have drained supplies. A widely different view, en by Professor G. B. Airy, originally blished in the Athenaeum of June 28, 0, and subsequently (with some addi- ns) reprinted with other papers (Lon- :, 1865), holds that the westerly course ntioned by Dio was really that from North Foreland to the coast of Essex, ere the landing took place (probably or near Southend); that the Britons eated south-west; that the unnamed r, the scene of the chief conflict, was tidal portion of the Lea; that the ons, retreating thence, crossed to the th of the Thames, followed by the nans, who took up a position (prob- y at Keston), whence they recrossed Thames with Claudius, and struck at nulodunum. This view appears to in- e the hardly possible supposition, that Britons, instead of falling back upon r stronghold at Camulodunum, deli- itely marched away from it and left it n to attack, and that the Romans, in- d of availing themselves of that op- unity, marched after them, and even sed the Thames, knowing that they ld have to recross it for the main ob- of the campaign. Mr. F. C. J. Spur- in a paper read at a meeting of the haeological Institute, November 1888, s a view partly in accordance with 1 of the above writers, partly distinct 1 both. He places the landing on the npshire coast, and makes the Romans march to Gloucestershire and thence east- ward till they reach the Lea (the unnamed river of Dio); whence he also makes them follow the Britons southward across the Thames (probably near Tilbury, supposed to be then above the tidal limit), and wait there for Claudius. The objections to this view will be gathered from those already stated. We seem thus to see that no view is open to fewer objections, or more on the whole in accordance with the nar- rative of Dio, than some such as that here adopted, making Plautius land at some near points, and not extend his operations beyond parts of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, till the arrival of forces under Claudius emboldened him to cross the Thames once for all, and strike at the British headquarters.

[6] Hist. v. 160 (E. T. i. 175), note.

[1] It would not be an unreasonable supposition to consider that the people spoken of (whatever their real name may have been, and whatever corruption may have here taken the place of it) were the Sussex tribe known to us by what is per- haps a subsequent Roman designation (see below, p. 136) as 'Regni.'

[2] Some at least of the people inhabit- ing the district assigned to the Dobuni would seem to have been still independent under Andedrigus, at a date subsequent to that of the first invasion (see below, p. 138, 2), and to have been associated with the Iceni rather than the Catuvellauni.

[3] There is much improbability in sup- posing that so large and heavily loaded a fleet of transports coasted as far as Bittern before landing. The westward course which Dio (c. 19, 4) describes them as taking might loosely mean what is strictly a north-westerly direction to such a point as Lymne. The terrors of the ocean would lead them to make as short a passage as wind and tide permitted.

[4] See Merivale, ch. 51, p. 21.

was altogether six months absent from Rome, and returned to it in t beginning of the following year; which would show him to have lef about July[1]. We may suppose Plautius to have spent the interval securing the ground already won, and constructing or improving t roads from the readiest points of disembarkation to the place where was to cross the Thames[2]. His position was probably further secur by the accession of a prince in his rear; as we find that Cogidumn who may probably have been a discontented vassal-prince under Cur belinus, was rewarded by Claudius for his services by a gift of territor probably that which he had already ruled, and generally identified w that of the Regni (Sussex), with its chief town, Chichester[4].

[1] Dio, 60. 23, 1. He may have been in Gaul in expectation of a summons before it reached him.

[2] The place where he waited, and where he subsequently crossed, is generally assumed to be identical with that at which the Britons had already crossed, and where he had attempted to follow them (see above, p. 133); but the statement of Dio (60. 20, 5) that 'this was at a point where the river pours itself into the ocean, and forms lakes,' is not conclusive as to the locality. Dr. Guest's view, that the Lea and not the Thames is meant (see above, p. 134, note 5), is grounded on the mention by Dio of a bridge a little higher up the stream, and on the unlikelihood that the Britons of that date could have bridged such a river as the tidal Thames. But Dio's words are quite consistent with the supposition that the bridge was above the tidal limit; and it need not be supposed to have been more than a rude wooden structure. The point of crossing has been generally taken to be at or near London; and Mr. Loftie considers ('London,' p. 3) that the existence of such tidal lakes there is suggested by various considerations, especially by the low level of the opposite lands on the south side. A more definite place is suggested by his note (p. 6), that the earliest direction of the Watling Street (often supposed to have partly followed the line of a previous British track) took a course mainly coinciding with the Edgware Road and Park Lane to Tothill fields and Thorney island (the site of Westminster Abbey); where the river spread so widely over Pimlico, Kennington, &c., as to be probably fordable at low tide; whence the same road went on to the South East coast, and may even then have become the Roman marching route. The view suggested in Mr. Spurrell's pa (see above, p. 135, 5), that the limit of ti influence was at that time some twe miles below London, near Tilbury a Gravesend, cannot well be adopted or jected until such evidence as can be rived from borings in the Thames' marsh has been more fully discussed. It is c tainly difficult to suppose that Lond could have attained such great comm cial importance at so early a date (14. 33, 1), without possessing greater cessibility for sea-going ships than co well have been afforded by such a stre as the Thames, not sustained by loc distributed over marshy ground, a twenty miles above tidal influence.

[3] 'Quaedam civitates Cogidumno r donatae (is ad nostram usque memori fidissimus mansit), ut, vetere ac iamprid recepta populi Romani consuetudine, h beret instrumenta servitutis et reges' (A 14, 2). It is implied that he was allow the title of 'rex,' whence Professor Rh (p. 78) thinks may be derived the name the people ('Regni' = 'Regnii'), as giv in Ptol. (2. 3, 28), Ρῆγνοι, *καὶ πόλις* Νο *μαγος*. Their town can hardly be a other than Chichester; which is gen ally identified with the Regnum of t Itinerary.

[4] The identification rests on the famo Chichester inscription preserved at Goo wood (C. I. L. vii. 11): '[N]eptuno Minervae templum, [pr]o salute Do[m Divinae, [ex] auctoritate [Ti.] Cla [Co]gidubni R., Lega[ti] Aug. in Brit(a nia), [Colleg]ium fabror. et qui in eo d s(uo) d(at), donante aream [Clem]en Pudentini fil.' The abbreviation 'R apparently for 'Regis,' is remarkab still more so the title 'legatus August never known elsewhere to have be borne by a foreign prince. As he h

The record of the movements of Claudius, which may probably have een taken from the 'acta publica,' represents him as having been only xteen days in Britain[1], a space barely sufficient for what Dio tells us ' his doings: that he found the army on the Thames, immediately ossed with it, fought and won another battle, pushed on to and occued Camulodunum, and received the submission of those princes who rrendered on the spot, and, after repeatedly accepting the title of mperator[2],' set out for Rome, sending on Pompeius and Silanus, his ns-in-law, to announce his victory. On his arrival he celebrated a agnificent triumph, followed by games and other spectacles on a grand ale, and distributed with a lavish hand distinctions and decorations nong his followers[3].

It is of more importance to endeavour to trace the progress of conest, during the three remaining years of the command of Plautius; t of these no further record is left to us than a short summary of the hievements of Vespasian: that he 'fought thirty battles, subdued two werful nations, took more than twenty towns, and reduced the island Vectis (Wight)[4].' The scene of these exploits has been generally iced in the south-western part of Britain, part of which must cernly have been reduced to submission at a very early date, as the pigs lead from the Mendip district are found to bear the names of the nperor and his son as early as 802, A.D. 49[5]. It is suggested that a y early frontier[6] of the province may have been represented by a line

the official title ('legatus Augusti praetore'), it is suggested that it may e been an honorary title only. Hübner es, ad loc., a full commentary on the iculties presented by the inscription. ' [Clem]ente,' '[Pud]ente' is read in ny versions; and the person has been en to be the Pudens of Martial, and even t of 2 Tim. iv. 21. It would be hardly vant here to state the objections.

Dio, 60. 23, 1. The account in Suet. 17) generally agrees, but does not credit him with a battle: 'a Massilia soriacum usque pedestri itinere cono, inde transmisit, ac sine ullo praelio sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte lae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam ectus erat mense Romam rediit.' If version is true, the representation n in the Campus Martius of the n of Camulodunum (Suet. Cl. 21) t have been wholly imaginary.

Dio points out (c. 21, 4) that this was not by usage accepted more once for a single war.

Dio (l. l.) describes the triumph and the games held afterwards: see also Suet. Cl. 17.

[4] Suet. Vesp. 4. All these successes are said to have been won 'partim Auli Plauti legati consularis, partim Claudii ipsius ductu.'

[5] Two have been found in this district, one (C. I. L. vii. 1201) inscribed 'Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug., P. M., Trib. p. viiii, Imp. xvi, de Britan.'; the other (1202) 'Britannic[i] Aug. fi.', and (on the side) 'V. et P.' (taken to mean 'Veranio et Pompeio cos.'). That the Romans pushed their mining enterprise still further west, is in itself probable, but unsupported; as Mr. Haverfield notes that hardly any traces of Roman mining or occupation in Cornwall are found till a much later date. We should therefore suppose that the Damnonii west of the Mendips were not strictly part of the early province, but ignored, as not actively hostile.

[6] In speaking of this or any other line as a 'frontier,' the term can be only loosely used. Mere invasion may have gone, even in the earliest campaigns,

drawn somewhat north of the Thames, and perhaps westward near th Mendips, resting on Camulodunum (Colchester), and Glevum (Glou cester)[1]. Verulamium would form an intermediate point, and Londiniur with perhaps other positions, would be places of support in the rea At some early date, the powerful people of the Iceni, in Norfolk an Suffolk, with perhaps other of their neighbours, accepted a position c dependence[2]; so that the practically subject country, at the time of th appointment of Ostorius, might not improbably lie within a diagon line, drawn from the mouth of the Severn to that of the Nen, or even c the Trent[3]. The reward of Plautius for these great steps in the dire

considerably further than the supposed limit; and on the other hand the subjugation within must have been very gradual and for a long time imperfect; as is shown by the disaffection with which Ostorius had to deal (12. 31, 2), and by the great rising later of even those who seemed to have been most completely subjected (14. 31–39). It may however be taken to be meant that the chief positions on such a line as is indicated were permanently occupied, and were more or less supported by communications in their rear, and that within this limit, conscription, tribute, and other incidents of Roman government were gradually and systematically established.

[1] Without accepting the view which makes Glevum to have been held from the very first campaign (see above, p. 134, 4), weight must be attached to the evidence given (see Mr. J. Bellows, in Transactions of Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, vol. i. 1876, pp. 153–166) by the many genuine, and (what is more significant) the many imitated coins of Claudius found there, that it was occupied at a very early date, probably as soon as it became evident that South Wales was the headquarters of the resistance. If the square form and limited area (45 acres) of the enclosure are correctly given, they would show that it was laid out strictly as a camp; and the supposition that it was the headquarters of the Second legion before it was pushed on to Caerleon, may on general grounds be considered sufficiently probable in itself, although it has not yet been confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions or other unmistakeable evidence on the spot.

[2] 12. 31, 3. The history at this time of the Iceni and some other peoples connects itself with the fortunes of a prince Andedrigus; whose name (or some abbreviation of it) occurs on numerous coins found in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshir Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, O fordshire, also near Bath, and (in a co siderable number) near Frome. In No folk and in Somerset, Roman coins a found mingled with them, especially the latter place some of Claudius a Antonia (the latter imitated), showi his rule to have continued there after t Roman invasion (see Evans, pp. 143–14 383–388; Suppt. 489–493, 583–58 Dr. Evans inclines to think that he w ruling at the time of the Icenian risi against Ostorius; but it seems difficult suppose the 'longa opulentia' of Pras tagus (14. 31, 1) not to have already beg before that time. Possibly Andedrig (of whom nothing is known beyond l coinage) may have been leader of a n tional and Prasutagus of a Roman pa at the time of the first invasion; a when the Iceni, at some date betwe A.D. 43 and 47, voluntarily submitted Rome (12. 31, 3), the latter was co firmed as king, and the former may ha retired westward, and maintained hims there (like Caratacus) as a national lea of the Dobuni (see above, p. 134) a others, possibly, as Dr. Evans thinks, about A.D. 55. The view that his S merset subjects may have been the le producing people whose name is genera read as 'Ceangi' is discussed on 12. 32 The name of Prasutagus has not b found on any coins; nor is there disti evidence of any later Icenian coinage f any sort.

[3] The disarmament of the Iceni (31, 2) marks their position as one of disguised vassalage even before their f rising, becoming probably still more after it; but the supposition that s such line as that indicated above form what is called a frontier, could hardly taken as resting on evidence without volving the acceptance of a conjectu

[badge]on of conquest was the honour of an ovation[1], otherwise as jealously [re]served for the imperial family as the greater triumph itself[2].

With the appointment of his successor P. Ostorius Scapula, in 800, [A.] D. 47, we recover the guidance of Tacitus; but it cannot be said that [w]e gain from him any clear conception of the military movements. We [h]ave rhetorical descriptions of battles and vague geography, reminding [u]s of that of the campaigns of Germanicus: nor have we even, as we have [us]ually in the Annals, the means of distinguishing the campaigns of [su]ccessive years[3].

We are told that the new legatus, on his arrival late in the season[4], [ha]d at once to deal with aggressions of the unsubdued tribes without and [th]e first recorded insurrection within the subjected territory; the latter [m]ovement being headed by the Iceni, who had already fallen under [su]spicion, and rose in indignation against the precautionary measures[5] [en]forced upon them. The rising, which can hardly have been very [wi]despread or formidable, was crushed by the auxiliary troops without [th]e aid of the legions[6]; and the Iceni, though still left under the rule of [a] native prince[7], had probably from this time an approach to the [un]disguised and oppressive subjection which some thirteen years later [dr]ove them to despair.

We may probably place in the spring of 801, A.D. 48, the raid made [on] some portion of Cheshire or Flintshire[8], and the contemplated pro[gr]ess in that direction, checked by the threatening attitude of the hitherto [fri]endly Brigantes of Yorkshire and other adjacent counties[9]. For the [re]maining three years or more of his rule and lifetime, Ostorius is [en]gaged in the struggle, destined to last till the time of the Flavian [em]perors[10], against the desperate resistance of North and South Wales. [At] the opening of our narrative these are united under the heroic leader[shi]p of Caratacus, who, after the wreck of his inherited dominion in the [Ea]st[11], had thrown himself into this stronghold of national independence,

[rea]ding of the passage in 12. 32, 2 (where [see] note). The statement in Agr. 14, 1, [th]at, under Plautius and Ostorius, 're[dac]ta paulatim in formam provinciae [pro]xima pars Britanniae,' while it sup[por]ts the view that the subjection of even [sou]th-eastern Britain was gradual, leaves [the] proportion of the subdued to the in[dep]endent country undefined. The friendly [rela]tions with Rome of the great northern [trib]e, the Brigantes, during the joint [lead]ership of Venutius and Cartismandua [(12.] 40, 3), must have left them still so [inde]pendent as to make Caratacus be[lieve] that they could shelter him (12. [36,] 1).

[1] See 13. 32, 3, and note.

[2] His case appears to be the solitary exception to this rule after 728, B.C. 26; see Momms. Staatsr. i. 136, 1.

[3] The only year clearly dated is that of the capture of Caratacus (12. 36, 1).

[4] 12. 31, 1.

[5] See 12. 31, 2, and note.

[6] 12. 31, 5.

[7] 14. 31, 1.

[8] On the name of the people generally taken as inhabiting this territory see 12. 32, 1, and note.

[9] 12. 32, 3, 4.

[10] See below, p. 146.

[11] See above, p. 133.

and won confidence by many successful and drawn battles fought unde his command[1]. A single sentence, describing the diversion of the fir attack on the Silures by a skilful lateral movement along the valley making North Wales and the adjacent counties the immediate seat war[2], seems to be all our record of some three years of conflict, trace of which may probably be found in the British entrenchments on th Wrekin and on several other hills, in some of whose names that of th chieftain seems to be preserved, in Shropshire and Herefordshire[3]; or of which (Caer-Caradoc, near Church Stretton) confronted at a distanc of some ten miles the Roman position of Viroconium[4] (Wroxeter) which we may suppose to have become at this time the headquarte of the attacking force, and probably the permanent station of th Fourteenth legion[5]. Nor is anything told us of the circumstances whic led or forced Caratacus, probably in the course of 804, A.D. 51, to stal his fortunes on a pitched battle, the description of which[6] resembles th of many another conflict with Germans or other enemies of simil quality. The enemy, wrought up to the highest pitch of courage by th leader's example and exhortation, occupies a carefully chosen positio strong by nature, and additionally strengthened by stone walls, which a carried by the Roman 'testudo'; a second position further up th heights is stormed with equal success; the close attack of the legior added to the storm of missiles hurled by the light troops on the ba heads and unprotected bodies of their adversaries, completing the victo and carnage. The immediate capture of the wife and daughter, ar surrender of the brothers of Caratacus[7], is followed soon by his ov deliverance into captivity, and from the time of the transportation of the illustrious prisoners to Rome[8] the great house of Cunobelinus is lost sig of in British history[9].

[1] 12. 33, 1.

[2] 'Locorum fraude prior . . . transfert bellum in Ordovicas' (12. 33, 2).

[3] See Scarth, Rom. Brit. 138.

[4] See note on 12. 31, 2. The occupation of this position is naturally connected with the war against the Ordovices, but the camp may have been closer to the junction of the Tern and Severn, and was doubtless much smaller than the subsequent town; which shows no trace of camp form, and was encircled only by a slight rubble vallum of some three miles' circuit and of irregular shape, enclosing an area of some 223 acres. See the descriptions and plan given in the works of Mr. Wright and Mr. J. C. Anderson.

[5] The two epitaphs there found of soldiers of that legion (C. I. L. vii. 154, 155) are the only traces of it in Britain. was summoned to Italy in the last y of Nero (H. 2. 11, 2), and after a v short return in the following year (H. 66, 7), was permanently withdrawn fr Britain in 823, A.D. 70 (H. 4. 68, 5). epitaph of a soldier of the 20th legion h also been found there (156).

[6] 12. 33–35. For the locality sugges see on 12. 33, 2.

[7] 12. 35, 7.

[8] 12. 36–38.

[9] It is to this year, the fifth consuls of Claudius and the eleventh year of tribunitian power, that the completion f his triumphal arch, fragments of whi discovered near the Sciarra palace, are preserved, belongs. The inscription now read and supplemented (see Or. 7

Otherwise, the catastrophe appears to have made little difference, xcept that no more pitched battles are risked, and that the tactics reviously successful are steadily adhered to. Almost immediately after ıe fall of Caratacus, it is found necessary to fix the permanent head-uarters of the Second legion at Isca Silurum[1] (Caerleon on Usk); and ıe position is with the greatest difficulty established. At one time the orce on the spot is barely rescued from utter destruction by the timely ıpport of the main army[2]; at another, the foraging parties are cut off[3]; t another, the whole legion sustains a reverse, and the Silures, rendered nly more desperate by threats of extermination[4], are again masters of ıe country and draw other tribes to join them[5]. From this time too ıe hostility of the powerful Brigantes in the North has to be reckoned ith; and Venutius, one of their princes, comes to the front as the most ilful national leader[6].

Early in these renewed troubles Ostorius died at his post, worn out by ontinual warfare[7]; and during the five years of Didius Gallus[8] and the ıe year of Veranius[9] (805–811, A. D. 52–58) no advance of dominion is oted; though it is probable that in this period of seeming inaction the ıains of conquest were being firmly riveted upon the land within and ightly beyond the space already subjected[10]; that Isca and probably its ıbordinate post Venta (Caerwent) are strongly held against the Silures, iroconium against the Ordovices; while Deva (Chester) and Lindum .incoln) form also outposts confronting the Brigantes; each of these ur positions becoming the headquarters of a legion; and all being ınnected with each other and with their bases of support in the south-st of the province by the long lines of the Foss Way and the Watling reet, and their subsidiary branches[11].

ilm. 899 a; C. I. L. vi. 920), describes ıs dedicated to him, 'Quod reges Brit-nniai] XI d[evictos sine] ulla iactur[a deditionem acceperit] gentesque [bar-:as trans oceanum] primus in dici[onem puli Romani redegerit].' The number the eleven conquered princes may prob-y have included Caratacus and his others, and all others who had sub-:ted down to that date.

[2] See 12. 32, 4; 38, 3, and notes.

[3] 12. 38, 3–39, 2.

[4] 12. 39, 5.

[5] 12. 39, 5.

12. 40, 1–3.

12. 40, 3–6.

[7] 12. 39, 5. The date of his death is fixed, but appears to be not long after capture of Caratacus.

[8] 12. 40, 1, and note. He is described (Id. § 7) as a distinguished officer, but already aged.

[9] 14. 29, 1, and note.

[10] The 'neque . . . nisi parta retinuerat,' said of Didius in 14. 29, 1, is somewhat qualified by the 'paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis' of Agr. 14, 3. The year of Veranius is marked only by predatory attacks on the Silures, and extravagant promises cut short by death (14. 29, 1). With this period are also to be reckoned the first two years of Paulinus (see below, p. 143).

[11] The evidence for the early occupation of Isca and Viroconium is given above. The hostility of the Brigantes supplies a natural motive for the occupation of Deva and Lindum; and the former place would have been the natural base of support for the advance of Paulinus on

The necessity for some central garrison in the established province make up for this withdrawal of the legions to its outposts had bee foreseen; and it was apparently early in the government of Ostorius th the island received its first Roman colony[1]; for the site of which, spite of the greater commercial importance of Londinium[2], the choi naturally fell on what had probably been from the time of its occupatic the seat of government, the old capital of Cunobelinus[3]; which ha assumed under him an importance eclipsing that of all other Britis 'oppida,' though still apparently resembling the general type[4] in co sisting of a large enclosed tract of some square miles, protected on t east, north, and south by the tidal marshes of the Colne and its sma tributary (still called the Roman river), and on its assailable side, t west, by strong earthworks, in part still traceable, from stream stream[5]. On the formation of the colony, a theatre[6], and, no doul other public buildings rapidly grew up, and a temple was erected to Cla dius[7], to become, as other such had been, the provincial centre of t cultus of Rome[8]; but the whole place was laid out rather as a pleasu resort than a military position[9], and no pains were taken to strength its antiquated defences. Here, and at the large municipal town Verulamium, and most of all at Londinium, we are told of a gre population, Roman and Romanized[10], living in a fatal dream of securi destined to undergo a rude awakening.

Mona, and may well have been one of the 'praesidia' secured by him (Agr. 14, 4). Also the supposition that these two places had already become the stations of the legions subsequently associated with them, is rendered probable by circumstances in the narrative of the great insurrection (see below, p. 144), in which also the existence of the Watling Street road appears to be implied (p. 145, 2). Many of these roads are thought to have followed at least in part the lines of previous British trackways.

[1] 12. 32, 5, and note. Its foundation appears to have been at least contemplated before the fall of Caratacus, and probably not later than 803, A.D. 50.

[2] 14. 33, 1.

[3] See above, p. 129, and, for its identity with Colchester, see note on 12. 32, 5. In the inscription there cited, it is called 'Colonia victricensis' or 'Victrix,' a title best taken as commemorative of its conquest by Claudius, and of which the statue of Victory (14. 32, 1) was the representation.

[4] 'Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fo munierunt, quo incursionis hostium tandae causa convenire consuerunt' (Ca B. G. 5. 21, 3).

[5] The description given here and bel (p. 147) is drawn partly from perso observation, partly from works on subject, especially the Rev. E. L. Cu 'Colchester' (Historic Towns Seri London, 1888. Tidal influence n ceases a mile or two below the tow and the Colne is now at this plac stream of some ten yards average bread and moderate depth. The earthwo are those of the 'Grimes Dyke,' just yond Lexden (about two miles from present town), where British coins, w pons, &c., have been found, and wh has been thought more strictly to present the site of the British 'oppidu than Colchester itself.

[6] 14. 32, 1.

[7] 14. 31, 6

[8] See 1. 78, 1, and note.

[9] 'Dum amoenitati prius quam t consulitur' (14. 31, 7).

[10] See 14. 33, 1, 4. The fact t 70,000 such persons were massacred

It is probable that the successes which marked the first two years' rule f the distinguished soldier, C. Suetonius Paulinus[1] (812, 813, A.D. 9, 60), were gained in the region of North Wales, as we find him mboldened by them in the following year (814, A. D. 61), after careful reparation of means of transport, to carry the Roman arms into its ırthest recess, and by the occupation of Mona (Anglesey) at once to eprive the rebels of their safest refuge[2], and to extirpate British Druidism ı its innermost sanctuary. Even veteran soldiers recoiled at first in anic from the sacred soil; the shores of which, besides bristling with rmed defenders, were lined with the holy men uplifting their hands to eaven in solemn imprecation, and with dark robed torch-bearing omen, reminding them of the furies of tragic legend. Notwithstanding ıese terrors, the landing was soon forced, and the firebrands of the nemy turned to their own destruction; the massacre had taken its ourse, the altars of human sacrifice had been destroyed, the sacred roves had fallen before the axe[3], when Suetonius was hastily recalled face the gravest crisis that had ever threatened Roman rule in Britain.

The great rising of the Britons of the eastern districts[4] is not only ılly described in the Annals[5], but also occupies what is a considerable roportionate space in the Agricola[6], and still more so in the abridgeıent of Dio[7]. Both authors have duly chronicled the portents by which ıe disaster was said to have been heralded[8]; and to Dio we owe further description of the personal appearance of the heroine queen; her ommanding stature, stern countenance, flashing eyes, masculine voice, er abundance of auburn hair floating down to her hips, her golden torc, nbroidered tunic, and thick cloak clasped over it, as she stands, spear in ınd, to address her countrymen[9].

The causes of the rising, as given by Tacitus earlier in the Agricola[10], nount to no more than the general grievances of a proud and free

e insurrection is striking evidence of the oid growth of Roman influence in so ort a time. See Friedl. ii. 66.

[1] 'Biennio prosperas res habuit, subɪis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis' gr. 14, 4).

[2] It is spoken of as 'incolis validam et eptaculum perfugarum' (14. 29, 3), o as 'vires rebellibus ministrantem' gr. l. 1.).

[3] We are also told of a 'praesidium positum victis' (14. 30, 3); but we ı hardly suppose that any force left re was not at once withdrawn to meet emergency elsewhere; and the reocoation of Mona by Agricola seventeen ırs later is represented as in fact a new conquest (Agr. 18, 4). The blow struck at Druidism appears however to have had more permanent effects.

[4] That it was not confined to them would appear from the incidental mention in the speech of Calgacus (Agr. 31, 5) of the Brigantes as attacking Camulodunum under Boudicca; unless we are to suppose this to be an error.

[5] 14. 31–39.

[6] c. 15, 1–16, 3.

[7] 62. 1–12. Most of this space is taken up with speeches of Boudicca and Paulinus.

[8] 14. 32, 1, 2; Dio, 62. 1, 2.

[9] Dio, 62. 2, 3.

[10] c. 15.

people, governed as provincial subjects were still too often governe(In the Annals [1] the wrongs of at least the Iceni and Trinovantes ar definitely specified; we have the personal outrage inflicted on Boudicc and her daughters, the extortionate spirit in which the Romans exacte the inheritance left to them by the old king Prasutagus, the spoliatio and even enslavement of the Icenian nobles; while the Trinovante had been goaded to despair by the violence of the veteran colonists (Camulodunum, by the consecration of their slavery in the erection of temple there to Claudius, and by the exactions of the priests at that alie sanctuary. Dio tells us [2] that the procurator was treating as revocabl and actually reclaiming, the former bounty of Claudius to friendly chie tains, and adds that at the same time Seneca was rigorously exactin from the overburdened people the repayment of a loan of fort million HS., which he had induced them against their own will t contract.

The fatal confidence which had banished all the legions to a distanc and left the heart of the province unguarded [3], was now signally chastise The feeble garrison of Camulodunum, with the trifling reinforceme thrown into it by the procurator, was speedily overpowered, its onl stronghold, the temple precinct, was stormed, its garrison massacre and the obnoxious procurator only saved by flight to Gaul. A sti graver disaster followed: the Ninth legion, hurrying rapidly to th rescue, probably from Lindum [4], under Petillius Cerialis, was cut t pieces, and only the legatus and the cavalry escaped [5].

In endeavouring to retrieve the terrible consequences of his ow negligence, Suetonius had probably as arduous a task before him as ha ever fallen to the lot of a Roman general. We may suppose that th Fourteenth legion had accompanied him to Mona, with perhaps part (the Twentieth, that the remainder of that legion was at Deva, the Secon

[1] 14. 31.

[2] 61. 2, 1.

[3] Besides the few troops at Camulodunum, we hear only of some scattered 'castella' or 'praesidia,' which are represented in Agr. 16, 1, as stormed, but in 14. 33, 4, as left alone. They were probably held by auxiliary troops only.

[4] Mommsen, Hist. v. 165; E. T. i. 181, note, calls Tacitus 'the most unmilitary of all authors' (a distinction which Livy might perhaps contest with him), and thinks this perhaps the worst of his narratives. It is certainly true that on all points connected with the position and movements of the legions at this time, we gain no assistance from him. It thought probable that the Ninth legi was at Lindum, as this is known to ha been its permanent station, previous Eburacum, and from this point it wou naturally reach the neighbourhood Camulodunum before the others.

[5] 14. 32, 6. The scene of this disast has been imagined to be at Wormingfo near Colchester, on the strength of t discovery there of a mound containi many hundreds of sepulchral urns, reg larly arranged and seeming to belong a single interment. It is suggested th those who fell may have there receiv burial after order was restored.

Isca Silurum, and that he had intended to collect his troops at roconium[1]. But the officer in charge of the Second legion, pleading rhaps the necessity of holding down the Silures, disobeyed his summns; the remainder of the Twentieth could hardly, as it would seem, withdrawn without leaving Deva at the mercy of the Brigantes; the nth had already marched on and met its fate. So that the Fourteenth d part of the Twentieth legion, with auxiliaries making up the total to out 10,000 men, were the sole force with which he had to face the my and reconquer the province. He reached Londinium[2] without lestation, but was compelled to leave both that town and Verulamium heir fate, and was unable to prevent a massacre of Roman citizens, lers and others friendly to them, such as had not been seen since the s of Mithridates. From seventy to eighty thousand are computed to e perished; and it must have been somewhere in the midst of this ror and carnage that he was compelled by want of provisions[3] to e the whole issue on a battle against overwhelming numbers, flushed 1 previous victory and animated to a crowning effort. It was perhaps er known in Rome how near the tragedy of the Teutoburgiensis us had been to repeating itself. But Paulinus, whatever his errors, no Quintilius Varus, nor were the British ranks commanded by an ninius. Though compelled to fight, he was allowed by some strange r of his enemies to choose his own battleground, and chose one re he could neither be surrounded in the rear nor outflanked[4]. 1 this advantage, the steady valour of the legionaries enabled them wait the decisive moment when the Britons began to waver under the n of 'pila,' and to break their centre in a wedge-like column[5]. The eldy mass became its own worst enemy; the waggons in which wives had been brought to see their victory enclosed the rear; the

ll this again is an inference from we know of the permanent quarters legions and from the position of onium on the great road.

lommsen notes (l. l.) that no reason ver is assigned why he should have to Londinium only to abandon it: we may suppose his object to be lodunum, and his line of march the ng Street, it would be necessary to that place through Verulamium and nium.

io, 62. 8, 1. Tacitus does not make ompelled to fight; but such must been the case under his circumstances. For the number of the Britons e only Dio's extravagant estimate 2) of 230,000.

[4] 14. 34, 2. The locality cannot be identified, but is generally taken to have been somewhere between London and Colchester. Essex contains remains of several encampments, more than one of which, as for instance Haynes Green, near Messing, between Maldon and Colchester, has been imagined by some to afford a resemblance to the features of the position described by Tacitus. On the other hand it is not impossible that Paulinus on finding the formidable strength of the enemy may have fallen back again from London and Verulam to a less hostile district, and may have been there overtaken and brought to bay.

[5] 14. 37, 1.

constantly increasing heaps of slain still further blocked escape; and th carnage was computed as equalling all that the Britons had themselve inflicted[1]. Boudicca, according to Tacitus, poisoned herself[2], and th strength of the resistance died with her; the commanding officer of th Second legion atoned by suicide for his disobedience[3]; reinforcemen arrived from Gaul; new permanent positions were occupied[4]; and th whole army was brought together to stamp out the embers of the r bellion with a merciless severity which went far to defeat its object. Th scarcity arising from neglect of tillage during the war was further aggr vated by ravaging with fire and sword all rebellious or even suspect territories[5]; and sheer despair led to prolongation of the struggle ev when all hope of success was gone. The strong representations of t new procurator[6], that peace could only be restored by a governor n steeled against clemency by the horrors which he had witnessed, led the despatch from Rome on a special mission of Polyclitus, one of t most trusted freedmen; who though received, as we are told, with dism by Romans and disdain by Britons[7], showed creditable judgment i recommending a middle course, by which Paulinus, though not disgracl by immediate supersession, was apparently unrewarded for his victory, and was soon after recalled on a trifling pretext[9]. Under his su cessor Q. Petronius Turpilianus (814–816, A.D. 61–63) the wounds beg to be healed[10]; and the uneventful rule of this officer and that f Trebellius Maximus[11] (817–822, A.D. 64–69) carry us down to and beyo the close of the Annals.

In this latter period, though the limits of the settled province were it extended, and Isca Silurum, Viroconium, and Deva, still confronted i-

[1] Tacitus estimates it at 80,000. He departs from his usual habit (see Introd. i. p. 23) in estimating also the Roman loss, which he states at 400 killed and rather more than that number wounded.

[2] Dio states (62. 12, 6) that she died of disease, and that her death alone prevented them from fighting again. In making this battle somewhat less decisive, he is borne out by what Tacitus tells us of the renewal and subsequent continuance of hostilities (c. 38, foll.), as before after the defeat of Caratacus (12. 38, 2).

[3] 14. 37, 6.

[4] 'Cohortes alaeque novis hibernaculis locatae' (c. 38, 2). It is reasonable to suppose that the headquarters of the rebellion were controlled by the occupation of Venta Icenorum (Norwich or Caistor).

[5] 14. 38, 2.

[6] 14. 38, 4.

[7] 14. 39, 2, 3.

[8] There is no trace of any award of 'triumphalia' to him, nor of any furtr employment till he received the consulsp in 818, A.D. 66 (16. 14, 1). A lean medal, bearing the laurelled head of N, and, on the reverse, the word 'Paul.' and a figure of Mars, is thought to c- memorate his victory (Eckh. vi. 2; which was also probably one of the for which Nero received the title of I- perator.

[9] The sympathies of Tacitus, or his in- formant, appear to be with Paulinus; as he represents the report of the procurtor as prompted by mere spite, sneers at the mission of Polyclitus, and speaks n- temptuously of the policy of Petronius ('non inritato hoste neque lacessitus ho- nestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit').

[10] 14. 39, 5; Agr. 16, 3.

[11] H. 1. 60; Agr. 16, 4, 5.

erfectly subdued nations to the west, while the latter place and Lindum ere still the Roman outposts to the north, much was no doubt done to establish order, and bring back commerce to its accustomed channels. o subsequent outbreak within the conquered district is ever recorded; id we may assume that the towns which had been wrecked soon rose om their ruins, and that the fatal negligence which had left them un-otected was not repeated. Camulodunum, in particular, may probably ve owed to this restoration the still remaining walls[1], a mile and three arters in circuit, enclosing an oblong camp-like area of 108 acres, a ace which, if forming the limit of the colonia at this date, is far short that covered by urban and suburban habitations in subsequent days peace.

The walls of Verulamium appear to be of similar strength to those at lchester, but are those of a town rather than of a military position, closing an area of nearly double the extent, and taking a circuit aring so considerable a resemblance to the size and shape of Pompeii[2] to have suggested the possibility of intentional imitation; a sup-sition which, should it be confirmed by further investigation, would id to show that the town had been thus laid out before Pompeii was stroyed, and therefore (as is otherwise probable enough) at a date soon er its ruin in the insurrection.

The defence of Londinium appears to have been less completely pro-ed for; as the only Roman walls now traceable round the city or orded by any evidence are referred to a much later date[3]; but the

1 See the plan given by Mr. Cutts, in the k already (p. 142, 5) referred to, in ch all the numerous places, both within without the walls, where tessellated ements and other evidences of Roman tation have been found, are indicated. natural elevation of the site has been arts made steeper by escarpment; and walls, perhaps the most perfect of the an period remaining in Britain, ap- to have been some twenty feet high, ten feet thick, backed by a bank of 1. One of the gateways is still pre-ed; much Roman brick has been ked into subsequent buildings; and a e collection of local antiquities is to een in the museum.

2 This resemblance has been shown by J. W. Grover (Journal of Brit. Arch. c. vol. xxvi. 1870, pp. 45, foll.). walls of both towns take a very simi- quasi-oval circuit; the diameter of peii is 4300 by 2400 feet, that of lam 4488 by 2541; the area of the former is 167, that of the latter 190 acres. The foundations of a theatre have been exposed, of almost exactly the same dimensions as the larger theatre at Pompeii; the diameter of the one being 195, and that of the other $193\frac{1}{2}$ feet. But these resemblances, fully capable of being regarded as accidental, are the only ones at present supported by evidence; the site of Verulam, though open to investigation, having been apparently only so far explored as to show that its longer diameter was traversed by the Watling Street, and its shorter by another road; the two crossing at right angles at a point near St. Michael's Church.

3 The line of these walls, coinciding to a considerable extent with the present limits of the City, is shown by Mr. Loftie in a map, and their circumference is computed by him as three miles and a quarter, and the enclosed area as 380 acres. Their date is taken by him to be as late as the middle of the fourth century.

most essential point, the command of the passage over the Thames, wa probably from this time secured by a permanent bridge, the approach t which was guarded by a strong 'castellum'[1]; within which met tw great roads, the Ermine Street leading to Camulodunum and the nort and the Watling Street, diverted from its older and unprotected cours to one thus placed thoroughly under command. It is probable also th the approach to the bridge on the southern side was similarly protected

We may further assume that most, if not all, of the stations alrea mentioned as permanent quarters of legions became, as elsewhere in t empire, centres round which a Romanised population grew up[4]. T same must have been the case with the seaports through which the co merce with the continent may have passed, as Portus Lemanis (Lymne Rutupiae (Richborough), Regulbium (Reculver), Dubris (Dove Portus Magnus (Porchester), and perhaps Clausentum (Bittern)[6].

The date of other Roman settlements within the conquered territo

[1] See Mr. Loftie's map. The fort extends along the Thames from the site of Cannon Street Station on the west to Mincing Lane on the east; its north-west angle being about the point where London Stone stands. It would appear from the plan to be of about three quarters of a mile circuit and hardly 25 acres area. Dr. Guest has thought (see above, p. 134, 5) that this fort dates from the first campaign of Plautius, but the absence of any allusion to it in 14. 33 is against this view. It is also reasonable to suppose that the fort and the bridge were constructed at the same time; and Mr. Loftie justly argues that if a permanent bridge had then existed, Suetonius would never have abandoned a point of such great strategical importance. That it began, however, to exist soon after this time, is inferred from the very early date of many of the coins found in its locality.

[2] See above, p. 136, 2. The branch here spoken of parted from the other near the Marble Arch, going by Oxford Street and Holborn and thence diagonally, entering the fort by London Stone, which was probably the point from which its miles were reckoned (see Loftie, p. 7).

[3] Mr. Loftie notes that extensive Roman remains have been found in Southwark, and suggests that the fort on that side may have been confounded with the other in the geography of Ptolemy, and may have led him to set down Londinium as a town of the Kantii, with Durovernum and Rutupiae (2. 3, 27). See also Mr. Roach Smith, in Dict. Geog. s. v.

[4] On these stations see above, p. 1. Gloucester (see above, p. 138, 1) and Ca leon were strictly occupied as camps, area of both being nearly the same acres); and in neither are there such dications of a large Roman populat growing up outside the enclosure as evident at Colchester (see above). e area of Caerwent (Venta Silurum) d s not appear to have been made out. t Chester, and apparently also at Linc , it is maintained (see Watkin, Rom Cheshire, pp. 86, 91) that an orig l enclosure of similar restricted dimens s went through more than one stage of sequent enlargement; but this supposit , however probable, appears to be as et unconfirmed by evidence; and the ex ing remains are taken to be of later e. At Viroconium, the position and siz f the original camp, as distinct from e subsequent town, are unknown.

[5] See above, p. 131.

[6] Some of these ports may have e in use from the first year of invasion, d (for native traffic) even much ear r; but the fortifications remaining in t m are usually referred to a late Roman e, and their names are mostly known t us from no earlier sources than Ptolemy a the Itinerary. Rutupiae, however, a known by name to Lucan (6, 67), n was famed for its oysters in Domi n time (Juv. 4. 141): and the situatic o the others would make their early c pation seem probable.

ınnot be even approximately given; but it is reasonable to suppose ıat among the earliest localities to be occupied were the great road ntres, as Canterbury, Silchester, Winchester, Cirencester[1], and a place ossessing such a gift of nature as Bath[2]. It is probable enough that ome at least of these places had received their first Roman settlers[3] efore or during the ten years of rest which preceded the next movement conquest under the legati of Vespasian[4].

[1] Among these, the most open site, d that which has been most explored, Silchester, which had a strongly walled cuit of irregular polygonal (approach- g to circular) form of about 1½ miles, closing an area of some 120 acres (see r. McLauchlan's map in Archaeol. Jour- l, viii. p. 227); where most complete ındations of a forum, double basilica, d other buildings, forming a rectangle some 320 by 280 feet, have been dis- vered (see Mr. Joyce's paper and plan Archaeol. Journ. xxx. pp. 10–27), and ere further exploration is now in pro- ss. At Cirencester also important re- ins have been found, and a circuit of o miles, enclosing an area of some 200 es, is traced (see the work of Messrs. ckman and Newmarch, London, 1850). e other sites mentioned are more com- tely built over.

The Roman name of Bath is given as quae Calidae,' the ὕδατα θερμά of Ptol. 2. 3, 28 (where it is placed among the towns of the Belgae), and 'Aquae Solis' (Itin.), generally taken to be an error for 'Aquae Sulis,' as there is evidence that the springs were looked upon as a gift of Sul (Minerva). Mr. Scarth gives the circuit of the Roman town as one mile. The principal object within it would be the famous baths, the remains of which (though now only partially brought to light) are probably the most important relics of the Roman period yet found in Britain.

[3] It should be mentioned that in all the several cases noted above, the estimates given of the areas appearing to be enclosed by Roman walls are only to be taken as evidence of the character and importance of the places at the date of such enclosure; which date must be determined by other considerations, and cannot be assumed to be that of their first settlement.

[4] See Agr. 17.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XI.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

A. U. C. 800, A. D. 47. Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus IV, L. Vitellius III, coss.

h. 1–4. Persons destroyed through the influence of Messalina.

1–3. Valerius Asiaticus accused by Suillius and Sosibius: his acquittal prevented by a device of Vitellius: he commits suicide. 4. Two knights named Petra condemned on pretext of a dream: rewards given to the accusers.

h. 5–7. Discussion respecting the payment of fees to advocates: a limit of ten sestertia imposed.

h. 8–10. Affairs in the East.

8. The Parthians, alienated by the cruelty of Gotarzes, call in Vardanes, who besieges Seleucia. 9. Mithridates, who had been imprisoned by Gaius, is sent out by Claudius and recovers Armenia: Gotarzes and Vardanes make terms; the former retiring in favour of the latter: Seleucia surrendered. 10. Gotarzes renews hostilities and is defeated, but returns to the throne on the death of Vardanes.

h. 11–15. Affairs at Rome.

11. Ludi saeculares held: young L. Domitius wins popular favour. 12. Messalina diverted from attacking Agrippina and Domitius by her new passion for Silius. 13. Censorial edicts of Claudius: new letters added by him to the alphabet. 14. Digression on the origin and history of letters. 15. A college of haruspices founded.

ı. 16–21. Affairs in Germany.

16, 17. Italicus, son of Flavus, the brother of Arminius, sent from Rome to be king of the Cherusci: he meets with various fortune at their hands. 18. Corbulo, appointed legatus of Lower Germany, restores the discipline of the army, and repels the Chauci from the province. 19, 20. He imposes terms on the Frisii, and plans an expedition against the Chauci maiores, but is recalled by Claudius, and makes a canal between the Maas and Rhine. 21. Curtius Rufus opens mines in Upper Germany: his origin and history described.

. 22. Nonius, a knight, found with arms in the emperor's presence: candidates for the quaestorship obliged to give gladiatorial shows: origin and history of that magistracy.

A. U. C. 801, A. D. 48. A. Vitellius, L. Vipstanus Poplicola, coss.

23, 24. Debate on admitting citizens from Gallia Comata to the 'ius honorum:' speech of Claudius on the subject.

25. New patrician families created: unworthy senators removed: a lustrum held, and the number of citizens enumerated.

Ch. 26–38. Last excesses and death of Messalina.

26, 27. Silius urges Messalina to celebrate marriage with him: opportunity take of the emperor's absence at Ostia. 28, 29. Alarm of the chief freedmen: Narcissu alone takes immediate action. 30. Claudius informed of the marriage by tw women and Narcissus. 31. Advice given to Claudius: representation by Messalin of a vintage festival. 32. News of the approach of Claudius disperses the guest most of whom are arrested. 33. Bold course taken by Narcissus. 34. Claudiu refuses to see Messalina and the children. 35, 36. Narcissus takes him to th house of Silius and thence to the praetorian camp; where Silius and the other chi persons, also Mnester the actor, are executed. 37, 38. Messalina goes back to th gardens of Lucullus; where her mother joins her. Narcissus, fearing a change purpose in Claudius, gives orders in his name for her execution, and allows him t suppose that she had committed suicide. Her memory condemned by the senat and Narcissus rewarded.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XI.

1. . . . nam Valerium Asiaticum, bis consulem, fuisse quondam lulterum eius credidit; pariterque hortis inhians, quos ille a ıcullo coeptos insigni magnificentia extollebat, Suillium acsandis utrisque immittit. adiungitur Sosibius Britannici ucator, qui per speciem benevolentiae moneret Claudium cavere n atque opes principibus infensas: praecipuum auctorem

t. **nam**, &c. It is evident that the ject of 'credidit' is 'Messalina,' and t 'eius' is referred to Poppaea (see c. 1). It would appear that the story, if had it in full, would be that Messalina l evidence of adultery between Mnester, of her own favourites (see c. 28, 1), Poppaea (c. 4, 1), and that she ded to destroy the latter without sacriıg the former, and therefore brought a charge against her of adultery with aticus (whom she also desired to put leath for the sake of his gardens), and ıd other pretexts for vengeance on se in whose house Mnester and Poppaea met (c. 4, 2).

is consulem. P. Valerius Asiati- must have been cos. suff. before the th of Gaius, at which date he is mened as a consular (Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 20; , 59. 30, 2), and was ordinary consul 79, A.D. 46 (Dio, 60. 27, 1). The inption (C. I. G. 2587) mentioning a on of this name and rank as also city fect, is referred by Nipp. to one of date.

hortis inhians. This originally ical metaphor is repeated in 12. 59, p. 4. 12, 5; 16. 17, 5. The gardens ucullus were the chief ornament of Pincian ('Collis Hortorum'), and noted by Plutarch (Luc. 39, 518) as in his time τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις. These gardens are mentioned again as the scene of the last hours of Messalina (c. 32, 2; 37, 1).

6. **coeptos**, 'laid out': cp. 1. 50, 2, and note.

extollebat, 'he was beautifying'; apparently so used only here and in 13. 21, 6.

Suillium. On the antecedents of this person, see 4. 31, 5, and note. He had already been the accuser of Julia, daughter of Drusus, and of many others (13. 43, 3), and continued to pursue the trade (c. 4, 1; 5, 1), but was ultimately himself tried and condemned (13. 42, 1, foll.).

7. **immittit**, 'she sets on': for the metaphor, cp. 4. 19, 1, and note; for the gerundive dat., Introd. I. v. § 22.

8. **educator** = παιδαγωγός. Sosibius, who was probably, like Anicetus (14. 3, 5), a freedman, was put to death at the instance of Agrippina soon after her marriage with Claudius (Dio, 60. 32, 5).

cavere: so nearly all edd. for the Med. 'caueri,' which is not perhaps an impossible reading; but 'orabant cavere' is found in 13. 13, 4, and an infin. with 'moneo' in 1. 63, 2; 4. 67, 6; 13. 37, 2, etc., as with many similar verbs (Introd. I. v. § 43).

9. **praecipuum auctorem.** Asiaticus, though he had been grossly insulted by

Asiaticum interficiendi *Gai* Caesaris non extimuisse contione in populi Romani fateri gloriamque facinoris ultro petere; clarum ex eo in urbe, didita per provincias fama parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus, quando genitus Viennae multisque et validis propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentiles nationes promptum haberet. at Claudius nihil ultra scrutatus citis cum militibus tamquam opprimendo bello Crispinum praetorii praefectum misit, a quo repertus est apud Baias vinclisque inditis in urbem raptus.

2. Neque data senatus copia: intra cubiculum auditur, Messalina coram, et Suillio corruptionem militum, quos pecunia et stupro in omne flagitium obstrictos arguebat, exim adulterium

Gaius (Sen. de Const. Sap. 18, 2), is not recorded as one of the actual conspirators against him; but his subsequent speech to the people, here alluded to, is mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 19. 1, 20) and Dio (59. 30, 2), who state that the excited crowd, demanding to know who were the assassins, were cowed by his answer (εἴθε γὰρ ἔγωγε). He is also said to have aspired to the principate (Jos. l. l. 4, 3), and is therefore a strong instance of the comprehensiveness of the amnesty granted by Claudius (see Introd. p. 25).

1. **Gai.** Recent edd. have followed Rup. in the insertion of this praenomen (or its initial letter), which could hardly be omitted unless the Caesar spoken of was either the ruling prince or one specified in the context.

contione in: so Halm and Nipp. for the Med. 'contionem'; such an anastrophe of the prep. being not uncommon in Tacitus (Introd. 1. v. 77, 4). Most others follow Lips. in reading 'concione,' taken apparently as a harsh abl. abs. (='concione existente'). The Med. text has been retained by Ritt., who places a stop at 'Romani;' but we should then expect 'fateri' and 'petere' to be past tenses.

3. **didita . . . fama,** abl. of quality: the expression is taken from Verg. Aen. 8, 132.

4. **Viennae,** Vienne, in Dauphiné, then the chief town of the Allobroges of Gallia Narbonensis. On its importance and distinction at the time, see the speech of Claudius (Appendix to this Book, col. ii, l. 9, and note).

5. **propinquitatibus,** 'kinships.' The civic population of Gaul must have furnished many recruits to the German legions.

gentiles, 'of his fatherland': so 'gentile solum' (3. 59, 3), etc. Nipp. notes that this sense occurs first in Sen. Herc. F. 915 (917) 'te ramus oleae fronde gentili tegat.'

promptum haberet, 'would have ready means': cp. 'promptam expugnationem' (1. 68, 1), also 2. 2, 6; 5, 4; 82, 8.

6. **citis**='cito agmine ductis' (cp. 4. 25, 2): so in 12. 31, 2; 14. 26, 1.

7. **opprimendo bello,** dat. of purpose.

Crispinum, Rufrius Crispinus, colleague in the 'praefectura praetorii' with Lusius Geta (12. 42. 1). He was the first husband of Poppaea, wife of Nero (13. 45, 4). For his exile and death under Nero, see 15. 71, 8; 16. 17, 1.

8. **vinclis inditis**: cp. c. 32, 3; 1. 56. 1.

10. **senatus copia,** 'access to (cp. 3. 58, 6) the senate,' i.e. the privilege of trial before it. A senator would usually expect this, but could not demand it as a right (see Introd. i. vi. p. 78, and note). On the private trials ('intra cubiculum') before the princeps, see Id. p. 74; also 13. 4, 2; 14. 50, 2, and notes.

11. **corruptionem militum.** According to Dio (60. 29, 5), this part of the case utterly broke down; the soldier who professed to have communicated with Asiaticus being unable even to identify him in court.

12. **in omne flagitium**: so most edd. after Rhen. for the Med. 'in omni flagitio' which some (as Walther) would retain with the sense of ἐν πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ. But the expression would thus appear supe

ppaeae, postremum mollitiam corporis obiectante. ad quod cto silentio prorupit reus et 'interroga,' inquit, 'Suilli, filios os: virum esse me fatebuntur.' ingressusque defensionem, mmoto maiorem in modum Claudio, Messalinae quoque lacri-as excivit. quibus abluendis cubiculo egrediens monet Vitel-um, ne elabi reum sineret: ipsa ad perniciem Poppaeae festinat, bditis qui terrore carceris ad voluntariam mortem propellerent, leo ignaro Caesare, ut paucos post dies epulantem apud se aritum eius Scipionem percontaretur, cur sine uxore discubuis-t, atque ille functam fato responderet.

3. Sed consultanti super absolutione Asiatici flens Vitellius,

ous; and the accus. is needful to ex-ss his purpose in binding them to his vice. For 'obstrictos,' cp. 12. 25, 1; 7, 5, etc.

1. **postremum.** Wölfflin (Philol. 27.) would read 'postremo;' which is used ne sixty-five times by Tacitus, whereas ostremum' (in a similar sense) is found y here and in 1. 74, 2; 2. 62, 2; H. 4. 4; in all of which he considers it n to suspicion. Here, as in H. l. l., ord of similar termination comes close it. It seems, however, very difficult to ee with his emendation of the other places.

. **victo**, here used of breaking through elf-imposed resolution, as in 4. 8, 3 icto gemitu') of suppressing an emo-.

ilios. He had two sons bearing the nomina of Caesonius (c. 36, 5) and ullinus (13. 43, 7, and note on 12. 1).

. **maiorem in modum**, 'powerfully': eum tibi commendo maiorem in mo-,' Cic. ad Q. f. 2. 12 (14), 3.

. **quibus abluendis**, dat. of purpose c. 1, 1, etc.). Nipp. notes here the nt irony of Tacitus in the contrast of tears with the stern injunction of Mes-a, as also between the inclination of dius and the 'clementia' (c. 3, 1) of ctual sentence.

itellium, L. Vitellius, the most ous courtier of the time (on whose ious history see 6. 28, 1; 32, 6). He in this year consul for the third time colleague with Claudius in that office in the censorship, and was evi-ly sitting as assessor with him in this . His son, the emperor A. Vitellius, esented on some coins the effigy of his er, with the inscription 'L. Vitellius iii. censor' (Cohen i. p. 367).

6. **Poppaeae.** Poppaea Sabina, daughter of one of the most trusted officers of Tiberius (see on 1. 80, 1; 6. 39, 3, etc.), was the most beautiful woman of her time (13. 45, 2), and, before her marriage with Scipio, had been the wife of T. Ollius, to whom she bore her more famous daughter of the same name (13. 45, 1, foll.).

7. **subditis**, 'persons being set up': so in 3. 59, 5, etc.

carceris, i.e. of being strangled by the executioner in the common dungeon: cp. 3. 50, 1; 51, 1, etc.

8. **ignaro.** His question would seem to show not only that he knew nothing of her death, but that he had even forgotten that there was any charge against her. On this trait in his character, see c. 38, 2, and Introd. p. 48.

9. **Scipionem**, P. Cornelius Scipio (c. 4, 7; 12. 53, 3), generally identified with the person mentioned as a legatus in Africa twenty-five years previously (3. 74, 2, where see note).

sine uxore. The wives of senators were often invited with their husbands to imperial banquets: see Suet. Cal. 36; Plut. Oth. 3, 1067; Dio, 60. 7, 4.

discubuisset. On the use of this verb of a single person, cp. 3. 14, 2, and note.

10. **responderet.** The force of 'ut' is extended over this word, because the ignorance of Claudius is illustrated not only by the question, but also by the answer, which Scipio would hardly have made unless he knew that the question was asked in real unconsciousness.

11. **sed**, carrying back the narrative to the trial of Asiaticus.

consultanti. This dative is closely parallel to that in 2. 76, 2 (where see note), and may well here be taken as dependent on the notion of speaking or answering contained in 'permisit' (see

commemorata vetustate amicitiae utque Antoniam principi: matrem pariter observavissent, dein percursis Asiatici in rem publicam officiis recentique adversus Britanniam militia, quaequ alia conciliandae misericordiae videbantur, liberum mortis arbi trium ei permisit; et secuta sunt Claudii verba in eanden clementiam. hortantibus dehinc quibusdam inediam et lenem exitum, remittere beneficium Asiaticus ait: et usurpatis quibu insueverat exercitationibus, lauto corpore, hilare epulatus, cun se honestius calliditate Tiberii vel impetu Gai Caesaris periturun dixisset, quam quod fraude muliebri et inpudico Vitellii or caderet, venas exsolvit, viso tamen ante rogo iussoque transferr partem in aliam, ne opacitas arborum vapore ignis minueretur tantum illi securitatis novissimae fuit.

note below), or in 'commemorata.' Instances are also found in Tacitus (as in other authors) of a more distinctly absolute (or Greek) dative of this kind (see Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 50).

flens Vitellius, etc. In order to carry out the injunction of Messalina (c. 2, 4), Vitellius affects not to notice the inclination of Claudius to acquit, and, as if assuming that Asiaticus must be condemned, pleads earnestly, as a friend, that he should be allowed, as an extreme concession, to choose his own death (in Dio, 60. 29, 6, he is even made to say that Asiaticus had besought him to procure this boon); and Claudius is then led to think that by such an indulgence ('clementia') his own promptings to mercy would be fully satisfied. That any kindly feeling that he had ever had in the matter was soon obliterated, is shown by the vindictive mention of Asiaticus a year later ('Oratio Claudii,' ii. 14), also by the fact that the gardens, and probably his other property, were confiscated, contrary to the usual rule (see 6. 29, 2) in such cases. On the ease with which the feelings of Claudius were worked upon, cp. 12. 3, 3; Introd. pp. 40, 46.

1. **Antoniam**; see 3. 3, 2. She was then dead, but her memory was much honoured (see Introd. i. ix. p. 146).

3. **recenti . . . militia.** The part taken by Asiaticus in the British war is otherwise unknown. He is of too high rank to have been a 'legatus legionis,' and was probably on the personal staff of Claudius.

4. **conciliandae misericordiae.** For this use of the gerundive genit. with the force of a genit. of quality, see Introd. i. v. § 37 c.

5. **permisit** = 'permittendum censuit' see note on 3. 36, 3.

in eandem clementiam, 'to th same gracious effect' (ironical). The ide of such a participle as 'spectantia' ma be taken to be supplied in such uses the 'in consecutivum': cp. the closel parallel 'in eundem dolorem' (6. 49, 3) also 13. 41, 5, and note.

6. **hortantibus . . . lenem exitum** Such a construction is used by Cic. an others, and resembles that of παραινεῖν τ 'Inediam et lenem exitum' are a hendi dys; and the latter expression is applie to self-starvation, not as less painful tha other forms of suicide, but as less violen and more resembling a natural deat Probably from this view, or as mo agreeable to Roman stoicism, it was oft chosen (cp. 4. 35, 5; 6. 26, 3, etc.).

7. **remittere beneficium**, 'he declin the favour' (i. e. such indulgence of tir as was implied in the 'clementia' Claudius), and would despatch hims at once. This sense of 'remittere' akin to that of 'excusing' (see c. 36, 1. 8, 6, and note). On the omission 'se,' see Introd. i. v. § 8.

8. **exercitationibus**, 'gymnastic The allusion in the speech of Claudi (see above on § 1) styles him 'palaest cum prodigium.'

9. **periturum**, sc. 'fuisse'; cp. Intro i. v. § 39 c.

10. **fraude muliebri**, that of Mes lina: so used in 2. 71, 4, of Plaucina.

12. **partem in aliam**, sc. 'hortoru (those mentioned in c. 1, 1).

vapore, 'heat': so often in Lu (as 1. 663, etc.): cp. 14. 64, 3; 15. 64,

13. **securitatis novissimae**, 'com

4. Vocantur post haec patres, pergitque Suillius addere reos quites Romanos inlustres, quibus Petra cognomentum. at causa ecis ex eo, quod domum suam Mnesteris et Poppaeae conressibus praebuissent. verum nocturnae quietis species alteri biecta, tamquam vidisset Claudium spicea corona evinctum, picis retro conversis, eaque imagine gravitatem annonae praeixisset. quidam pampineam coronam albentibus foliis visam que ita interpretatum tradidere, vergente autumno mortem

re at the last hour': cp. 'novissimo sertio' (16. 11, 3). The writing here of ' for 'ae' in Med. is noticed by Ritt. an error constant in this MS. For this ıse of 'securitas,' cp. 3. 44, 4; 14. 6, 15. 55, 6, etc.

1. **vocantur . . . patres.** Asiaticus d been tried privately before Caesar 2, 1).

2. **equites . . . inlustres:** see 2. 59, and note.

quibus Petra cognomentum. On e use of 'cognomentum,' see 1. 23, 6, d note. Tacitus would usually give e gentile name also, in a single mention persons of this rank, and is therefore ought by Orelli to be drawing from ne unofficial narrative, in which no her name was given. The cognomen etra' appears otherwise unknown, uns it is traceable in the 'ala Petrina' (or etriana') of H. 1. 70, 3, etc.

at causa necis. If the text is ınd, we must suppose (with Nipp.) that word 'reos' suggested to the writer charge actually preferred (see below), l led him to contrast with it the real ıse. Ern. suggests that the true read- may have been 'cognomentum erat;' l other alterations have been pro-ed.

3. **Mnesteris:** so in Bud., and proby so intended by the Med. 'nesteris': er inferior MSS. and old editions viotly substitute 'Valerii.' The comte narrative would probably have exined the allusion sufficiently (see note c. 1, 1). This famous pantomimist a freedman of Tiberius, as appears n an inscription (Grut. 615, 1) 'Ti. o Aug(usti) l(iberto) Mnesteri.' His th is recorded in c. 36, 1. Many ies are told of his arrogance and proıcy, and of the passion of Gaius and ssalina for him: see c. 28, 1; Suet. . 36; 55; Dio, 60. 22, 3; 28, 3. The sideration in which such persons were generally held is to be seen from 1. 77, 5; 4. 14, 4 (where see notes), etc.

4. **praebuissent.** The subjunctive is used to express the allegation without affirming its truth.

nocturnae quietis species, 'a dream': cp. 1. 65, 2, and note.

5. **tamquam,** 'on the ground that:' the allegation is not necessarily implied to be false: see 3. 72, 4, and note, Introd. i. v. § 67.

spicea corona. Such a crown was represented in figures of Demeter or Ceres, and was worn from the earliest times by the Arvales (Plin. N. H. 18. 2, 6). The inversion of the ears would generally be an evil omen of some sort; an inverted crown having been taken as a presage of the death of Cassius (Plut. Brut. 51, 1002).

6. **praedixisset:** so most edd. after Rhen. for the Med. 'dixisset,' which some (as Orelli) retain, as a simple for compound, but which would seem to require the addition of such a verb as 'portendi' (as advocated by Cornelissen in Mnemos. 1884, on the analogy of 12. 64, 1; H. 2. 78, 4). Anyhow, it must be taken as alleged that he himself so read his vision; for the dream could hardly be maintained to convey its own interpretation. Dearth would make the princeps, who was personally responsible for the corn-supply (2. 87, 1; 3. 54, 8; 4. 6, 6), unpopular (6. 13, 1; 12. 43, 2).

7. **visam.** It is implied that it was seen on the head of Claudius.

8. **interpretatum.** This could have a passive meaning ('the dream was interpreted'), but it is best to take it (with Nipp.) actively, supplying 'eum' (which Ritt. inserts) from the sense, and thus making Petra the alleged author of the interpretation.

vergente autumno. The season is portended by the 'albentia folia,' which appear besides to convey the idea of decay

principis ostendi. illud haud ambigitur, qualicumque insomni ipsi fratrique perniciem adlatam. sestertium quindeciens et ir signia praeturae Crispino decreta. adiecit Vitellius sestertiur deciens Sosibio, quod Britannicum praeceptis, Claudium consili iuvaret. rogatus sententiam et Scipio, 'cum idem' inquit 'd admissis Poppaeae sentiam quod omnes, putate me idem dicer quod omnes,' eleganti temperamento inter coniugalem amorer et senatoriam necessitatem.

5. Continuus inde et saevus accusandis reis Suillius multiqu audaciae eius aemuli; nam cuncta legum et magistratuum muni in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi patefecerat. ne quicquam publicae mercis tam venale fuit quam advocatoru

and death; also a passage of Artemidorus (1, 77, p. 110 Reiff.), quoted by Orelli, makes the Bacchic crown itself an evil sign when seen on the heads of any but the priests or votaries of Bacchus.

1. **qualicumque insomnio**, 'by his dream, whatever it was.' The brother must have been charged with a share in interpreting the dream or spreading the story.

2. **insignia praeturae.** Instances are found under the Republic, in which senators received the honorary distinction ('ornamenta' or 'insignia') of a higher rank than they had attained (Dio, 36. 40 [23], 4). The practice of giving such to persons who were not senators at all but (as in this case) knights, is stated to have originated with the gift of 'praetoria ornamenta' to Seianus by Tiberius (Dio, 57. 19, 7), who afterwards gave the same to Macro, and 'quaestoria ornamenta' to Laco, the 'praefectus vigilum' (Dio, 58. 12, 7). On their further extension under Claudius, see c. 38, 5; 12. 21, 2, and notes. Such distinctions, though not giving a seat in the senate, entitled the bearer to wear the appropriate dress and to sit with persons of that rank at festivals, &c. See Momms. Staatsr. i. 461–465.

3. **adiecit** = 'adiciendum censuit,' like 'permisit' (c. 3, 1).

sestertium deciens, the senatorial census (see 1. 75, 5, and note). The extravagant rewards given to Crispinus for the mere arrest (c. 1, 3), and to Sosibius, the subordinate accuser (c. 1, 2), are to be noted. That of Suillius, which is not stated, must have been much larger.

4. **consiliis**, alluding to c. 1, 2.

5. **Scipio**: see c. 2, 5.

6. **admissis**: so used substantively f 'delicta' in H. 4. 44, 2; also in C Part. Or. 35, 120, etc.

7. **eleganti temperamento**, 'wi graceful compromise' (cp. 3. 12, 1; 4. 2 4, and notes). The obvious meaning his words would be that he believed Poppaea's guilt, as did all the others, b desired to be spared the pain of direct expressing his belief; but a covert mea ing is also conveyed, that he disbeliev it, as did all the others if they dared s so. That a senator, even under the R public, was under compulsion to answ the question put to him, is seen from L 28. 45, 5, foll.

9. **continuus . . . accusandis re** 'incessantly occupied with criminal acc sations.' Almost the same expression used of 'annus' (personified) in 4. 36, The case is probably abl. of respect (note there).

10. **cuncta legum**, &c. Simi words are used of Augustus in 1. 2, 1; b the reference here is more particularly the way in which all judicial functio were engrossed by Claudius (see Intro p. 37). The whole expression is su ject of 'patefecerat,' which is empha ('had opened widely'): any one mig be accused when all rested on the capri of one man.' 'Materia' is so used in sense approaching to that of 'oppor nity' in 1. 76, 7; 3. 31, 3, etc.

11. **nec quicquam**, &c., 'nor were th wares in the public market so saleable the treachery of advocates' (bribed betray a case committed to them). 'A vocati' were properly those who s ported a plaintiff or defendant by th presence; but the term had now beco synonymous with 'causidicus' or 'pa

erfidia, adeo ut Samius, insignis eques Romanus, quadringentis ummorum milibus Suillio datis et cognita praevaricatione ferro 1 domo eius incubuerit. igitur incipiente C. Silio consule esignato, cuius de potentia *et* exitio in tempore memorabo, conırgunt patres legemque Cinciam flagitant, qua cavetur antiquiıs, ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.

6. Deinde obstrepentibus iis, quibus ea contumelia parabatur, iscors Suillio Silius acriter incubuit, veterum oratorum exempla eferens, qui famam et posteros praemia eloquentiae cogitavis-

s' (Dial. 1. 1; Quint., Plin. Ep.). neca (Lud. 12, 3, 54) speaks of the ausidici, venale genus'; and various her charges brought against them are llected in Friedl. i. 292–294.

1. **Samius.** Inscriptions give this me (I. R. N. 290), and also the form ammius' (see Wilm. Ind. p. 354).

insignis, apparently equivalent to lustris' (c. 4, 1, etc.).

2. **cognita praevaricatione.** Nipp. plains the transaction to be that Suils had lodged a charge against Samius, l taken this bribe from him to make it l; and had then, by a double treachery, oken his own corrupt engagement. nius, having ascertained this, and ng certain of ruin, brings the scandal ne to the advocate by committing suie in his house. 'Praevaricari,' though re commonly used of collusive accusa1 in a public trial, can be used of usive advocacy on either side (Ulp. ;. 47. 15, 1; cp. Cic. Clu. 21, 58); it would seem more natural to supe that Samius had made no corrupt gain, but had retained Suillius, by this for his defence, and had been betrayed him. Suillius, however, as the context ws, is usually an accuser.

. **consule designato**: cp. c. 28, 1. he never became consul and is still ed 'consul designatus' after his death 1. Lud. 13, 4), Nipp. supposes that he t have been designated cos. suff. for last two months of the next year. nmsen thinks (Staatsr. i. 587, 4) that salina, who heaped distinctions upon (c. 12, 4), had procured his designafor an ordinary consulship two years advance. As consul designate, he ld be asked his opinion first on whatquestion was brought before the se (see 3. 22, 6, and note), and evily takes the opportunity of making speech 'per egressionem' (see 2. 38, ıd note).

4. **memorabo**: see c. 12, 2; 26, 1, foll.

consurgunt, they rise in their places to signify their agreement with the speaker.

5. **legem Cinciam.** The clause here cited is only one of the provisions of the plebiscite 'de donis et muneribus' passed by M. Cincius Alimentus, trib. pl. A. U. C. 550, B. C. 204, with the support of Q. Fabius Maximus (Cic. de Sen. 4. 10; cp. also de Orat. 2. 71, 286; ad Att. 1. 20, 7). Livy (34. 4, 9) makes Cato speak of it as intended to free the people from bondage to the great 'patroni,' who were senators; and Thrasea is made to refer to it (15. 20, 3) as called forth by the 'oratorum licentia.' It had no doubt become obsolete, but was revived by Augustus, who in 737, B. C. 17, τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθὶ συναγορεύειν ἢ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν ἐκτίνειν ἐκέλευσε (Dio, 54. 18, 2). We gather that it was still systematically evaded; but Ovid (Am. 1. 10, 39) expresses its sentiment 'turpe reos empta miseros defendere lingua.' For the regulations made at this time and subsequently see c. 7, 8, and note; and other references in Marquardt, Privatl. 770. Suillius was again accused under it eleven years later (13. 42, 1).

7. **iis**: so most recent edd., after G, for Med. 'si his': others read 'his,' Ritter 'illis,' on the ground that 'iis' and 'ea' would hardly be used so close together.

8. **discors**, so used with the force and construction of 'inimicus' in 2. 56, 1 (where see note), etc.

incubuit, 'made an attack'; absol., as in 4. 24, 1; 73, 3, etc.

9. **famam et posteros.** The plural 'praemia' is somewhat against taking this as a hendiadys, like 'posteritate et infamia' (3. 65, 1); but the expression is one of a class common in Tacitus, where a more specific word is added with emphasis to a more general: cp. 'testamenta

sent. pulcherrimam alioquin et bonarum artium principe sordidis ministeriis foedari; ne fidem quidem integram maner ubi magnitudo quaestuum spectetur. quodsi in nullius mercede negotia agantur, pauciora fore: nunc inimicitias, accusatione odia et iniurias foveri, ut quo modo vis morborum pretia mede tibus, sic fori tabes pecuniam advocatis ferat. meminissent Asinii, M. Messallae ac recentiorum Arruntii et Aesernini: summa provectos incorrupta vita et facundia. talia dicente co sule designato, consentientibus aliis, parabatur sententia, q lege repetundarum tenerentur, cum Suillius et Cossutianus ceteri, qui non iudicium, quippe in manifestos, sed poenam stat videbant, circumsistunt Caesarem, ante acta deprecantes.

et orbos' in 13. 42, 7, and Nipp. there. The above plural is also an objection to reading 'famam ad posteros' (cp. 1. 8, 2), with Dr.

1. **pulcherrimam alioquin,** 'a talent which would otherwise be the noblest' (cp. 'languescet alioqui industria' 2. 38, 6). Most recent edd. follow Nipp. in this correction for the Med. 'pulcherrima' (taken with 'praemia'); which would necessitate 'et' being less well taken for 'etiam.' 'Foedari' and the other infinitives are not to be taken as following out the thought of the 'veteres oratores,' but as depending on the notion of such a participle as 'dicens' implied in 'incubuit.'

2. **sordidis ministeriis,** 'service for money.'

ne fidem quidem, etc., i.e. 'praevaricatio' (c. 5, 2) is more common.

4. **negotia agantur.** Halm so reads after Heins. and Orelli, and suggests that the Med. text ('negotiant' with an erasure) may have been originally, as in some inferior MSS., 'negotiantur,' a reading which could easily have been corrupted from that here given. Nipp., Dr., and Jacob follow Gron. in reading 'eant'; the verb being taken in the sense of 'turning out,' as in 5. 11, 3; 12. 68, 3. Other readings are 'fiant,' 'tueantur,' etc. On the force of 'in' here see Introd. i. v. § 60 b.

5. **foveri,** 'are nursed,' made the most of: the 'fori tabes' is litigiousness.

6. **C. Asinii, M. Messallae.** Med. has 'gali Asinii Messalae'; but it is evident from c. 7, 5, that not Gallus Asinius (see 1. 12, 2, etc.), but his father Pollio, who is known as 'insigne maestis praesidium reis' (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 13), is meant; 'Gali' being apparently a corruption of 'Gai.' Heins. adds the praenomen (wh may easily have dropped out) bef 'Messallae'; the person intended be of course M. Valerius Messalla Corvi (on whom see 3. 34, 2, etc.). Nipp. om both praenomina, on the analogy of following names.

7. **Arruntii et Aesernini.** L. Arr tius (on whom see 1. 13, 1, etc.) Aeserninus Marcellus (on whom see 3. 2, and note) were leading pleaders in later time of Augustus and under T rius.

8. **provectos,** sc. 'esse,' 'that t had attained the highest rank.'

9. **parabatur sententia;** the co was preparing to give effect to the pression of feeling thus manifested (c 5, 3) by making a formal motion on subject. In a similar instance later 26, 1), the presiding magistrates do venture to do this without consulting princeps, but on this occasion Clau was present (cp. 'circumsistunt sarem'), and must have in some way nified approval.

10. **lege repetundarum teneren** i. e. that all pleaders who took any should be liable to the charge of ' tundae.' The subject is easily sup from the sense.

Cossutianus. As only one is given, we must suppose that Ta had already spoken of the notoriou cuser Cossutianus Capito, who is minent in these Books. After his ac tion of Thrasea and his friends (16. 2 33, 4), nothing more is known of hin

11. **manifestos,** 'plainly gu oftener with genitive of the crime, 2. 85, 3; 13. 26, 4.

12. **ante acta deprecantes,** 'ai

7. Et postquam adnuit, agere incipiunt: quem illum tanta superbia esse, ut aeternitatem famae spe praesumat? usui et ebus subsidium praeparari, ne quis inopia advocatorum potenibus obnoxius sit. neque tamen eloquentiam gratuito contingere: omitti curas familiares, ut quis se alienis negotiis intendat. nultos militia, quosdam exercendo agros tolerare vitam; nihil a uoquam expeti, nisi cuius fructus ante providerit. facile Asiium et Messallam, inter Antonium et Augustum bellorum raemiis refertos, aut ditium familiarum heredes Aeserninos et Arruntios magnum animum induisse. prompta sibi exempla, uantis mercedibus P. Clodius aut C. Curio contionari soliti sint.

ardon for the past,' i. e. that the decree, passed, might not touch them retroectively. 'Deprecor' has usually an ccus. of the penalty (as in 4. 31, 8, etc.) r other evil expected (as in 4. 41, 1); ante acta' having here the force of ante actorum poenam.' 'Facti depreatio' is used similarly in Cic. Part. Orat. 7, 131, and 'inertiae deprecatio' in irt. B. G. 8, Praef. 1.

1. **agere**, a correction in Med.; the ord in the first hand being 'tacere,' hich Weissenborn (whom Ritt. follows) pposes with much probability to be a rruption of 'ita agere.' Some less well ad 'iacere' with Freinsh.

quem illum, brachyl. for 'quem illum se qui': so 'quis ille . . . sprevisset' (12. , 3); 'quidquid hoc' (14. 43, 2): cp. so 14. 22, 4, and note, and 'quis iste es' (Cic. Acad. 2. 22, 69); 'quaenam a' (Id. pro Sest. 24, 53).

2. **usui et rebus subsidium praerari**: so most edd., for Med. 'praerare' (Nipp., after Haase, reads 'pari'). The argument, which is obscure m condensation, seems best taken, with H. Müller (Beitr. iv. p. 1), as putting ward a more humble and practical view ainst that which would make rewn the only legitimate aim of the advoe. The professional orator seeks to ke provision for meeting a requirement l for the business of life, with the obt that none should be at the mercy of werful antagonists for lack of advocacy, would often happen if all who had to e by the profession were shut out from i But men cannot acquire the pleader's without cost, or exercise it without glecting their own affairs, and have refore just claim to a recompense. For this sense of 'usus' cp. 'ex rerum usu' (15. 6, 5), also 'ex usu temporis' (4. 6, 6), and a nearly similar sense of the word in c. 8, 5; 12. 48, 3. A different explanation will be found in Nipp.'s notes. Dr. and Jacob less well take 'usui et rebus' here to be a hendiadys, with the meaning of the expression cited from 15. 6, 5.

5. **ut**, best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'in order that': more commonly 'ut quis' means 'accordingly as one' (cp. 4. 23, 6, etc.).

6. **multos militia**, etc. Nipp. notes that only such occupations as were open to senators (who were debarred from ordinary trade) are here mentioned. This sense of 'exercere' (cp. 12. 43, 5; 13. 54, 3; G. 29, 4; Agr. 31, 3) seems taken from Verg. (Aen. 7, 798, etc.): 'tolerare vitam' (cp. 15. 45, 6) is also in Verg. (Aen. 8, 409), but previously in Caes. (B. G. 7. 77, 12).

nihil . . . expeti, 'no calling in life is sought.'

7. **ante providerit**, a similar pleonasm to that in Caes. B. G. 5. 33, 1 ('qui nihil ante providisset'). Nipp. shows that 'providere' and 'praevidere' (which Pich. would substitute here), though distinguishable in meaning, are often used equivalently.

9. **Aeserninos . . . Arruntios**, rhetorical plurals: cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.

10. **magnum animum induisse**, 'played the magnanimous part' (in pleading gratuitously).

11. **P. Clodius aut C. Curio**. The examples are not creditable; for the former is stated (see Cic. de Harusp. Resp. 20, 42) to have been bribed to scandalous 'prevaricatio' by Catiline, and the corruption of the latter by Caesar is attested by Lucan (4, 819) and Suet. (Jul. 29).

se modicos senatores, *qui* quieta re publica nulla nisi pacis emolumenta peterent. cogitaret plebem, quae toga enitesceret: sublatis studiorum pretiis etiam studia peritura. ut minus decora haec, ita haud frustra dicta princeps ratus, capiendis pecuniis *statuit* modum usque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur.

8. Sub idem tempus Mithridates, quem imperitasse Armeniis *iussuque Gai* Caesaris vinctum memoravi, monente Claudio in

1. **modicos,** 'of moderate means,' with little more than the bare senatorial census; analogous to the 'modici equites' of 1. 73, 1. In reality, Suillius (see 13. 43, 6), and probably the others, were very wealthy. On the enormous rewards frequently given to accusers see Friedl. i. 231.

quieta re publica, in contrast to 'bellorum praemiis refertos.' The Med. text 'qui et a . . . peterent' is commonly altered (after Pich.) to 'quieta . . . petere'; but that 'qui' has dropped out where Halm inserts it is extremely probable.

2. **cogitaret,** sc. 'Claudius'; 'he should think of the plebeians who won distinction by forensic practice': recent edd. have generally followed Pich. and J. F. Gron. in reading 'quae' for the Med. 'qua.' 'Toga,' besides being used generally of peace and its occupations (Cic. de Or. 3. 42, 167), sometimes denotes specifically the pleader's dress and function: cp. 'in toga negotiisque versatur' (Pl. Ep. 1. 22, 6), and Martial's praise of Quintilian (2. 38, 5) as 'Romanae gloria magna togae.' The use of 'enitescere' in this sense (cp. 12. 58, 1) appears to be taken from Sallust (Cat. 54, 4). Juvenal speaks (8. 47–50) of plebeian advocates and lawyers; and the 'causidici' whose work and scanty fees he describes (7, 106, foll.) belong no doubt to this order.

4. **haud frustra,** 'not without grounds': cp. 1. 20, 3, and note.

5. **statuit modum**: so Halm and Dr. after Orelli (ed. 1). Med. has no verb; most edd. follow G in inserting 'posuit'; Baiter (in Orelli, ed. 2) reads 'modum fecit' (cp. 'modum . . . facerent' H. 4. 40, 3). The enactment appears to have been made by an imperial edict.

dena sestertia. That this was a considerable reduction, is seen from the fact that four times as much had been given by Samius to Suillius (c. 5, 2). A further change was made at Nero's accession (see 13. 5, 1, and note), but the reference to Pliny there given shows tha in his time 10000 HS. might lawfully b given to an advocate after the trial wa over.

repetundarum tenerentur. Suc elliptical genitives with this verb (cp. 67, 2) are common in Quint. and Dig. the full expression is given in c. 6, 5.

7. **Sub idem tempus.** This date is t be taken as a very loose one, as the dat of the return of Mithridates, determine by that of the contemporary Parthian his tory (see below) and by that of Vibi Marsus (see on c. 10, 1), can hardly hav been later than 796, A.D. 43, and ma have been in the year before that. It mentioned by Dio (60. 8, 1) as takin place soon after the initiatory measures Claudius.

Mithridates. This prince had b come king of Armenia by the aid of T berius (see 6. 32, 5, foll.). Gaius is r corded by Dio (60. 8, 1) to have summone him to Rome and kept him there bour in custody: cp. Sen. de Tranq. 11, 1 'Ptolemaeum Africae regem, Armeni Mithridatem, inter Caianas custodias v dimus.' Armenia had apparently be during that time under Parthian influen (see Momms. Hist. v. 379; E. T. ii. 45

8. **iussuque Gai**: so Halm, Or., Rit after Urlichs. Med. has a lacuna b tween 'Armeniis' and 'Caesaris,' in whi a later hand, apparently following G a other inferior MSS., has written 'et p̄sētiā' ('praesentiam'), which the c editors admitted into their texts, alteri 'vinctum' into 'vocatum,' 'vectum,' e But the accounts of Sen. and Dio (above) confirm 'vinctum'; and it is e dent that the praenomen before 'Caesar has dropped out, as in c. 1, 2; 29, 1. F the rest, it might possibly be better (w Walth., Nipp. and Jacob) to leave t lacuna; which Nipp. thinks may ha been filled by some such words as 'm evocatum in urbem iussu.'

regnum remeavit, fisus Pharasmanis opibus. is rex Hiberis idemque Mithridatis frater nuntiabat discordare Parthos summaque imperii ambigua, minora sine cura haberi. nam Gotarzes inter pleraque saeva necem fratri Artabano coniugique ac filio eius paraverat, unde metus [eius] in ceteros, et accivere Vardanen. ille, ut erat magnis ausis promptus, biduo tria milia stadiorum invadit ignarumque et exterritum Gotarzen proturbat; neque cunctatur quin proximas praefecturas corripiat, solis

monente, 'suggesting'; cp. 2. 37, 4, and the nearly similar sense in 12. 69, 1, and that of 'praemonente' in c. 35, 3.

1. **Pharasmanis.** On this prince see 6. 32, 5, foll., and on the kingdom of Hiberia, 4. 5, 4, and note; on the poetical dat. 'Hiberis,' Introd. i. v. § 19. 'Fisus . . . opibus' is repeated from H. 4. 61, 2: cp. 'fisos loco' (4. 25, 1).

2. **summa imperii ambigua**, 'the throne itself was in dispute; whatever was less important (as Armenia) was treated carelessly': so 'externa sine cura habebantur' (H. 1. 79, 1).

3. **nam Gotarzes inter.** Halm and Nipp. follow Doed. in this restoration of the corrupt Med. text 'nam inter Gotharzes,' and also omit the Med. 'qui' before 'necem.' Most older edd. and Orelli read 'nam inter Gotarzis,' retaining 'qui' and omitting 'et' before 'accivere,' so as to make the latter word the principal verb, and 'qui necem . . . ceteros' parenthetical. Ritt. inserts 'infensos' before 'inter,' and alters 'qui' to 'atque.' Pfitzn. alters 'inter' to 'interim,' and 'qui' (after Madvig) to 'quin.' The way in which the names of Gotarzes and Vardanes are here introduced would either imply that they had been already mentioned, or would support Madvig's theory (Adv. ii. 550) that a lacuna exists, and that a sentence beginning with 'nam inter Gotarzem' had given some account of the original contention for the throne, and had gone on to speak of 'Gotarzis pleraque saeva,' and that the scribe had skipped from one mention of the name to another. On the question as to who was the successor of Artabanus III. (on whom see 2. 3, 1, etc.), see Introd. p. 105, 3. Med. has here alone the form 'Gotharzes,' elsewhere generally 'Gotarzes,' which form, as well as 'Goterzes,' is found on coins. For 'Vardanes,' Med. has in three places 'Bardanes,' which is also the form in Jos. Ant. 20. 3, 4.

5. **paraverat**: so Halm (who is followed by Nipp. and Jacob), on the analogy of 6. 3, 4; 13. 1, 1, etc. Most others retain 'praeparaverat,' the corrected form of the Med. text; some (after Muret.) read 'properaverat.'

metus [eius] in ceteros. Tacitus would hardly have written 'eius' twice so close together, referring to two different persons. The parallel passage (4. 2, 1) is also in favour of the omission.

6. **ausis.** For this substantive see 2. 39, 3, and note.

biduo, in forty-eight hours. The whole space is 375 Roman (nearly 350 English) miles; and the rate of progress, averaging over seven English miles for every hour, must be impossible for an army, even though wholly consisting of horsemen. If we suppose him to have come with a few followers, and by relays of horses, the rate is the same as that of Hannibal from Zama to Adrumetum (App. Pun. 47), and less than that of Tiberius to his brother Drusus (Pl. N. H. 7. 20, 84). A critic, cited by Walther, as also Kritz (see Halm, Not. Crit.), suggest that 'triduo duo millia' should be read.

7. **invadit**, 'traverses,' or 'leaves behind him.' The word is nowhere else precisely thus used; but the sense is analogous to that of occupying a country (6. 31, 2), gaining possession of an army (H. 4. 68, 4), or the empire (15. 52, 3); the space traversed being as it were occupied in so doing. The Vergilian 'invade viam' (Aen. 6, 260), which Pfitzn. compares, seems to have a different meaning. The conjectures 'evadit' (Heins.), 'pervadit' (Haase), seem needless.

8. **praefecturas**, 'provinces': cp. c. 10, 1; 6. 42, 5; 15. 28, 1. These appear here to be the great viceroyalties (corresponding somewhat to the old satrapies of the Persian empire) which Pliny (N. H. 6. 25, 29, 112) calls 'regna,' and states to have been eighteen in number in the whole Parthian empire. The viceroys

Seleucensibus dominationem eius abnuentibus. in quos, ut patris suique defectores, ira magis quam ex usu praesenti accensus, implicatur obsidione urbis validae et munimentis obiecti amnis muroque et commeatibus firmatae. interim Gotarzes Daharum Hyrcanorumque opibus auctus bellum renovat, coactusque Vardanes omittere Seleuciam Bactrianos apud campos castra contulit.

9. Tunc distractis orientis viribus et quonam inclinarent incertis, casus Mithridati datus est occupandi Armeniam, vi militis Romani ad excindenda castellorum ardua, simul Hibero exercitu campos persultante. nec enim restitere Armenii, fuso qui proelium ausus erat Demonacte praefecto. paululum cunctationis attulit rex minoris Armeniae Cotys, versis illuc quibusdam pro-

were styled *βίστακες*, or 'vitaxae' (see Momms. Hist. v. 344; E. T. ii. 6). The term 'praefectura' is also used (see 13. 37, 2, and note) of the military subdivisions of Armenia.

1. **Seleucenses**, of Seleucia on the Tigris: see 6. 42, 1, etc. On their revolt from Artabanus see c. 9, 6, and note.

2. **defectores**, a Tacitean word (see Introd. i. v. 69, 1), afterwards in Suet. Ner. 43, and Justin. 16. 1, 13.

ex usu praesenti, 'in accordance with immediate utility': cp. 'ex usu temporis' (4. 5, 6, and note).

4. **amnis**, the Tigris, on the banks of which Seleucia and Ctesiphon (the Parthian capital) face each other.

5. **Daharum Hyrcanorumque**, Scythic races south-east and east of the Caspian. On their situation and previous relation with Artabanus cp. 2. 3, 1; 6. 36, 5, and notes.

6. **Bactrianos**. Bactria or Bactriana, the tract between the upper Amoo (Oxus) and the Hindoo Koosh (Paropamisus), appears after the fall of its Greek dynasty to have been a debateable land between Parthians and Scythians. See Mr. Vaux, in Dict. of Geog.

8. **incertis**, probably best taken as 'de quibus incertum erat.' Nipp. compares 13. 19, 1, also 'neque plane occultati . . . et tamen incerti' (Sall. Jug. 49, 5), and some instances in Livy, as 'incertus, mas an femina esset, natus est' (27. 37, 5); cp. also the passive uses of 'gnarus' (1. 5, 4, etc.), 'ignarus' (2. 13, 1, etc.), 'innoxius' (Sall. Cat. 39, 2).

9. **casus**, 'opportunity': cp. 1. 13, 2, and note. The whole passage from 'nam Gotarzes' (c. 8, 3) to the end of the chapter must be taken as retrospective, and the narrative is here taken up from c. 8, 1.

vi, instrumental abl., varied in the next clause to abl. abs. (cp. 3. 37, 1, and note). The Hiberians were mostly horsemen, but had some infantry (6. 34, 2).

11. **campos persultante**, 'scouring the plains'; with similar accus. in H. 3. 49, 2, Agr. 37, 4; apparently from Lucretius (1. 14). Tacitus also has the verb without an accus. (4. 47, 4, etc.).

restitere: so Nipp. and Halm others generally retain the Med. 'resistere,' but the perfect is more likely to have been used in a mere statement of facts.

12. **praefecto**, 'the viceroy or satrap,' cp. 'praefecturas' (c. 8, 4; 13. 37, 2, etc.

11. **proelium ausus**. The accus. with 'audere,' very frequent in Tacitus (1. 69, 1, and note), is found also in Liv. and Vell. and earlier in poets.

12. **paululum cunctationis attulit**, a phrase repeated in c. 36, 1; 12. 54, 6; cp. 3. 46, 6. He delayed the acceptance of Mithridates by forming a party for himself.

13. **Cotys**, one of the sons of Cotys king of Thrace (see note on 2. 67, 4), to whom in 792, A. D. 39, Gaius gave the kingdom of Lesser Armenia (Dio, 59. 12, 2), a small strip of country, west of the upper Euphrates, between Greater Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, which had for some time previously been united with the kingdom and subsequent province of Cappadocia (see 2. 42, 2, and note): see 13. 7, 2; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 211.

illuc, towards him: cp. 1. 3, 3, etc.

erum; dein literis Caesaris coercitus, et cuncta in Mithridaten uxere, quamquam atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret. t Parthi imperatores cum pugnam pararent, foedus repente iciunt cognitis popularium insidiis, quas Gotarzes fratri patefecit; ongressique primo cunctanter, dein complexi dextras apud ltaria deum pepigere fraudem inimicorum ulcisci atque ipsi ater se concedere. potiorque Vardanes visus retinendo regno: t Gotarzes, ne quid aemulationis exsisteret, penitus in Hyraniam abiit. regressoque Vardani deditur Seleucia septimo ost defectionem anno, non sine dedecore Parthorum, quos una ivitas tam diu eluserat.

10. Exim validissimas praefecturas invisit; et reciperare Arneniam avebat, ni a Vibio Marso, Suriae legato, bellum mini-

2. **fluxere**: cp. the similar expression ith 'cessere' (1. 1, 3), 'vergere' (1. 3,).

quamquam atrociorem quam: so Ialm after Haase for the Med. 'quam trociorem quam.' Most others omit ne first 'quam.' 'Atrox' need not be aken here in a stronger sense than that f 'unconciliatory': cp. 4. 52, 3, and ote.

3. **imperatores**, those of the confronted rmies (c. 8, 6). Nipp. notes that Tacis appears so to style Gotarzes and Varanes, as neither was indisputably 'rex'; hough the term might be used even of ings.

foedus iaciunt: so in Med. Nipp. eads, with MS. Agr. 'iciunt' (on which rm see his note), others (after Lips.) aciunt.' The Med. text would be taken o mean 'sermones iaciunt (cp. 4. 68, 4, c.) de foedere,' and would be a conensed expression somewhat like 'termios iaciebat' in 6. 31, 2. Walther rightly oints out that only the first overtures are ere spoken of.

4. **patefecit**, aorist: cp. 1. 53, 5, and ote.

5. **cunctanter**: cp. 2. 64, 5; 4. 22, 2, c.

complexi dextras. The ceremony sual on these occasions is described in 2. 47, 3.

6. **pepigere**, with inf., as in 14. 31, 4. r. cites also Liv. 43. 21, 3.

7. **potior**. Dr. notes that this word ere takes the construction of 'aptus,' idoneus': no other instance appears to ccur.

8. **penitus . . . abiit**. On the suggestion of Mommsen, that the inscription found in Kurdistan (C. I. G. 4674) to a *Γωτάρζης σατράπης τῶν σατραπῶν*, may, if it refers to this Gotarzes, designate a position of eminence reserved to him on his resignation of the kingdom, see Introd. p. 106, 3.

9. **septimo . . . anno**. The date of its surrender has been taken to be 799, A.D. 46, and that of the revolt has been fixed accordingly (see Rawlinson, 'Sixth Oriental Monarchy,' pp. 248, 252); but Nipp. appears rightly to consider that the revolt must be that recorded in 789, A.D. 36 (6. 42, 1), and that the recovery must be dated in 796, A.D. 43. Such a date is confirmed by the mention of Vibius Marsus as legatus of Syria (c. 10, 1), and by the date of the death of Vardanes (c. 10, 5). The temporary independence of Seleucia is attested by coins (Gardner, p. 12).

12. **invisit**, 'inspects,' to establish his authority in them. Some inferior MSS. and old edd. read 'invasit;' which reading is somewhat supported by the fact of his having declared war against one great feudatory, Izates king of Adiabene (Jos. Ant. 20. 3, 4). It may have been this distraction that gave Gotarzes his opportunity.

13. **Vibio Marso**. On this person see 2. 74, 1, and note. It would appear (see Nipp. here, and Zumpt, Comm. Epig. ii. p. 137) that he may probably have become legatus of Syria about 795, A.D. 42, in succession to P. Petronius (see on 3. 49, 2), and must have been succeeded by C. Cassius not later than 798, A.D. 45 (see on 12. 11, 4). The threatened hostilities

tante cohibitus foret. atque interim Gotarzes paenitentia conces regni et vocante nobilitate, cui in pace durius servitium es contrahit copias. et huic contra itum ad amnem Erinden ; i cuius transgressu multum certato pervicit Vardanes, prosperisqu proeliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sinden, quod Dah Ariosque disterminat. ibi modus rebus secundis positus: na Parthi quamquam victores longinquam militiam aspernabantu igitur exstructis monimentis, quibus opes suas testabatur n cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parta, r greditur ingens gloria atque eo ferocior et subiectis intolerantio qui dolo ante conposito incautum venationique intentum inte fecere, primam intra iuventam, sed claritudine paucos int senum regum, si perinde amorem inter populares quam metu apud hostes quaesivisset. nece Vardanis turbatae Parthoru res inter ambiguos, quis in regnum acciperetur. multi a Gotarzen inclinabant, quidam ad Meherdaten prolem Phraat

between Vardanes and Rome are alluded to in Jos. l. l.

3. **huic**, read in almost all edd. after G. for Med. 'hinc,' which Nipp. retains, but which does not appear capable of a satisfactory sense.

Erinden. This unknown name is thought by Ryck to be meant for the Charindas, which must have been one of the streams flowing into the south coast of the Caspian, being mentioned by Ptolemy (6. 2, 2) as close to the boundary of Media and Hyrcania.

4. **multum certato**: so 'diu certato' (H. 4. 16, 4). The impersonal passive of this verb is very common in Tacitus.

5. **Sinden.** This river also is unknown. Rawlinson (p. 254) considers that nothing more can be made out than that the campaign took place in the country between the Caspian and Herat. Nipp. thinks that the Arii, who lived S.W. of Bactria, cannot here be meant, and that the word is a corruption for the name of some race living north or east of the Dahae in the region of the Oxus or Iaxartes. The boast in his inscription below is made to say that he had penetrated beyond the established limits of the empire.

6. **disterminat**, here alone in Tacitus; a rare word, chiefly in Plin. ma.

7. **aspernabantur**, 'detested': cp. 1. 27, 2; 3. 21, 5, etc.

8. **monimentis.** Nothing is known of these; the only memorial apparen belonging to this period being that no in Introd. p. 106, 3.

10. **intolerantior**, probably 'more bitrary' (see 3. 45, 4, and note).

11. **conposito**, 'concerted': cp. 4. 2, etc.; and 'conponunt' (3. 40, 3).

venationi, the great Parthian tional exercise: see 2. 2, 5, etc.

12. **paucos inter**, 'to be named wi the few greatest (i.e. equalled by fe among even long-lived kings' (althou his reign had been so short). Cp. 16. 4, 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 11, and the scription of the battle of Thrasymene Livy (22. 7, 1) as 'inter paucas memora populi Romani clades'; also other stances quoted here by Nipp. from Cu Quint., Plin. ma. For the anastro cp. Introd. i. v. § 77, 4; for the use 'perinde . . . quam' cp. 2. 1, 2, and no and for the apparent variation betw this phrase and 'proinde quam,' 13. 21 and note.

14. **nece Vardanis.** The latest c attributed to Vardanes appears in A. 45, and those of Gotarzes are found the following year (Gardner, pp. 12, The following sentences give a brief su mary of events down to the end of 8 A.D. 48; after which the subject is sumed (12. 10, 1), and the parentage Meherdates further defined.

15. **inter ambiguos** = 'cum ambi essent': cp. 1. 50, 7, and note.

sidio nobis datum: dein praevaluit Gotarzes. potitusque regiam, r saevitiam ac luxum adegit Parthos mittere ad principem omanum occultas preces, quis permitti Meherdaten patrium fastigium orabant.

11. Isdem consulibus ludi saeculares octingentesimo post Ro-am conditam, quarto et sexagensimo quam Augustus ediderat ectati sunt. utriusque principis rationes praetermitto, satis rratas libris quibus res imperatoris Domitiani composui. nam quoque edidit ludos saeculares iisque intentius adfui sacerdotio

1. **obsidio,** 'by way of hostageship'; parently an abstract formed from 'obses' l found here only.

potitus regiam. The accus. with otior,' found here alone in Tacitus, ms taken from archaic usage (Lucr. .), like that with 'fungi' (3. 2, 1; 4. 38, etc.). Some old edd. and Ritt. follow ne inferior MSS. in reading 'regia.'

2. **adegit . . . mittere.** On this infin., l the accus. and inf. after 'orabant,' Introd. i. v. §§ 43, 44. The embassy e described as sent by the princeps s referred by him to the senate (see 12, 1), as appears to have been the usual ctice: see H. 4. 51, 2, and other re-ences in Momms. Staatsr. ii. 957; iii. 56.

3. **permitti,** etc., 'should be let go to ume the sovereignty of his fathers.' e expression 'patrium fastigium' is eated from 6. 32, 1.

5. **Isdem consulibus.** Claudius and ellius, the consuls of the year, are ant, though they had probably now en place to 'suffecti' and had become sors (c. 13, 1). Lehmann (p. 274) es the time of the games as April 21.

udi saeculares. On the whole ject of these games, see Marquardt, atsv. iii. pp. 385–394; whence such rmation as is not expressly cited as n other sources is here taken. The ef authorities are of late date (Censori-, A.D. 238, and Zosimus, cir. A.D. 450), the early history is obscure, nor can trace the name 'ludi saeculares' any ier than the time of Augustus, who in , A.D. 17, solemnly inaugurated the 'decennium' of his principate by ding, under this title, what was in fact evival of certain old games called rentini,' which had been held at ods supposed to be those of a 'saecu-' (see below), but apparently fixed er by Etruscan lore and interpreta-of prodigies than strict mathematical reckoning. They were held for three days and nights continually. The account of the ceremonies given by Zosimus, and the Sibylline verses, prescribing the ritual, which he has preserved, are quoted in full by Orelli and Mr. Wickham in their Introductions to the 'Carmen Saeculare' of Horace.

octingentesimo. On the ellipse of 'anno,' see Introd. i. v. § 80. Ritt. points out that Claudius followed the Varronian era; the year, according to the Fasti Consulares, being 799.

7. **rationes,** 'the calculations' of the 'saeculum' (which was taken to represent the extreme length of human life). The Sibylline verses (ap. Zos., cp. Hor. Carm. Saec. 21) made it a period of 110 years; and the traditions of the Quindecimviri professed to support this view by dates of previous celebrations (Marquardt, p. 373), which Augustus ostensibly followed, though he anticipated the proper time by a year. Claudius, who is stated (Suet. Cl. 21) to have approved in his writings the reckoning adopted by Augustus, here follows those Augustan authorities (Marquardt, p. 372) who had taken the period as the 'saeculum civile' of a hundred years, which could be shown by some historical evidence to have been approximately followed on previous occasions. He reckons, however, not, with his authorities, from the supposed date of former celebrations, but from that of the foundation of the city. Domitian, professing to follow the reckoning of Augustus (Suet. Dom. 4), arbitrarily anticipated the period by six years, and held them in 841, A.D. 88. For later celebrations see Marquardt, p. 390.

8. **libris,** etc. This allusion shows the Histories to be an earlier work.

9. **intentius,** i. e. as a person on duty, not a mere spectator.

sacerdotio quindecimvirali. On this priestly college see 3. 64, 3, and note: 'praeditus' is so used of one in-

quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor, quod non iactanti refero, sed quia collegio quindecimvirum antiquitus ea cura e magistratus potissimum exsequebantur officia caerimoniarum sedente Claudio circensibus ludis, cum pueri nobiles equi ludicrum Troiae inirent interque eos Britannicus imperator genitus et L. Domitius adoptione mox in inperium et cogno mentum Neronis adscitus, favor plebis acrior in Domitium loc praesagii acceptus est. vulgabaturque adfuisse infantiae ei dracones in modum custodum, fabulosa et externis miracul

vested with this office in 16. 22. 1; so also 'sacerdotio praeditus' in Cic. Att. 8. 3, 2.

1. **tunc praetor.** On the 'cursus honorum' of Tacitus see Introd. i. 1, foll.

iactantia, causal abl., as in 1. 8, 2.

2. **ea cura.** Their prayer at these games is alluded to by Horace (Carm. Saec. 70), and their connection with the games is otherwise attested by coins (Eckhel vi. 102), and inscriptions. It is indeed in virtue of their position as 'magistri' (see on 6. 12, 2) of this college that the emperors preside at these games. So Augustus says in Mon. Anc. 4. 36 (as restored by Mommsen) '[Pr]o conlegio xv virorum magis[ter conl]e[gi]i colleg[a] M. Agrippa lud[os s]aecl[are]s C. Furnio C. [S]ilano cos [feci].' Also the Fasti Capitolini (C. I. L. i. p. 442) give Augustus and four others as magistri of this college when the games were held.

et magistratus, etc. That the higher magistrates of the year, consuls (see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 136) and praetors (see 1. 15, 5; 77, 2), had the duty of presiding at public games, would be too well known to the readers of Tacitus to need his mentioning it; and 'potissimum' would have been a weak word in such a statement, and 'caerimoniae' (see 1. 54, 1, etc.), inapplicable to other duties than those of a priesthood. Nipp. appears therefore right in supposing that Tacitus is explaining why his praetorship added to his prominence (as quindecimvir) on the occasion mentioned. 'The quindecimviri (as a body) had of old the charge of these games, and such of them as happened to be magistrates were selected by preference (rather than others of the body) for the public performance of religious duties.'

4. **sedente**, 'being present at.' Nipp. gives several instances of this sense from Cic., etc. His presence appears to mentioned as making the demonstrati more significant.

circensibus ludis. One of t days of the 'ludi saeculares' was given circensian games (see Plin. N. H. 8. 4 65, 160; Suet. Dom. 4). The 'lu Taurii,' at which Varro (L. L. 5, 15 mentions horseraces in the Flamini circus, are not, according to Marquar rightly identified with the 'saeculares.'

5. **ludicrum Troiae.** This specta is well known from its description i Verg. Aen. 5. 545, foll. It had certain been held by Sulla (Plut. Cat. Min., 760), and was probably of very ancit origin (see Marqu. iii. 525), but was espcially taken up by the early Caesars, doubt as associated with the claim of Julii to Trojan descent.

Britannicus . . . L. Domiti, both here first mentioned in the ext Books: the latter indeed would se from the words describing him not have been previously mentioned at Most authorities, except Vergil (Marqu. l. l.), represent the boys as divid into two 'turmae,' called those of 'maiores' and 'minores' (Suet. Iul. the former apparently under sixteen, latter under eleven years old; this dist tion of age perhaps taking the place of originally answering to that of 'pa maiorum' and 'minorum genti (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 31). Princes the imperial house seem to have ta part in this show at a very early ag Nero would have been now nine, Britannicus six years old (see on 12. 3), and Gaius, the adopted son of Au tus, was seven years old on a similar casion (Dio, 54. 25, 3). We may sup Nero and Britannicus to have been leaders (see Verg. l. l.) of the 'turmae.'

9. **dracones.** Suet. (Ner. 6) tell

dsimilata: nam ipse, haudquaquam sui detractor, unam omnino nguem in cubiculo visam narrare solitus est.

12. Verum inclinatio populi supererat ex memoria Germanici, nius illa reliqua suboles virilis; et matri Agrippinae miseratio ugebatur ob saevitiam Messalinae, quae semper infesta et tunc ommotior, quo minus strueret crimina et accusatores, novo et rori proximo amore distinebatur. nam in C. Silium, iuventutis omanae pulcherrimum, ita exarserat, ut Iuniam Silanam, obilem feminam, matrimonio eius exturbaret vacuoque adultero oteretur. neque Silius flagitii aut periculi nescius erat: sed rto, si abnueret, exitio et non nulla fallendi spe, simul magnis

e serpent, said to have scared away rsons sent by Messalina to kill the ild, but himself believed the tale to ve grown out of the discovery in Nero's d of a serpent's cast skin, which he long re, enclosed in a golden bracelet, as a arm. It is also to be noted that the Geus of a place (see Verg. Aen. 5, 93), posly sometimes also that of a person, was presented in form of a serpent, and that may have been under this idea that such ltus was paid to these serpents, as apars from an altar dedicated at Rome by reedman of Caesar and former slave of llas, 'Carpus Aug. l. Pallantianus nctis draconibus d. d.' (Orell. 1797= ilm. 2663=C. I. L. vi. 1. 143).

1. **adsimilata**, 'made to resemble,' a use akin to the use with dat. in the use of comparison, in 1. 28, 2; 15. 39, As regards the vexed question of the hography of this word, it may be noted t the 'i' form occurs in this MS. here l in 16. 17, 5, and in the MSS. of Agr. 3, the 'u' form in the MSS. of six er places in Tacitus. The 'externa racula' alluded to may probably be h as the story representing Alexanthe Great as conceived of a god in form of a serpent (Plut. Alex. 3; ;).

letractor, only here and in Vulg. is very probable that Tacitus wrote tractator,' or 'detrectator,' after Liv. 15, 9 ('detrectator laudum suarum'); omission of a syllable in the middle a word being a common error of copy(see Ritt. Praef. xxxi.), and the verb ng so used in 14. 52, 4, etc.

. **supererat**, 'was a survival.' On popularity of Germanicus see 1. 31, etc. Nero and his mother were the y surviving members of that family.

4. **matri Agrippinae**, dativus commodi.

6. **commotior**, 'more excited': cp. 1. 33, 6, etc.

quo minus, etc., dependent on 'distinebatur,' 'was kept off from making up charges and suborning accusers (cp. the similar expression and zeugma in 12. 22, 1, and the sense of 'struere' in 4. 67, 6) by being engrossed,' etc. On this sense of 'distineri' cp. 14. 25, 2; 16. 8, 3; H. 4. 55, 4.

7. **C. Silium**, already mentioned as cos. design. (c. 5, 3). His father, a distinguished legatus of Upper Germany (1. 31, 2, etc.), had been forced to suicide in 777, A.D. 24 (4. 18, 1, foll.). The Silii had been a noble plebeian house, and were now probably raised to the patriciate (c. 25, 3), as Juvenal (10, 331) calls this Silius 'optimus hic et formosissimus idem Gentis patriciae.' From what is said of his youth, he may have been below the usual consular age; but persons of that rank are called 'iuvenes' in 6. 15, 4.

8. **Iuniam Silanam**, mentioned subsequently as the friend, and afterwards as the enemy of Agrippina; see 13. 19, 2; 22, 2; 14. 12, 8. Her parentage is doubtful; but Nipp. and Lehmann (Beil. iii.) following Borghesi, make her daughter of L. Silanus, cos. suff. in 780, A.D. 27.

9. **vacuo**, 'left without a wife': so used of a house without heirs in 6. 51, 4. Nipp. notes that it stands here with 'adultero' in apposition.

11. **certo . . . exitio**. Juvenal thus expresses the alternative (10, 339), 'Ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas, Si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula.' 'Exitio,' 'spe,' 'praemiis,' are concise abl. abs., used with the implied

praemiis, opperiri futura et praesentibus frui pro solacio habeba illa non furtim, sed multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibu adhaerescere, largiri opes, honores, postremo, velut translat iam fortuna, servi liberti paratus principis apud adulteru visebantur.

13. At Claudius matrimonii sui ignarus et munia censor usurpans, theatralem populi lasciviam severis edictis increpu quod in P. Pomponium consularem (is carmina scaenae daba inque feminas inlustres probra iecerat. et lege lata saevitia

idea of a participle of 'sum' (cp. Introd. i. v. 31).

fallendi. This verb is often used with the sense of λανθάνειν (4. 45, 2, etc.).

1\. **opperiri,** 'to wait for' (let it take its course): cp. c. 26, 2. Med. has 'operiri,' whence Nipp. reads 'operire,' 'to hide,' or banish from thought (cp. 3. 18, 3), which certainly suits better with 'solacio habebat.' To take 'opperiri' (with Ritt.) as a historical inf. involves a somewhat awkward transition to the imperf.

2\. **egressibus adhaerescere,** 'keeps close to him when he goes out': cp. 'duorum egressus coli' (3. 33, 4).

3\. **honores,** especially the designation to the consulship, probably also the elevation to the patriciate (see on § 2). 'Opes' and 'honores' are often joined, as in 1. 2, 1; 4. 34, 6; 6. 8, 8.

velut translata iam fortuna, 'as though the very empire had changed hands.' 'Fortuna' is often used specially of the rank and dignity of the princeps, as in c. 30, 3; 4. 18, 2; 6. 6, 3, etc.

4\. **paratus,** 'the household treasures' (plate, etc.): cp. 'fortunae paratus' (c. 30, 3), etc. Dio states (60. 31, 3) that she transferred to his house πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν τοῦ Κλαυδίου κειμηλίων (cp. 'quidquid avitum Neronibus aut Drusis' c. 35, 2).

6\. **matrimonii sui,** so used of conjugal relations generally in 3. 34, 11: cp. 'inscitiae erga domum suam' (c. 25, 8). 'Ignarus' is used of ignorance of the character of a person in H. 1. 49, 6 ('amicorum libertorumque . . . ignarus'), and 'matrimonium' is used for the concrete 'coniunx' in 2. 13, 3, but appears hardly to be so used here.

munia censoria usurpans (in ironical contrast to the previous words). The most important powers of the censor h always been vested in the princeps (Introd. i. vi. p. 71 foll.); but no act censors had been elected since 732, B. C. until the office was assumed by Claud and Vitellius on laying down the cons ship in this year. The silence of Taci makes it probable that this had tal place before the extant narrative begi. An inscription (Henzen 5181) sty Claudius 'censor designatus' while consul; and he is thought to have h the office for five years; but the eviden of inscriptions is uncertain, and the currence of the title in a diploma of D cember 805, A. D. 52 (Or. 2652), hardly be otherwise than a reference his having held that office; the title be absent from the great inscription on Aqua Claudia (see below on § 2), belo ing to the 1st of August (Frontin. Aqu. of the same year. See note on 12. 4,

7\. **theatralem lasciviam:** cp. 1. 3; 77, 1, etc., and many other instan of display of popular feeling on such casions collected in Friedl. Sitteng. ii. foll. For other imperial edicts to e people see 1. 8, 6; 3. 6, 1; 4. 67, 5. 5, 1; 13. 17, 4; 14. 63, 1; 15. 2, etc.

8\. **P. Pomponium,** Pomponius cundus, on whom see 5. 8, 4, and not

9\. **lege lata.** This and other 'le Claudiae' (see references in Introd 37, 9) are considered by Momm (Staatsr. ii. 882) to have taken the f of plebiscites, and to be so alluded t c. 14, 5. Legislation according to e old forms is still seen in the time of V pasian (H. 4. 47, 2), and a 'lex lata is mentioned of Nerva (Modestinus, Dig 7. 21. 3, 1). The law here mentioned w seem to have been further strengthe by a decree of the senate under Vespa (Suet. Vesp. 11), which Nipp. think to have been the 'senatus consultum Me-

editorum coercuit, ne in mortem parentum pecunias filiis famirum faenori darent. fontesque aquarum Simbruinis collibus ductos urbi intulit. ac novas litterarum formas addidit vulvitque, comperto Graecam quoque litteraturam non simul eptam absolutamque.

14. Primi per figuras animalium Aegyptii sensus mentis efgebant—ea antiquissima monimenta memoriae humanae inessa saxis cernuntur,—et litterarum semet inventores perhibent;

ianum' of jurists (Dig. 14. 6, 1; Cod. t. iv. 28).

. **in mortem,** 'with a view to the th,' i. e. to be paid 'post obitum pa-.' The reading is an old correction oben. & Lips.) for 'in morte,' and uires some participial notion (like ectantes') supplied from the sense: see 7, 2; 12. 6, 5, and notes.

iliis familiarum, persons still 'in estate patris' (cp. 1. 26, 5).

. **fontesque aquarum,** etc. In untaking this work as censor, he followed example of his ancestor Appius udius Caecus, and others (Mommsen, atsr. ii. 453). The 'Simbruini colles' tain the 'stagna,' from which the ghbouring Sublaqueum, now Subiaco : 14. 22, 4, and note), derived its ne. This great aqueduct had been un by Gaius in 791, A.D. 38 (see ntin. Aq. 13; Suet. Cal. 20), and sisted, when completed, of two parts, Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, both which streams entered the city toher, one above the other, by the noble hes two of which form the present Porta ggiore; where an inscription (Or. 54, . L. vi. 1. 1256) records the completion dedication of the work by Claudius 805, A.D. 52, and subsequent restoras by Vespasian and Titus. The rces of the Claudia are there stated to two springs 'Curtius' and 'Caeru-'; the latter of which, still recognizby its tint, is near Marano, a few miles ow Subiaco. The length of this aquet is also there stated to be thirty-five, of the Anio Novus sixty-two Roman es. Pliny (N. H. 36. 15, 24, 122) aks of this as far surpassing all preus aqueducts, and states that the cost fifty-five and a half million HS., that the water was brought to a level which all the hills of Rome could reached. Many particulars are given Frontin. 13–15, etc. The conflict of es is generally reconciled by supposing that it was in this year that Claudius actively took up the unfinished work of Gaius, which he completed five years later (Lehm. p. 360, etc.). But the words here ('urbi intulit') appear to point to a completion of some sort. It is possible that a reconciliation may be found in the supposition that in this year the 'Aqua Claudia' was in some way brought into Rome, and that the date given in the inscription may be that in which the 'Anio Novus' was brought into connection with it, and the whole work thus completed and dedicated.

3. **addidit vulgavitque,** 'added and brought into public use.' According to Suet. Cl. 41, he had already written a treatise on this subject before he became emperor.

4. **comperto**: cp. 1. 66, 3, etc.

litteraturam. In using this word in the sense of 'alphabet,' Tacitus appears to follow Cicero, who uses it in Part. Or. 7, 26, to express writing formed of letters ('litteratura constat ex notis litterarum, et ex eo, in quo imprimuntur illae notae'). On **quoque non** cp. 3. 54, 11, and note,

6. **Primi,** etc. Two sentences are here combined concisely; the one being that the Egyptians were the first to record their thoughts in symbols at all, the other, that this particular form was the one originally chosen by them. Tacitus appears unaware that in the hieroglyphics other symbols, besides the forms of animals, are used.

8. **et litterarum,** 'and they call themselves the inventors of writing'; i.e. they claim also to have originated the first phonetic alphabet. Their hieratic and demotic characters (see Hdt. 2. 36, 9) are both cursive forms modified from hieroglyphics, and, though very rare in monuments, are abundantly represented by papyrus rolls; the hieratic dating, according to some, from the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty, or, according to others,

inde Phoenicas, quia mari praepollebant, intulisse Graecia gloriamque adeptos, tamquam reppererint quae acceperan quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phoenicum vectum rudibu adhuc Graecorum populis artis eius auctorem fuisse. quidan Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibu Troianis Palamedem Argivum memorant sedecim litteraru formas, mox alios ac praecipuum Simoniden ceteras reppeiss at in Italia Etrusci ab Corinthio Demarato, Aborigines Arcac ab Evandro didicerunt; et forma litteris Latinis quae veterrim Graecorum. sed nobis quoque paucae primum fuere, deinc additae sunt. quo exemplo Claudius tres litteras adiecit, qu

much earlier, the demotic from the seventh, or, according to some, from the ninth century B.C. See Sayce, App. to Hdt. p. 354. Another tradition, with which Pliny agrees (N. H. 7. 56, 57, 192), makes the Assyrian the primitive alphabet. This is derived from the Accadian, which itself also arose out of hieroglyphic (Sayce, l. l. 398).

1. **praepollebant.** On the interpolated indic. here and below ('acceperant') see Introd. i. v. § 49.

3. **fama est,** etc. The tradition that Cadmus brought the art of writing into Greece from Phoenicia, is given by Hdt. (5. 58), etc.; and Pliny (l. l.) states his original alphabet to have been one of sixteen letters, and specifies four as added by Palamedes at the time of the Trojan war, and four by Simonides of Ceos, and quotes, on the authority of Aristotle, another tradition, which makes the original number eighteen, and substitutes an addition of two by Epicharmus for that of four by Palamedes; but as regards the actual letters Pliny's text is uncertain (see Mayhoff, Not. Crit.). The legend which puts Cecrops in place of Cadmus appears to be found only here; that respecting Linus is found in different forms in Diod. 3. 67, and Suid. s. v.; and the introduction of writing is ascribed in general terms to Palamedes by Stesichorus (see Fr. 31 [38] Bergk) and Euripides (Palam. Fr. ii.), and to Prometheus by Aeschylus (Prom. V. 460). The tradition of an original number of sixteen letters embodies the truth that the Greeks modified the original Phoenician alphabet by dropping the symbols to which they had no corresponding sound, and adapting other symbols to their vowel sounds; but as regards subsequent additions, the only trustworthy evidence is that afforded the oldest inscriptions.

vectum = 'advectum': cp. 1. 7 1, etc.

8. **Corinthio Demarato.** As this p son is represented as the father of T quinius Priscus (Livy 1. 34, 2), the t dition would represent the introducti of the art of writing to have been much later date in Etruria than Latium: this would be the reverse of t general belief; which however Momms (Hist. B. 1. ch. 14) inclines to question, a considers the alphabet to have existed fr a very early time among both peoples.

Aborigines. This name is given the Latins in Liv. 1. 1, 5, and in ot authors. Evander of Arcadia, the myt cal founder of the original Pallante on the Palatine hill (Verg. Aen. 8, foll.), is credited with the introduction writing also by Dion. Hal. 1. 31. Pl (l. l.) makes the Pelasgi the introduc That the art was brought into Italy Greeks is undoubtedly true; and Evan is to Latium, as Demaratus to Etru the representative of prehistoric Gr influences (see Seeley, Introd. to Ly Book i. pp. 30, 46). The Latin and Rom alphabet may probably have been rived from Cumae.

9. **forma.** Med. has 'formas'; my follow Beroald. in reading 'form The identity of old Greek characters w the Latin of his day is noted by Pl (N. H. 7. 58, 210), who instances an old inscription on a tripod table ('Delphica'), then existing in the Pala library.

11. **additae sunt,** sc. 'litterae': cp. 'accitos,' c. 15, 1; 24, 2. 'Paucae' se an overstatement, as the known additions are not numerous. Cicero speaks

ui imperitante eo, post oblitteratae, aspiciuntur etiam nunc in re publico † dis plebiscitis per fora ac templa fixo.

15. Rettulit deinde ad senatum super collegio haruspicum, ne tustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiam exolesceret; saepe versis rei publicae temporibus accitos, quorum monitu red-tegratas caerimonias et in posterum rectius habitas; primores-

2. 37, 93) of the alphabet in his time one of twenty-one letters, of which ,' though found in the earliest of the criptions of the Scipios (cir. B.C. 290), stated by Plutarch (Q. R. 54, 277) to ve been introduced by Sp. Carvilius, o may probably, at the time of the t Punic war, have taught its general . Also 'X,' though found in the liest extant writing, is traditionally, l from its position in the alphabet, addition, or reintroduction, and was in universal use (cp. 'ucsori' in I. R. 5173, etc.). In Cicero's time 'Y' (see at. 48, 160) and 'Z' (which appears to an old letter which had become obso-e) came into use, but were restricted to eek words, so that 'X' is still (see et. Aug. 88) looked upon as properly last letter. See Mommsen, Hist. l. l.; rssen, Aussprache, pp. 5–12; Roby, . Gr. i. ch. v.

res. These were 'Ⅎ' (the digamma lf being already in use in its proper ce) to express the semiconsonantal ,' the 'antisigma' ('Ↄ') to express ' or 'bs,' and 'Ⱶ' (the Greek sign of 'spiritus asper') to express the 'y' nd intermediate between 'i' and 'u' Velius Longus, p. 2235, Putsch). these the first supplied a real want, l its addition is praised by Priscian 5 Putsch), who appears to regret that tom had proved too strong for it: the er two can hardly have been more n pedantic additions.

. **in aere publico**: so used in 12. 53, The first of these letters occurs in ny inscriptions of the time (e.g. Or. , 710, 711, 714, 2275, 3133, 3812), the third in some (e.g. NⱵMPHIVS, nzen 6445); the second is stated by scian (558 P.) to have been adopted none, and is generally believed not have been found; but the form IↃVRTO' ('Dipsurto') appears to ur in a military diploma (see Leh-nn, Insc. 405). No satisfactory restor-on of the following words, 'dis ple-citis,' has been made (see Halm, Not. t.). Nipp. and Baiter omit both; and it is suggested by the latter that 'dis' is an abbreviation of 'decretis,' and that both words are glosses to explain 'aere publico.' If 'plebiscitis' is sound, the term can only apply to such laws or rogations (see c. 13, 2) as were passed by Claudius in virtue of his tribunician power (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 882).

3. **super collegio**, 'about the estab-lishment of a college'; the 'collegium' or 'ordo haruspicum Augustorum,' ap-parently of sixty members (Insc. Or. 2291 =C. I. L. vi. 1. 2162), being found in existence shortly after this time, and probably as a result of this motion. On the whole subject of the haruspices see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 410–415; Friedl. iii. 524, foll. Though an honoured profession in Etruria, their position at Rome had been very different from that of the augurs, who were one of the great priestly colleges of men of the highest rank. The haruspex of a magistrate ranked only with his apparitors (Mar-quardt 410); the father of the Gracchi denounced them as 'Tusci ac barbari' (Cic. N. D. 2. 4, 11); the sneer of Cato (Cic. de Div. 2. 24, 51) would hardly have been used but of a 'peregrina superstitio'; Cicero (ad Fam. 6. 18, 1) considers it an indignity that people who had been haru-spices had in his day become senators. But from their incorporation as an 'ordo' under a 'Maximus' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2164) or other similar title, they appear to have contained persons of equestrian rank (Id. 2168, etc.).

5. **accitos**, sc. 'haruspices.' The head quarters of 'haruspicina' were in Etruria, whence those who were most eminent in the lore could be summoned on emer-gencies. Cicero says, rhetorically (de Har. Resp. 12, 25), 'si examen apium ludis in scaenam venisset, haruspices ac-ciendos ex Etruria putaremus.'

6. **habitas**, 'kept up': cp. 13. 29, 1, etc.

primoresque Etruriae. Cicero men-tions (de Div. 1. 41, 92) a 'senatus-consultum' prescribing that six 'princi-pum filii' (sons of the highest Etruscan

que Etruriae sponte aut patrum Romanorum inpulsu retinuiss scientiam et in familias propagasse; quod nunc segnius fier publica circa bonas artes socordia, et quia externae super stitiones valescant. et laeta quidem in praesens omnia, se benignitati deum gratiam referendam, ne ritus sacrorum inte ambigua culti per prospera oblitterarentur. factum ex eo sena tus consultum, viderent pontifices quae retinenda firmandaqu haruspicum.

16. Eodem anno Cheruscorum gens regem Roma petivi amissis per interna bella nobilibus et uno reliquo stirpis regia qui apud urbem habebatur nomine Italicus. paternum hu genus e Flavo fratre Arminii, mater ex Actumero principe Cha torum erat; ipse forma decorus et armis equisque in patriu nostrumque morem exercitus. igitur Caesar auctum pecuni additis stipatoribus, hortatur gentile decus magno animo cape

families) should be trained in each Etruscan community to the study.

2. **in familias.** Cicero speaks to his friend Caecina (ad Fam. 6. 6, 3) of the 'ratio . . . Etruscae disciplinae quam a patre . . . acceperas.'

3. **publica . . . socordia,** causal abl. On the use of 'bonae artes' for 'accomplishments' cp. 3. 70, 4; and for 'circa' ('in reference to') cp. c. 29, 1. The prohibition by Tiberius of any consultation of soothsayers in private without witnesses (Suet. Tib. 63) would imply that the use of this art was then common, but may have contributed to its desuetude.

externae superstitiones. The Egyptian and Jewish religions (cp. 2. 85, 5), as also astrology and magic (cp. 2. 27, 2), are chiefly meant. It is also possible that Christianity (see 13. 32, 3, and note) was already sufficiently prevalent to be included in such an allusion.

4. **laeta . . . in praesens,** a reminiscence of Hor. Od. 2. 16, 25.

5. **gratiam referendam, ne,** 'gratitude must be shown by preventing,' etc.: cp. the similar brachylogy in 12. 47, 7 ('visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret'), and several other instances quoted here by Nipp.

inter ambigua, 'in times of peril': cp. 1. 64, 6; 6. 21, 4; 12. 38, 2.

7. **quae retinenda firmandaque,** sc. 'essent.' On the ellipse of the verb see Introd. i. v. § 39 a. The pontiffs would be directed by this decree to see 'what was to be kept up or strengthened in t institutions of the haruspices'; and t establishment of a 'collegium' (see abo would be covered by its terms. Ni thinks that the object must have bee not to make a selection, but to keep the science as a whole, and reads 'qu retinendae firmandaeque haruspicinae.'

9. **Cheruscorum.** On this peo see 1. 56, 7, etc. On Arminius 55, 2, etc., and on his brother Flav, who was in the Roman service, 2. 9 It would appear from the context h that the son of Arminius, who had b brought up in Italy (1. 58, 9), was longer living.

Roma, 'from Rome.' On this see Introd. i. v. § 24. Med. has h 'Romae,' which Ritt. follows; but the is used in this expression in 2. 1, 1; 14, 2: cp. 'Roma poscebant' (6. 31,

12. **Actumero**; so here in Med., wh below (c. 17, 2) has 'catumero.' Str appears (vii. 1, 4, p. 292) to mention same person as Οὐκρόμιρος (see note 1. 71, 1). On the **Chatti** see 1. 55 etc.

15. **hortatur**; so used by Tacitus w inf. only in the Annals (c. 24, 1; 6. 37 etc.), and by others rarely and for the m part in poetry: cp. other such uses of inf. in Introd. i. v. § 43.

gentile, generally taken as in c 2; but the use here of 'decus' favours interpretation of Nipp. and Or. as, family honours': cp. 'gentile domus trae bonum' (2. 37, 5).

re: illum primum Romae ortum nec obsidem, sed civem ire xternum ad imperium. ac primo laetus Germanis adventus, que, eo quod nullis discordiis imbutus pari in omnes studio geret, celebrari, coli, modo comitatem et temperantiam, nulli visa, saepius vinolentiam ac libidines, grata barbaris, usurpans. mque apud proximos, iam longius clarescere, cum potentiam us suspectantes, qui factionibus floruerant, discedunt ad conterinos populos ac testificantur adimi veterem Germaniae libertem et Romanas opes insurgere. adeo neminem isdem in rris ortum, qui principem locum impleat, nisi exploratoris Flavi ogenies super cunctos attollatur? frustra Arminium praescribi: ius si filius hostili in solo adultus in regnum venisset, posse ktimesci, infectum alimonio, servitio, cultu, omnibus externis: si paterna Italico mens esset, non alium infensius arma contra atriam ac deos penates quam parentem eius exercuisse.

17. His atque talibus magnas copias coëgere; nec pauciores alicum sequebantur: non enim inrupisse ad invitos, sed accitum

1. **primum**, etc. A contrast is implied Vonones (2. 1, 1), Phraates (6. 31, 4), d Tiridates (6. 32, 5), who were not rn at Rome, nor Roman citizens. The ivitas,' with equestrian rank, had been ven to Arminius for services to Rome fore his revolt (see note on 1. 55, 2), d Flavus had no doubt been similarly varded.

3. **atque** couples 'celebrari,' etc. to etus . . . adventus (erat)'; the sentence quod,' etc. giving the reason for the ntinuance of the popularity arising from avourable first impression.

imbutus, 'infected': cp. 13. 4, 1; 59, 7.

5. **grata barbaris.** On the German pensity to drink see G. 22. 2.

. **clarescere.** The use of this word the sense of becoming famous (4. 52, 2; 2. 53, 1; G. 14, 3) appears to be taken Tacitus from Lucretius (5, 833, Lachm. l Munro).

o. **qui principem locum impleat.** is phrase is repeated from 4. 38, 1; l 'impleat' is here equivalent to 'imre possit.'

xploratoris. In the time of Hyus a picked corps of horse and foot, nbering 200, thus entitled, was attached ach camp of three legions; and 'nuri exploratorum' are often mentioned in riptions, e. g. Henzen 6730 (= Wilm. 1), and many others here quoted by Nipp. They appear to have been not synonymous with 'speculatores' (H. 1. 24, 2, etc.), but, like them, a picked body of elite, in which a person like Flavus may have served. To have borne any title in the Roman army, however honourable, would be looked upon as a disgrace by Germans. Elsewhere, the word does not seem to be used by Tacitus thus definitely (see Gerber and Greef, Lex.), but to have the general meaning, so frequent in Caesar, of scouts or spies; and some would so take it here.

11. **frustra . . . praescribi**, 'in vain is the name put forward,' in vain is it boasted in his behalf, that he is the nephew of Arminius. On this use of 'praescribi' see 4. 52, 5, and note.

13. **alimonio**, an archaic word (Varro), probably here chosen, as Jacob suggests, to express the general meaning of τροφή rather than the strict sense of 'alimentum.' 'Externis' belongs to all these words, and 'cultu' is probably better taken of refinement in general (as in 4. 46, 1) than specially of dress (as in 2. 75, 3, etc.).

14. **at si**, etc. The sense is that had he been even a son of Arminius he would have been demoralised, and that, if he takes after his father, he is a traitor by inherited disposition.

15. **deos penates**: cp. 'penetrales Germaniae deos' (2. 10, 1).

memorabat, quando nobilitate ceteros anteiret: virtutem exper rentur, an dignum se patruo Arminio, avo Actumero praebere nec patrem rubori, quod fidem adversus Romanos volentibu Germanis sumptam numquam omisisset. falso libertatis voca bulum obtendi ab iis, qui privatim degeneres, in publicu exitiosi, nihil spei nisi per discordias habeant. adstrepebat hu alacre vulgus; et magno *ut* inter barbaros proelio victor rex, de secunda fortuna ad superbiam prolapsus pulsusque, ac rurs Langobardorum opibus refectus, per laeta per adversa res Ch ruscas adflictabat.

18. Per idem tempus Chauci, nulla dissensione domi, et mor Sanquinii alacres, dum Corbulo adventat, inferiorem Germania incursavere duce Gannasco, qui natione Canninefas, auxilia

1. **memorabat.** Most edd. follow the suggestion of Walther in reading thus (with G.) for the Med. 'memorabant'; the arguments being those of Italicus himself, and the approval of his supporters being mentioned below (§ 5); where 'huic,' which refers to a single speaker, would have to be altered to 'hinc,' if 'memorabant' were read.

3. **rubori,** sc. 'esse'; 'he was not ashamed of his father': cp. 14. 55, 7.

volentibus, when they accepted Roman rule, before the rising against Varus. This acquiescence appears to be overstated.

5. **obtendi,** 'is made a pretext of': cp. 1. 26, 2, and note.

degeneres, probably here best taken in a moral sense, as in c. 19, 4, etc. The opposition of 'privatim' ('in a private capacity' or 'personally') to 'publice' and other such words, is common in Cic., Liv., etc.: cp. 1. 55, 4, 14. 48, 7, and note on 4. 36, 2. For the use of the expression 'in publicum' see 2. 48, 1; 12. 8, 3, and notes.

6. **adstrepebat . . . vulgus,** repeated from 1. 18, 1.

7. **ut inter barbaros,** qualifying 'magno'; i. e. not what Romans would call a great battle. Halm follows Lips. in inserting 'ut': most other edd. consider that the words will bear the same meaning without the insertion.

9. **Langobardorum.** On this people see 2. 45, 1, and note.

per laeta per adversa, i. e. he harassed his own people alike, whether he was victorious or defeated. These sentences are intended to sum up the whole of his reign, and no further mention is made of him. A Suevian prince of the same name is mentioned in H. 3. 21, 3

11. **Per idem tempus.** It is proba that here, as in c. 10, etc., the events more than one year are brought togeth On the Chauci see 1. 38, 1; on th previous rising at the beginning of rule of Claudius see Suet. Cl. 24.

nulla dissensione domi, abl. ab cp. 'nullis novis causis' (1. 16, 1), etc.

12. **Sanquinii.** On Sanquinius Ma mus see 6. 4, 4. Tacitus had eviden mentioned in the lost portion that he li died in command of the province of Lo Germany, and that Corbulo was appoin to succeed him.

Corbulo. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, famous general so prominent in th Books, was probably son of the per mentioned in 3. 31, 4 (where see no and was half-brother, on the side of mother Vistilia, to Suillius and Caesa (see Plin. N. H. 7. 5, 4, 39). He been consul in 792, A.D. 39, and is sh by coins to have been proconsul of probably in 804/5 or 805/6, A.D. 51/ 52/3. (Waddington, Fastes des Prov. v. 698.) In 807, A.D. 54, he was pointed to the command in the E which he held till he was recalled forced to suicide in 820, A.D. 67. A b preserved in the Louvre, and thought represent him, was found in a temp Gabii, dedicated in 893, A.D. 140, t memory of his daughter Domitia Long wife of Domitian (see Dio, 66. 3, 4; Dom. 3, etc.), and is engraved in Visc Icon. Rom. pl. 9.

13. **Canninefas:** on this people 4. 73, 2, and note.

auxiliare stipendium meritus.

pendium meritus, post transfuga, levibus navigiis praedabundus allorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dites et inbelles se. at Corbulo provinciam ingressus magna cum cura et mox oria, cui principium illa militia fuit, triremes alveo Rheni, teras navium, ut quaeque habiles, per aestuaria et fossas egit; luntribusque hostium depressis et exturbato Gannasco, i praesentia satis composita sunt, legiones operum et laboris navas, populationibus laetantes, veterem ad morem reduxit, ne is agmine decederet nec pugnam nisi iussus iniret. stationes, giliae, diurna nocturnaque munia in armis agitabantur. ferunt- e militem, quia vallum non accinctus, atque alium, quia gione tantum accinctus foderet, morte punitos. quae nimia et certum an falso iacta originem tamen e severitate ducis traxere; tentumque et magnis delictis inexorabilem scias, cui tantum peritatis etiam adversus levia credebatur.

19. Ceterum is terror milites hostesque in diversum adfecit: s virtutem auximus, barbari ferociam infregere. et natio

rupt Med. text 'auxiliare ex diu meri-' ('ex' by a later hand) has given e to many emendations (see Halm and iter, not. crit.). The Bipontine reading ove, adopted by Bach and Halm, is ported by the description of Tacfarinas 52, 2), which Tacitus seems here to be rly repeating; but other suggestions are rer to the MS. text. Most edd. follow eol. in reading (nearly after some S.) 'auxiliaris et diu meritus'; Rup. l Jacob follow Mercer, who adopts n a Vatican MS. 'auxiliare aes diu itus.'

. **dites et inbelles**: cp. the character he Aedui in 3. 46, 4.

. **cui**, best taken with 'gloria.'

riremes. On the Roman fleet on the ne see 1. 45, 3, and note.

. **ut quaeque habiles**, 'according to r various capabilities,' i. e. according heir light draught adapted them for low water. On the 'aestuaria' cp. , 3; on the 'fossae' (canals), 2. 8, 1.

. **adegit**, 'got together': cp. 2. 7, 1, note.

. **praesentia**, 'affairs on the spot': quia praesentia satis consederant' (1. 5).

perum . . . . ignavas. This geni- , found here alone with 'ignavus,' is ogous to those with 'segnis' (14. 33, 'impiger' (3. 48, 2), etc.: see Introd. § 33, e, γ.

8. **ne quis**, etc., explanatory of 'veterem morem': in the next clause, 'nec' has the force of 'et ne,' as in 15. 43, 4.

9. **stationes, vigiliae**: see 1. 28, 5, and note.

11. **vallum . . . foderet**, 'was digging earth for the rampart.' Nipp. compares the use of 'vallum caedere' (Liv. 25. 36, 5; 33. 5, 5) of cutting stakes for the palisade.

non accinctus, 'without side arms.' Josephus states (B. I. 3. 5, 5) that the dagger (here the 'pugio'), only a span long, was worn on the right, the sword on the left side: cp. 'milites gladio cincti fossam aperiunt' (Veg. 3. 8).

13. **iacta**, 'rumoured': cp. 'quae iacerentur' (3. 8, 3), etc. Most edd. follow this correction of Rhen. for Med. 'acta'; other suggestions are 'iactata,' or 'aucta' (see Walther).

14. **intentum**, 'strict': so 'intentus aut licenter agit' (H. 2. 68, 2); 'gravis intentus severus' (Agr. 9. 3); also 'intenta militia,' 'intentior disciplina' (12. 38, 2; 42, 2).

16. **is terror.** The context shows that this must be taken of the terror inspired by Corbulo in both capacities; into his own soldiers, by his rigorous discipline, and into the enemy, by his prompt action against Gannascus.

17. **virtutem auximus.** Nipp. notes that such an expression would properly

Frisiorum, post rebellionem clade L. Apronii coeptam infens aut male fida, datis obsidibus consedit apud agros a Corbulor descriptos: idem senatum, magistratus, leges inposuit. ac r iussa exuerent, praesidium immunivit, missis qui maiores Chauc ad deditionem pellicerent, simul Gannascum dolo adgrederentu nec inritae aut degeneres insidiae fuere adversus transfugam violatorem fidei. sed caede eius motae Chaucorum mentes, Corbulo semina rebellionis praebebat, ut laeta apud plerosqu ita apud quosdam sinistra fama. cur hostem conciret? adver in rem publicam casura: sin prospere egisset, formidolosum pa virum insignem et ignavo principi praegravem. igitur Claudi adeo novam in Germanias vim prohibuit, ut referri praesidia c Rhenum iuberet.

20. Iam castra in hostili solo molienti Corbuloni eae liter redduntur. ille re subita, quamquam multa simul offunderent,

be used of increasing the courage of another; but cp. 'auget vires' (4. 24, 1); 'auxit saevitiam' (Suet. Tib. 62), and other similar uses. 'Infringere' is also mostly used of action on another.

1. **Frisiorum.** On this people see 1. 60, 3; on their defeat of Apronius, 4. 72, 1, foll.

2. **apud**='in': cp. Introd. i. v. § 57.

3. **senatum.** This reading of Puteol. is generally followed, except by Rup. and Walth., who unsuccessfully endeavour to defend the Med. 'senatus.'

4. **exuerent.** On the metaphorical uses of this verb and 'induere' see note on 1. 69, 2.

immunivit = 'ibidem munivit.' The verb is ἅπ. εἰρ., and evidently a Graecism from φρούρια ἐντειχίζειν (Xen. Cyr. 3. 1, 27). Nipp. also compares ἀποζῆν (Thuc. 1. 2, 2), 'incenante' (Suet. Tib. 39). Dr. adds 'inamarescit' (Hor. Sat. 2. 7, 107).

maiores Chaucos. These were separated from the 'minores' by the Weser, and lived between the lower part of that river and the Elbe (Ptol. 2. 11, 11).

6. **degeneres,** 'unworthy,' contrary to Roman honour: cp. 'prece haud degeneri' (12. 19, 1), etc. The 'fides' is that of the military oath (cp. c. 18, 1). The sentiment here is in unfavourable contrast with that expressed by the senate of Tiberius in the case of Arminius (see 2. 88, 1, and note).

8. **semina,** used in similar metaphor in 3. 41, 1; 4. 27, 1. The meaning h is that he so acted as to provoke bellion.

laeta . . . sinistra fama, best tak as abl. abs. The epithet 'laeta' obli us to take 'fama' to mean 'the news his doings' (cp. 'laeti . . . nuntii' 1 6); a meaning which it can also bear with 'sinistra' (cp. 'sinistra ex fama' H. 1. 51, 8), though that 'reputation' would otherwise seem m appropriate. Med. has 'insinistra,' whe Ritt. thinks that 'in urbe sinistra' sho be read. The following sentences g the reasons which led men to think news ominous, and cannot be suppo to be those addressed to Claudius; tho the influence of the counsel of such sons on him is described in the follow words ('igitur Claudius,' etc.).

9. **adversa,** etc. If there were lo they would fall on the state, not on general.

11. **ignavo principi praegrav** Nipp. notes that these words are cou to 'insignem,' and that 'formidolos (sc. 'fore') is the predicate. The pri would be jealous of him, and this w drive him into rebellion.

12. **adeo . . . ut,** 'went so far in bidding an advance, as even to ord withdrawal to this side of the Rhine, a retreat from even the territory wh had already submitted (see Introd. p. On the use here of the plural 'Germa see 1. 57, 2, and note.

15. **re subita,** 'when the news

etus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris, ludibrium apud cios, nihil aliud prolocutus quam 'beatos quondam duces Ro-anos,' signum receptui dedit. ut tamen miles otium exueret, ter Mosam Rhenumque trium et viginti milium spatio fossam :rduxit, qua incerta Oceani vitarentur. insigne tamen triumphi dulsit Caesar, quamvis bellum negavisset.

Nec multo post Curtius Rufus eundem honorem adipiscitur, ii in agro Mattiaco recluserat specus quaerendis venis argenti ; ıde tenuis fructus nec in longum fuit : at legionibus cum damno

a by surprise.' Nipp. notes the expres-n in 14. 5, 5, etc.

offunderentur, 'were crowding into mind'; so used of a sudden and ror-striking sight in 1. 68, 5.

ɪ. **metus ex**: see 1. 29, 3, and note.

2. **quondam**, a correction of Lips. m the words as given in Dio, 60. 30, 5 μακάριοι οἱ πάλαι ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντες), Med. 'quosdam.'

4. **inter Mosam Rhenumque**. These ers are distinguished in 2. 6, 5. The ıal here mentioned is thought to be the et (see the discussion in Rup.), leaving old Rhine at Leyden and passing by lft to the Maas. For similar instances works executed by soldiers see 13. 53, and many instances collected in Mar-ırdt, Staatsv. ii. p. 568, foll. Their ployment in mining (§ 4) would seem be an extreme instance.

5. **qua incerta Oceani vitarentur**. d. has 'vetarentur,' which Lips. and ers have retained, taking the word to used rhetorically for 'arcerentur,' and posing the object of the canal to be t described by Dio (60. 30, 6) ἵνα μὴ ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πλημμυρίδι ρρέοντες πελαγίζωσιν, i.e. to provide additional channel to take off the rflow of water at the spring tides. But s unlikely that so poetical an expres-ı would be used in such a place, and dern edd. have generally followed tran. in reading 'vitarentur.' Some Ritter, 1838), with this reading, still e 'incerta Oceani' as above; but if citus had meant to say what Dio says, would surely have been more explicit; the expression here is identical with : used of the perils of the sea in eral in 3. 54, 6 ('incerta maris et pestatum'). We should therefore take meaning to be that the canal was gned to enable ships to go from the ıth of the Rhine to that of the Maas without facing the open sea, which must have had an evil name from the disasters of Germanicus (1. 70; 2. 23–24). Dio must in this case have followed other authorities, who assigned a different and, as it appears, a less probable object for the work.

insigne: so Halm for Med. 'insigni.' The sing. is found in this phrase in 4. 23, 1; 12. 5, 2: 'insignia' is much oftener used, and is read by most edd. here. Corbulo has no fresh military command till the time of Nero (13. 8, 1). On the use of 'quamvis' with the subjunct. of fact see Introd. i. v. § 53.

7. **Curtius Rufus**, shown by the passage to have been legatus of Upper Germany, probably as successor to C. Vibius Rufinus, who is shown, by an inscription found at Mainz in 1879, to have held that province in 796, A.D. 43 (see Jos. Klein, in Rhein. Mus. 1880, pp. 154–156). That he was father of Q. Curtius Rufus, the historian, is very probable. Had he been (as some have thought) the historian himself, Nipp. seems rightly to suggest that Tacitus would have said so.

8. **Mattiaco**, the district round Wiesbaden: see note on 1. 56, 6. The tribe would appear to have submitted to Rome after the time of Tiberius, and was still faithful in the time of Tacitus (G. 29, 3), though they had joined in the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 37, 4). Their name is still traceable in the third century (Inscr. Or. 4983; Henzen, 5243: cp. Ammian. 29. 4, 3).

quaerendis venis, dat. with the force of a final clause (Introd. i. v. § 22 b).

9. **damno**. Nipp. notes that the work was probably unhealthy, that any injury to their clothing fell upon themselves (1. 17, 6), and that there was no booty to compensate.

labor, effodere rivos, quaeque in aperto gravia, humum infr moliri. quis subactus miles, et quia plures per provincias simili tolerabantur, componit occultas literas nomine exercituum, pre cantium imperatorem ut, quibus permissurus esset exercitu triumphalia ante tribueret.

21. De origine Curtii Rufi, quem gladiatore genitum quidam prodidere, neque falsa prompserim et vera exsequi pudet. pos quam adolevit, sectator quaestoris cui Africa obtigerat, dum i oppido Adrumeto vacuis per medium diei porticibus secret agitat, oblata ei species muliebris ultra modum humanum audita est vox 'tu es, Rufe, qui in hanc provinciam pro consu venies.' tali omine in spem sublatus degressusque in urbe largitione amicorum, simul acri ingenio quaesturam et mo nobiles inter candidatos praeturam principis suffragio adsequit cum hisce verbis Tiberius dedecus natalium eius velavisse

1. **effodere rivos**, generally taken to mean digging streams to drain the mines. Some (as Rup. and Walth.) retain the Med. 'et fodere,' taking 'et' in the sense of 'both,' and supposing this clause to refer to the canal of Corbulo; a reference which is also possible, if 'effodere' be read.

quae in aperto gravia, 'what would be hard work above ground.'

2. **subactus**, 'broken down.'

3. **nomine exercituum**. This single army wrote as on behalf of all. So Suet. (Cl. 24) calls it 'epistola communi legionum nomine.'

5. **triumphalia ante tribueret**; so that generals who had no opportunities of war, might not be tempted to earn the honour by works of this kind. Suet. (l. l.), who mentions the fact of this letter to illustrate the prodigality with which 'triumphalia' were awarded by this prince, misses the irony of the request by assigning as its object 'ne (legati) causam belli quoquo modo quaererent.' Augustus and (as we should gather from Tacitus) Tiberius gave this distinction only to generals, and only in cases where under the Republic a triumph or ovation would probably have been awarded (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 592). For the prodigality of Claudius and Nero in this respect see also 12. 3, 2; 13. 53, 1, and notes.

7. **exsequi**, 'to state in detail': cp. 3. 65, 1, and note. Tacitus apparently thinks this belief as to the parentage of Curtius borne out by his early histo and forbears to enter into it. For oth such instances of persons of low orig rising to high senatorial rank under t empire see 3. 66, 4; Friedl. Sitteng. 210.

8. **sectator**, apparently rather a low term than 'comes,' and coupled with in Cic. pro Rab. Post. 8, 21 ('Gabi comes vel sectator'): cp. 'sectatores potius satellites' (a still lower word) 22, 3. Pliny, who tells the same st (Ep. 7. 27, 2) as an evidence of reality of apparitions, makes Curtius of the 'cohors' of the proconsul ('c tinenti Africam comes haeserat'), lays the scene in evening ('inclinato di) instead of midday, the most solitary h in an African climate.

9. **medium diei**: so in 12. 69, 1; 2, 1; Liv. 27. 48, 17, etc. Cp. 'sp diei' (2. 21, 4), and note.

10. **species muliebris**. Pliny mas her describe herself as the Genius of e country ('perterrito Africam se, futurum praenuntiam, dixit').

12. **degressus**, 'departing from e country': see 2. 69, 4; 4. 74, 4, d notes. These passages show that the is no need to read here 'digressus' (wh the old edd.) or 'regressus' (with Haa. In the parallel passage in Agr. 6, 1, whe Halm reads 'digressus,' the MSS. var

14. **principis suffragio**, i.e. by is 'commendatio': see Introd. i. vi. p.

15. **natalium**, 'ancestry': so in H. 49, 7; 2. 76, 6, etc.; Plin. Ep. and J

[C]urtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus.' longa post haec [se]necta, et adversus superiores tristi adulatione, adrogans mino[rib]us, inter pares difficilis, consulare imperium, triumphi insignia [ac] postremo Africam obtinuit; atque ibi defunctus fatale prae[sa]gium implevit.

22. Interea Romae, nullis palam neque cognitis mox causis, [C]n. Nonius eques Romanus ferro accinctus reperitur in coetu [sa]lutantum principem. nam postquam tormentis dilaniabatur, [d]e se non *infitiatus* conscios non edidit, incertum an occultans.

Isdem consulibus P. Dolabella censuit spectaculum gladia[to]rum per omnes annos celebrandum pecunia eorum, qui quae-

[1]. **ex se natus.** Cicero (Phil. 6. 6, [17]) speaks thus of himself as 'his own [an]cestor,' i.e. a 'novus homo' ('quem [ego] a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis ... praetulistis'): here it seems to be [be]st taken, with Burnouf, as conveying a [co]mpliment; 'the son of his achievements.' [l]onga senecta. This abl. answers to [a]dulatione,' and both are best taken, [wit]h Nipp., as brachylogical ablatives of [qu]ality (Introd. i. v. § 29), to which [no]minatives are afterwards coupled for [var]iety; as also the accus. with 'adver[sus]' (in the sense of 'towards,' as in c. [.] 3, etc.) is varied to 'minoribus' (a [chi]efly poetical use of the dat., but of [wh]ich Nipp. gives several instances from [Ta]citus and Livy). For the sense of ['m]inores' ('inferiors') cp. 15. 20, 1; H. [.]8, 3; G. 36, 3; 39, 3.

[2]. **tristi**, best taken to mean that his [ser]vility was disguised under an affecta[tio]n of surliness, like the affected inde[pen]dence of Valerius Messala in 1. 8, 5. [Oth]ers, less well, take it in a sense like [tha]t of 'saevis adulationibus' (4. 20, 4).

[3]. **difficilis,** 'stiff,' i.e. standing on his [dig]nity. The word is often thus used of [cha]racter in Horace, etc. with some such [me]aning; and Tacitus, though he does [not] elsewhere so use it, has 'facilis' (3. [.]4; Agr. 40, 4) and 'facilitas' (6. 15, [.] Agr. 9, 4), for the opposite quality.

[c]onsulare imperium = 'consulatum.' [Th]e date of his consulship and that of [his] proconsulate of Africa seem unknown.

[4]. **fatale praesagium.** Pliny (l. l.) [spea]kes the prediction expressly foretell [his] death there, and adds that as he [lan]ded as proconsul he again saw the ap[par]ition, and, being in ill health, gave up [ho]pe of life and soon died.

[6]. **palam,** so used adjectively in 14. 32, 1; 15. 7, 3, etc.: cp. Introd. i. v. § 66.

7. **Cn. Nonius.** It is not clear whether his is one of those attempts mentioned with more detail in Suet. Cl. 13; 35; Oth. 1.

in coetu salutantum. On the morning receptions of the princeps see Friedl. Sitteng. i. p. 135, foll. The strictness with which Claudius caused all male and even female visitors to be searched, is further noticed by Suet. (Cl. 35) and Dio (60. 3, 3). Such precautions continued till the accession of Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 12; Dio, l. l.), and appear to have originated in an occasional practice of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 35).

8. **nam,** explaining 'neque cognitis mox.'

9. **non infitiatus,** Med. has 'noni' with a lacuna of some thirteen letters, which most have followed Iac. Gron. in thus filling. Ritt. supposes the words to have been 'cūctāt cfess;' ('cunctanter confessus'), taking the sentence to be a reminiscence of Liv. 24. 5, 10 ('de se haud cunctanter fassus conscios celabat').

10. **Isdem consulibus:** see c. 11. 1.

P. Dolabella, mentioned as a leading, but servile senator in the time of Tiberius: see 3. 47, 4, and note. His 'sententia,' probably expressed 'per egressionem' (cp. note on c. 5, 3), must have been taken up by the princeps; whence the enactment is spoken of as among the 'acta Claudii' in 13. 5, 2, and is ascribed to him in Suet. Cl. 24.

11. **qui quaesturam adipiscerentur.** It appears from 13. 5, 1, that the 'quaestores designati' are meant. Suetonius (Claud. 24) speaks of this obligation as imposed on the 'collegium quaestorum,' adding that it took the place of a former charge on them of the 'stratura viarum.'

sturam adipiscerentur. apud maiores virtutis id praemium fuera 4 cunctisque civium, si bonis artibus fiderent, licitum petere magis tratus; ac ne aetas quidem distinguebatur, quin prima iuvent 5 consulatum et dictaturas inirent. sed quaestores regibus etiar tum imperantibus instituti sunt, quod lex curiata ostendit ab I 6 Bruto repetita. mansitque consulibus potestas deligendi, done 7 eum quoque honorem populus mandaret. creatique primur Valerius Potitus et Aemilius Mamercus sexagensimo tertio ann

1. **id.** The context shows that a reference in sense is intended, not only to the quaestorship, but to magistracies in general.

2. **cunctis civium,** a strong instance of the use of a quasi-partitive genit. with a word not strictly capable of taking such: cp. Introd. i. v. § 32 c; also 14. 60, 1; Ov. Met. 4. 630; Plin. N. H. 3. 1, 3, 7; and the genit. with 'omnis' in Liv. 10. 31, 5; 31. 45, 7. The assertion that magistracies were originally open to all citizens is represented by Livy (4. 3, 4) as put forward by plebeians on their own account, and would no doubt be true of the original community; distinctions within the civic body having come in with admission of new citizens: see Mommsen, Staatsr. i. 485.

3. **ne aetas quidem distinguebatur.** The 'aetas legitima' for magistrates was first fixed by the 'lex Villia,' passed by a tribune in 574, B. C. 180 (Liv. 40. 44, 1; see also Mommsen, Staatsr. i. 529). In earlier times Valerius Corvus had been consul at the age of twenty-three (Liv. 7. 26, 12); and several other instances of youthful consuls are given in Cic. Phil. 5. 17, 47. On the prescribed age for the quaestorship under the empire see 3. 29, 1, and note.

4. **sed quaestores,** etc. The tradition of the origin of quaestors varies much. Ulpian (Dig. 1, 13) cites Julius Gracchanus, the contemporary and friend of C. Gracchus, as stating 'Romulum et Numam Pompilium binos quaestores habuisse, quos ipsi non sua voce sed populi suffragio crearent,' and adds that a more prevalent tradition ascribes their institution to Tullus Hostilius. This view no doubt assumes the identity of 'quaestores parricidii' with the 'duumviri perduellionis' of Liv. 1. 26, 5. Plutarch states (Poplic. 12. 103) that Valerius Poplicola, in the first year of the Republic, established the treasury, and gave the people the right of electing two quaestors of it. Livy, in the speech of Canuleius (4. 4, appears from the order of mention to da the origin of the office between that the tribunate and decemvirate, and pro ably at the time when he first mentions that of the trial of Sp. Cassius in 26 B. C. 435 (2. 41, 11; cp. Dion. Hal. 8. 77 A reconciliation may be found in t statement of Zonaras (7. 13, p. 33 presumably from Dio Cassius, that t old 'quaestores parricidii' acquired, the beginning of the Republic, addition functions as 'quaestores aerarii,' and can in time to possess and to be designated l those functions only. For a full discussi see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 523, fol Seeley, Hist. Exam. Livy, B. 1, pp. 90–9

5. **lex curiata.** On this act, by whi the 'imperium' was conferred on t elected magistrates, see Mommsen, Staat i. p. 609, foll. That of L. Brutus, which Tacitus appears to refer as still e tant in his day, would apparently be th by which the election of the first cons was ratified and their powers define and it is implied in the following senter ('mansitque . . . deligendi') that this c 'lex' recited that the kings had appoint quaestors, and empowered the consuls do so. Hence it would appear th Gracchanus (whom Plutarch in this po followed) was misled by party spirit making them to have been always chos by the people.

6. **repetita,** either 'renewed' (cp. 26, 4), or 'carried back over the pa (cp. 3. 33, 1), i. e. with precedents cite

8. **sexagensimo tertio,** i. e. in 3 B. C. 447. This date rests on Taci alone, and appears to show that the qu storship, which had been in abeya under the decemvirate (Dion. Hal. 56) was transferred from consular no nation to popular election on its reinstition. Mommsen suggests (Staatsr. ii. 529, 1) that the change may have be due to one of the 'leges Valeriae Ho tiae.' This is confirmed by the fact t

ost Tarquinios exactos, ut rem militarem comitarentur. dein liscentibus negotiis duo additi, qui Romae curarent: mox uplicatus numerus, stipendiaria iam Italia et accedentibus proinciarum vectigalibus: post lege Sullae viginti creati supplendo ːnatui, cui iudicia tradiderat. et quamquam equites iudicia ːciperavissent, quaestura tamen ex dignitate candidatorum aut .cilitate tribuentium gratuito concedebatur, donec sententia)olabellae velut venundaretur.

e 'comitia tributa,' to which these ws gave extended powers, was always e assembly by which quaestors were ːcted (Momms. p. 525).

1. **ut rem militarem comitarentur,** accompany the consuls to the war, and ke charge of the military chest ('res ilitaris' being apparently an analogous m to 'res familiaris'). Livy, who aces this doubling of the quaestors in 3, B.C. 421 (4. 43, 4), seems undoubtly right in giving an opposite account that of Tacitus of the comparative anuity of the urban and military quaestorips; nor is any reason apparent why ıcitus should have given an account of e original functions of the quaestors, ıere he is speaking of the change from nsular nomination to popular election, less he is to be supposed to mean that is was also the date when their military ties began, and that as these came to gross more of their time, two others re added to ensure due performance of original urban duties. Or perhaps, Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 562, 2) sugsts, we should read thus, 'post . . . exos: ut rem militarem comitarentur in, gliscentibus negotiis, duo additi is i Romae curarent.' Livy adds that m this time the office was open to both lers, and records in 345, B.C. 409 (4. , 3), the actual election of plebeian ıestors.

2. **mox duplicatus numerus.** Momm- shows (ii. 570, 4) from comparison of v. Epit. 15, with Lydus de magist. 1, that this increase dates from 487, . 267, when the subjugation of Italy s completed; also that the four new es, the κλασσικοί (οἱονεὶ ναυάρχαι) of dus, are the same to whom 'provinciae' Italy were assigned down to the time Claudius (see 4. 27, 2, and note); also 572) that the words 'et accedentibus ovinciis' may be an inaccurate reference the probable fact that one of these four ːame afterwards the second Sicilian quaestor resident at Lilybaeum (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 92). It is very doubtful (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. p. 729) whether the Italian socii could ever have been rightly called 'stipendiarii,' in the sense in which provincial communities were so.

4. **lege Sullae,** in 673, B.C. 81. Mommsen suggests (Hist. Rom. iii. p. 360, note), that the accession of provinces had probably caused some addition to the number of quaestors before that date. Sulla first made the office a stepping-stone to the senate, which body he had also considerably enlarged, and which the increased number of quaestors was to keep up. Julius Caesar made forty quaestors (Dio, 43. 47, 2); but the silence of Tacitus would show that this enlargement was not permanent. The number twenty appears also to agree with that of the posts assigned to quaestors (Momms. ii. 533).

5. **cui iudicia tradiderat.** On the 'leges iudiciariae' see 12. 60, 4, and note. 'Cui,' as Nipp. points out, does not here denote the senate as a body, but its members.

quamquam equites, etc. The point of the sentence seems to be that although the loss of the exclusive judicial authority of its members made it less necessary to keep up the numbers of the senate, and to secure a sufficiency of candidates for its stepping-stone, the quaestorship; still people did not care to make that office less easily attainable.

6. **ex dignitate,** etc., 'on the ground of worthiness in the candidates or by the complaisance (cp. 2. 65, 3, etc.), of the electors.' Nipp. notes that the force of 'ex' does not extend to 'facilitate.'

8. **velut venundaretur.** The obligation to give a gladiatorial show was tantamount to selling the quaestorship, as it made it impossible for poor men to be candidates. On the subsequent repeal of this decree see 13. 5, 1, and note.

23. A. Vitellio L. Vipstano consulibus cum de supplendo senatu agitaretur primoresque Galliae, quae Comata appellatur foedera et civitatem Romanam pridem adsecuti, ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent, multus ea super re variusque rumor. et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur, adseverantium non adeo aegram Italiam, ut senatum suppeditare urbi sua nequiret. suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis, ne

1. **A. Vitellio L. Vipstano.** The first of these is the subsequent emperor, son of the consul of the previous year. The only subsequent mention of him in the Annals is in 14. 49, 1. On the profligacy of his early life see Suet. Vit. 3. He appears on the list of the Arvales from 810, A.D. 57 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2039–2051). The other name, here read 'uipsand,' and in c. 25, 7 'uipsanius,' is that of L. Vipstanus Poplicola, thought by Nipp. to have been father or uncle of the consul of 812, A.D. 59 (14. 1, 1), and of another C. Vipstanus Poplicola, named in an inscr. of 816, A.D. 63 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2002).

de supplendo senatu. The number of senators was not absolutely fixed at this time, and was ordinarily kept up by the annual admissions through the quaestorship; but a formal 'lectio senatus' (cp. 12. 4, 4) was occasionally held by the early emperors, and would be part of the censorial office now held by Claudius (cp. 'hanc partem censurae meae' Orat. Claud. ii. 7). The purpose of the ordinary revision by the princeps (see Introd. i. vi. p. 71) was to expunge, not to add names. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 423.

2. **quae Comata appellatur.** In Cicero's time all Transalpine Gaul was so styled (from keeping up the old fashion of long hair) in contradistinction to 'Gallia togata,' the Romanised Cisalpine province: cp. 'Galliam . . . togatam remitto, comatam postulo' (M. Antonius ap. Cic. Phil. 8. 9, 27). Subsequently (cp. Plin. N. H. 4. 17, 31, 105) the provinces of Gallia Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania have this title to distinguish them from the old 'Narbonensis provincia . . . braccata antea dicta' (Id. 3. 4, 5, 31), whose citizens had long since had the 'ius honorum' (see c. 24, 4; 12. 23, 1, etc.).

3. **foedera et civitatem.** These persons of course participated in the privileges granted by Rome to their communities (see H. 4. 67, 1, and the references in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 126, 1; 348, 4), which had the higher provincial rank of 'civitates foederatae' (on which see Marquardt, i. 347): The 'civitas' grante to the chief men individually (see 3 4 2, and note, Strab. 4. 1, 12, 186; Dio, 5 25, 1), and thereby to their descendant or to communities (Suet. Aug. 47), wa evidently in Gaul similar to the old 'civ tas sine suffragio,' which a fortiori wa without the 'ius honorum.' They as for the latter only (to enable them to be come magistrates and thereby senators) the 'ius suffragii,' always insignificant t a foreigner, being now wholly valuele since the comitia had ceased to act (1. 1 1). There were already senators fro the colony of Lugdunum (Or. Cl. ii. 29).

4. **super**='de': cp. 2. 28, 5; 6. 1 4; 21, 1, etc. This use is found i Plaut., etc., and Sall., a few times in t letters of Cic., not in Caes., but often Liv., etc.

5. **rumor,** 'talk': cp. 'rumor secu dus' (3. 29, 5), 'adversus' (14. 11, 4).

et studiis, etc., i.e. not only d people talk among themselves, but t debate of partisans (cp. 3. 63, 2) ca even before the prince in his private cou cil (see c. 24, 1). Only one side ('ads verantium') is given: Tacitus may ha meant the other to be gathered from t speech of Claudius, or may have mea that the 'studia' of the senate we wholly on one side, had they not be overruled by him. It is also possible take 'diversis' (with Church and Brodrib to mean 'hostile' (to the request): c Dial. 1. 4; 34, 4, etc.

7. **consanguineis populis,** probab best taken, with Nipp., as dative: 't rule of native-born Romans (i.e. of senate exclusively of those belonging the "ager Romanus") had once suffic for (had been acquiesced in by) kindr peoples' (who had a fairer claim th strangers to a share of power). Oth take 'suffecisse' to mean 'had supplied senate to kindred peoples'; others ma 'consanguineis populis' abl. abs. (s Ruperti's note). The time referred would be that when Latins, Sabines, et had not yet full equality with Romans.

aenitere veteris rei publicae. quin adhuc memorari exempla uae priscis moribus ad virtutem et gloriam Romana indoles rodiderit. an parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inruerint, nisi coetu alienigenarum velut captivitas inferatur? quem ltra honorem residuis nobilium, aut si quis pauper e Latio enator foret? oppleturos omnia divites illos, quorum avi proavique hostilium nationum duces exercitus nostros ferro vique eciderint, divum Iulium apud Alesiam obsederint. recentia haec: uid si memoria eorum oreretur, qui *sub* Capitolio et arce Romana anibus eorundem prostrati sint? fruerentur sane vocabulo civiatis: insignia patrum, decora magistratuum ne vulgarent.

2. **ad virtutem**, etc., sc. 'spectantia':). 'oratio ad perstringendos animos' Med. in H. 1. 85, 1); examples in respect valour and renown set by the genuine oman character (that of the 'indigenae' entioned above).

3. **an parum quod**, 'is it not enough at.' The Veneti and Insubres (people the districts surrounding Padua and ilan) are taken as instances of the ranspadana, which received the citizenip from Julius Caesar in 705, B. C. 49)io, 41. 36, 3): see on c. 24, 3.

4. **coetu**: most modern edd. follow itt. in thus correcting the Med. 'coetus.'

captivitas, 'the condition of a capred city' (cp. 13. 25, 2), governed by an ien race (on the supposition that the new nators would swamp the old). Orelli 'ho reads 'coetus') takes 'captitivas' abstr. for concrete ('an alien crowd, mob of prisoners, is let loose on us').

quem ultra honorem, 'what chance winning honours would be left to e remaining nobility, or to any poor nator from Latium' (with all these comtitors)? 'Nobiles' would naturally be ns of parents resident in Rome, and e therefore distinguished from senators 10 were 'novi homines' from Latin wns (see note on 4. 3, 4). 'Honores' here used of the higher magistracies ined by those who were already senas, as in 4. 2, 4; 6. 2, 4: 'residuus' is ed of persons by Just., etc. The corction of 'foret' to 'fore' is needless, as ch a verb can be easily supplied (Introd. v. § 39 c); the tense required being licated by 'ultra.'

6. **divites**. On the wealth of the uls cp. c. 18, 1; 3. 46, 4.

8. **Alesiam**, the town of the Mandubii, ere Vercingetorix made his last stand 702, B. C. 52 (Caes. B. G. 7. 68, foll.). The site is identified with Alise Sainte Reine in the department of Côte d'Or, west of Dijon. 'Obsederint' is so far true, that Caesar was for a time besieged as well as besieger.

9. **oreretur**. This reading, adopted by Halm and others from Bach, is nearer to the Med. 'moreretur' than other suggestions ('moveretur,' 'iniretur,' 'renovaretur,' etc.), the repetition of the 'm' being easily accounted for.

qui sub Capitolio, etc. The corrupt Med. text, 'qui Capitolio et ara Romana manibus eorundem per se satis,' has given rise to many emendations. Halm's reading, as here given, inserts 'sub' with Dräger, alters 'ara' to 'arce,' with Acidalius, and the last words to 'prostrati (for which Pfitzn. reads "prensati") sint,' with Ritt. (who, instead of 'sub,' inserts 'conspicante' before 'Capitolio'). Halm also thinks that 'obsessa' may have been lost after 'Romana'; but the application of 'eorundem' to Gauls, immediately after 'eorum' (Romans), is questionable. Many other conjectures are given in Walther and Baiter, to which may be added that of Nipp., who, after 'arce Romana,' reads 'manibias deorum deripere conati sint,' and of Madvig (Adv. ii. 550), who suggests 'manibus deorum depulsi sint' (in both of which versions 'eorum' stands for the Gauls). Madvig has also (Adv. iii. 229) suggested a still more violent change. The text cannot be restored with certainty; but the allusion is plainly to the capture of Rome by the Senones in 364, B. C. 390 (Liv. 5, 37, foll.).

10. **fruerentur**: cp. 'frueretur praemiis et inpunitate' (H. 4. 7, 4).

vocabulo, 'the title' (without the higher privileges): cp. 'eadem magistratuum vocabula' (1. 3, 7).

11. **ne vulgarent**: cp. 'honor . . . vul-

24. His atque talibus haud permotus princeps et statim contr disseruit et vocato senatu ita exorsus est: 'maiores mei, quorur antiquissimus Clausus origine Sabina simul in civitatem Romanar et in familias patriciorum adscitus est, hortantur uti paribus con siliis *in* re publica capessenda, transferendo huc quod usquar egregium fuerit. neque enim ignoro Iulios Alba, Coruncanio Camerio, Porcios Tusculo, et ne vetera scrutemur, Etruria Lu caniaque et omni Italia in senatum accitos, postremo ipsam a Alpes promotam, ut non modo singuli viritim, sed terrae, gente in nomen nostrum coalescerent. tunc solida domi quies et ad versus externa floruimus, cum Transpadani in civitatem recept

gatur' (4. 37, 5). Jacob compares the sentiment of Cicero (pro Font. 8, 17), 'cum infimo cive Romano quisquam amplissimus Galliae comparandus est,' and that of Juv. 3, 84. The pasquinades on the privileges given to Gauls by Julius Caesar (Suet. Iul. 80) may be also noted.

1. **statim**, 'there and then,' when the subject was privately discussed.

2. **ita exorsus est.** The speech here given, as well as the fragments of the actual speech (see Appendix to this Book), show reminiscences of the speech given to Canuleius by Livy (4. 3–5), whose connection with the historical studies of Claudius is recorded (Suet. Cl. 41).

3. **Clausus**: see 4. 9, 3, and note.

4. **hortantur**, etc. Here, as Nipp. notes, it is the example, not of what they did, but of what was done for them, that calls for imitation. On the inf. with 'hortor' cp. c. 16, 3. The Med. text 'rem publica capessenda' (with a small erasure before 'rem') is corrected as above by Halm and Weissenb.; Ritt. prefers 'ad rempublicam capessendam'; the old edd. follow G. in reading 'hortantur, uti . . . rempublicam capessam.' For the expression cp. 16. 26, 8, etc.

6. **Iulios Alba.** He would appear to follow Dion. Hal. (3. 29, 409), who made this family one of those transferred to Rome on the destruction of Alba. In Livy (1. 30, 2) the Tullii are substituted for the Iulii, and a Iulius Proculus had already been mentioned as a Roman senator in the time of Romulus (1. 16, 5), who himself, as one of the Alban royal race, was held to be descended from Iulus (see 4. 9, 3; Verg. Aen. 1, 267, foll.).

7. **Camerio.** Camerium or Cameria, one of the Latin cities, was destroyed at so early a date that its site is doubtf (see Mr. Bunbury in Dict. of Geog. According to Cicero (pro Planc. 8, 20 Ti. Coruncanius, the famous jurist (co 474, B.C. 280), was from Tusculum, whi he states to have been also the birth-pla of Cato the Censor, and the parent of mo consular families than all the other 'mur cipia' together. Other families of th Porcian gens, the Laecae and Licini, b come known at about the same date the Catones.

Etruria Lucaniaque. On this al see Introd. i. v. § 24.

8. **accitos**, sc. 'quosdam': cp. t similar ellipse in c. 14, 4; 12. 11, 1, e Nipp. reads 'ascitos' thinking the sen of that word (cp. § 1; c. 25, 1) mo appropriate here than that of 'summone (c. 15, 1). The allusion is to the gene admission of the Italians (including t Cispadani) after the Social war.

ipsam, sc. 'Italiam.' The extensi of Italy to the Alps was the necessa consequence of the gift of citizenship the Transpadani (c. 23, 4); but the pr vince of Cisalpine Gaul was not forma abolished till 713, B.C. 41 (Dio, 48. 12, and the frontier of Italy was not forma fixed till the time of Augustus (see Intro i. vii. p. 92).

9. **viritim**: cp. 3. 43, 4, and note.

10. **tunc . . . quies.** As the period im mediately following the admission of th Transpadani was one of violent distu ance, Dr. thinks that the clause referri to them must be a gloss; but we m suppose that the rest under Augustus referred to, and that the settlement whi had been completed up to that date spoken of as a whole; the words 'cum . recepti' merely meaning 'when all It had become Roman.'

ım specie deductarum per orbem terrae legionum additis pro- incialium validissimis fesso imperio subventum est. num aenitet Balbos ex Hispania nec minus insignes viros e Gallia Iarbonensi transivisse? manent posteri eorum nec amore in anc patriam nobis concedunt. quid aliud exitio Lacedaemoniis t Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod ictos pro alienigenis arcebant? at conditor nostri Romulus ıntum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, ein cives habuerit. advenae in nos regnaverunt: libertinorum

I. **cum specie**, etc. The use of 'de- ıctarum' shows that the provincial ilitary colonies are meant, which, estab- ;hed under colour ('specie') of providing r the veterans of the legions, must also ıve given opportunities for conferring e citizenship on the elite of the provin- als, associated with them. Pfitzner less ell takes the expression of the distribu- on of the legions over the empire.

2. **fesso imperio subventum est.** hese colonies helped to give rest, by ing themselves a guarantee for peace ıd order in the most important positions, satisfying the provincial desire for citi- nship (see above), and giving the subjects ı interest in the empire, and by rearing civic population whence the legions ould be recruited without drawing on aly (see Introd. i. vii. p. 108; Mar- ıardt, ii. 537).

3. **Balbos.** L. Cornelius Balbus, a tive of Gades, had obtained citizenship rough Pompeius (Cic. pro Balb. 8, 19), ıt afterwards attached himself to Caesar: s consulship in 714, B.C. 40 (Dio, 48. , 2), was the first ever attained by a reigner (Plin. N. H. 7. 43, 44, 136). ı his nephew, the first foreigner who er triumphed (Id. 5. 5, 36), see 3. 72, 2, d note.

nec minus, etc. In the actual speech . 9) Claudius says that the colony of enna (Vienne) had long before that ne sent senators to Rome. Its citizens ıom he there specifies are of his own ne, and cannot be those here referred to represented by their posterity; but ere had been Gaulish senators from the ne of Julius Caesar (see on c. 23, 7). ı these and Spanish, and other provin- ıl senators, see Friedl. Sitteng. i. pp. 9, foll.

5. **Lacedaemoniis et Atheniensi- ıs.** The former kept down the Mes- ıians by force as a conquered people, and lost all hold on them from the time of Epaminondas: Athens had reduced nearly all the original confederate cities to a dependent and tributary position before the Peloponnesian war, and was constantly weakened in that struggle by their revolts: neither had adopted the Roman policy of incorporation.

7. **pro**, used as in 4. 38, 2.

conditor nostri. Here the genit. of the personal pronoun seems emphatic, but it is often used by Tacitus without such reason (see Introd. i. v. 33 a; Nipp. on 12. 37, 4).

8. **plerosque** = 'permultos' (see 3. 1, 2, and note). The allusion is to the tradition of his having taken in the Antemnates and Crustumini (Liv. 1. 11), and having shared his power with Tatius and the Sabines (Id. 1. 13).

9. **advenae.** In the actual speech (i. 8, foll.) Numa, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius are instanced, and their origin is traced at some length. 'Regnare in' is noted as a novel phrase, but analogous to 'dominari in' (Cic. de Sen. 11, 38; Ov. Met. 1, 77; Liv. 3. 53, 7).

libertinorum filiis. Livy mentions (9. 46, 1) Cn. Flavius, of such origin, as curule aedile, and adds (Id. § 10) that Appius Claudius Caecus had admitted such to the senate in 304, B.C. 450, but that subsequent censors had not ratified his choice. Suetonius notes (Cl. 24) that Claudius, in quoting this precedent on this or another occasion, had overlooked the fact that in those days 'libertinus' denoted the son of a 'libertus,' instead of being a synonym for that term. It appears, however, that no other writer observes this distinction in speaking of that time, and that certainly the son of an actual freedman had been tribune in 654, B.C. 100 (App. B.C. 1. 33), and that such had been admitted to the senate by Julius Caesar (Dio, 43. 47, 3): also that, by the time

filiis magistratus mandare non, ut plerique falluntur, repens, se
priori populo factitatum est. at cum Senonibus pugnavimus
scilicet Vulsci et Aequi numquam adversam nobis aciem in
struxere. capti a Gallis sumus: sed et Tuscis obsides dedimu
et Samnitium iugum subiimus. ac tamen, si cuncta bella re
censeas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confec
tum: continua inde ac fida pax. iam moribus artibus adfinitatibu
nostris mixti aurum et opes suas inferant potius quam separa
habeant. omnia, patres conscripti, quae nunc vetustissima cre
duntur, nova fuere: plebeii magistratus post patricios, Lati
post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos. in
veterascet hoc quoque, et quod hodie exemplis tuemur, inte
exempla erit.'

25. Orationem principis secuto patrum consulto primi Aedu
senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt. datum id foederi antiqu

of Nero, senatorial families of servile origin were very numerous (13. 27, 2; Plin. Ep. 3. 14, 1). See Friedl. i. p. 212; Momms. Staatsr. i. 488.

1. **repens** = 'recens': see 6. 7, 4, and note.

2. **priori populo**, apparently used, like 'vetus populus' in 1. 1, 4 (where see note), of the Republic.

Senonibus: see c. 23, 7.

3. **Vulsci**, the corrected form of Med., which has in the first hand 'uulsi.' Baiter (in Orelli) shows that this form appears in the Fasti Capitolini, and in the best MSS. of Livy, Vergil, etc. On the resistance and subjection of this people and the Aequi, which takes so large a space in the first decade of Livy, see Momms. Hist. Rom. Book ii. ch. 5.

4. **Tuscis . . . Samnitium**, alluding to the submission of Rome to Porsena (see H. 3. 72, 1), disguised by Livy (who nevertheless mentions hostages in 2. 13, 4), and to the disaster of the Caudine Forks in 433, B. C. 321 (Liv. 9. 1–6).

6. **nullum breviore spatio**, etc. The submission of 'Gallia Comata' (which is alone alluded to) contrasts certainly with the long resistance of Spain and the failure to subdue Germany; but some of the Eastern conquests were more quickly made. In the actual speech, no such comparison is made, but a contrast is drawn between the ten years' war with Caesar and the subsequent hundred years of peace (round numbers are used); and the help given to his father Drusus against the Germans by the tranquillity of Gaul
noticed. In neither version of the spee
is any account taken of the rising of 77
A.D. 21 (3. 40–46).

8. **inferant**, 'let them bring in among
us' (here in Rome, as senators).

9. **omnia**, etc. This thought is work
out at length in Col. i. of the existi
speech, and appears to be suggested
Liv. 4. 4, 1, foll.

10. **plebeii**, so best read (with Nip
for the Med. 'plebei,' which Halm a
others retain. The context shows th
the allusion is not to the special mag
trates of the plebs, but to the opening
the patrician magistracies to that ord
Roman magistrates from the towns
'Latium vetus,' such as Tusculum, ha
been already noticed (§ 2). As an
stance of one from other parts of It
may be mentioned Ventidius, who, a ca
tive in his infancy in the Social w
became consul and triumphed in 7
A.D. 38 (Dio, 43. 51, 4).

14. **secuto**. On the accus. after a
abs., see Introd. i. v. 31 d.

Aedui. On this people see 3. 40,
The concession of privilege was no do
general; the meaning here being th
the first senators actually chosen fr
Gallia Comata belonged to this tri
The choice would be the act of Claud
as censor.

15. **foederi antiquo**. The date of th
treaty is unknown, but they are cal
'socii' as early as 633, B.C. 121 (L
Epit. 61).

quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano surpant.

Isdem diebus in numerum patriciorum adscivit Caesar vetussimum quemque e senatu aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, aucis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum et L.

1. **fraternitatis nomen.** Caesar speaks them (B. G. 1. 33, 2) as 'fratres connguineosque saepenumero ab senatu pellatos,' and Cicero (ad Att. 1. 19, 2) lls them 'fratres nostri.' Similar titles ere given by the senate to individuals e 4. 26, 4, and note); and an inscription rut. 499, 13) shows that the German tavi were styled 'amici et fratres Roani Imperii.' For other such instances 'hospitium publicum' see Marquardt, ivatl. 196.

3. **in numerum patriciorum adivit.** The original patriciate must of urse be assumed to be coeval with the undation of Rome. Subsequent early ditions to it, however ascribed to indiidual kings or others, took no doubt the m of co-optation by the existing patrin curiae (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 29, l.), admitting not individuals but famis, which by such admission became trician 'gentes;' and with the desuetude the 'comitia curiata' the legitimate ode of action was extinct. Julius Caesar d Augustus acted by special law (see low); Claudius (see § 4), and after him spasian and Titus (see Vit. Marc. Aur. 1), im this power as a censorial function, alogous to that of nominating senators; er emperors create patricians in virtue their general power. See Momms. ii. 1100. These later grants are bestowed marily on individuals; and among those ennobled at this time were L. Salvius ho, father of the emperor (Suet. Oth. 1), Plautius Pulcher, brother of the emor's former wife Plautia Urgulanilla sc. Or. 723, Wilm. 1137), and M. lvius Geminus (C. I. L. iii. 1. 6074). is probable that C. Silius was another e note on c. 12, 2).

vetustissimum, the senators of longest nding: cp. 'vetus senator' (Liv. 5. 11).

4. **clari.** This word and its cognates aritudo' and 'claritas,' are used to note distinction and eminence, rather n mere 'nobilitas': cp. the opposition aris maioribus quam vetustis' (4. 61, also 12. 22, 2; 64, 4; and other pases collected by Nipp. on 2. 33, 5.

paucis iam reliquis. On the decay of old families, and on the few still remaining, cp. Friedl. i. pp. 210, 214. The distinction of 'gentes' and 'familiae' had become at this time much obliterated; so that the latter term is often, as here, used for the former (cp. 6. 51, 1; H. 2. 48, 5, etc.); and plebeian 'familiae' are often called 'gentes' (see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 130; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 10, 2).

quas Romulus, etc. According to Livy (1. 8, 7), the 100 original senators of Romulus were the founders of the original patriciate ('patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati'). Dion. Hal. (2. 8) makes him directly create a patrician order. Besides these, the houses supposed to have come in with the Sabines under Tatius, or on the destruction of Alba (see on c. 24, 2) were still 'maiorum gentium.' Those styled 'minorum gentium' are represented by all extant authorities except Tacitus as the families sprung from the 100 senators added by Tarquinius Priscus ('centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati' Liv. 1. 35, 6). Cicero adds (de Rep. 2. 20, 35) 'et antiquos patres "maiorum gentium" appellavit, quos primos sententiam rogabat,' and also mentions (ad Fam. 9. 21, 2) that the Papirii were patricians 'minorum gentium.' Tacitus appears to have confused the tradition of Tarquin with that of Brutus, who is said (Liv. 2. 1, 10) to have made up the senate, weakened by the last king, to 300, by adding 'conscripti' from the 'primores equestris gradus.' Dion. Hal. (5. 13) represents this change as a creation of new patricians, from whom the new senators were chosen: the true view, however, appears to be that the 'conscripti' remained plebeians, and that their enrolment, at whatever time it took place, was the first admission of that order to the senate (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 839, 2). The addition of the Claudii is generally made to take place under the early Republic (Liv. 2. 16, 5), but another tradition makes them come in with Tatius (Verg. Aen. 7, 708; Suet. Tib. 1). Various stories of elevation of individuals or houses to this rank in early times were

Brutus minorum gentium appellaverant, exhaustis etiam q dictator Caesar lege Cassia et princeps Augustus lege Sae sublegere; laetaque haec in rem publicam munia multo gau censoris inibantur. famosos probris quonam modo senatu pelleret anxius, mitem et recens repertam quam ex severit prisca rationem adhibuit, monendo, secum quisque de se c sultaret peteretque ius exuendi ordinis: facilem eius rei veni et motos senatu excusatosque simul propositurum, ut iudici censorum ac pudor sponte cedentium permixta ignomini mollirent. ob ea Vipstanus consul rettulit patrem senatus pellandum esse Claudium: quippe promiscum patris pat cognomentum; nova in rem publicam merita non usitatis v

evidently heraldic fictions of later date (see Suet. Aug. 2; Vit. 1; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 41, 2). On the whole subject of the patriciate see Momms. iii. 3-53.

1. **quas dictator Caesar**, etc. The 'lex Cassia' is nowhere else mentioned, but must have been an enabling law under which Caesar in 709, B.C. 45, *πολλοὺς ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τούς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ ἀρχήν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν* (Dio, 43. 47, 3). Mommsen inclines (Staatsr. iii. 33) to trace a connection in this act of Caesar's with his powers as pontifex maximus in relation to the curiae. Among the patricians then added were the Octavii (Suet. Aug. 1); and Dio (46. 22, 3) makes Calenus say that Cicero was thus ennobled; but the absence of any mention of it by Cicero himself is against this supposition.

2. **Augustus lege Saenia.** Augustus says (Mon. Anc. 2. 1), 'patriciorum numerum auxi consul quintum (725, B.C. 29) iussu populi et senatus.' The senatus consultum is mentioned by Dio (52. 42, 5); the enabling 'lex Saenia' (referred to in 'iussu populi') must have been passed, as is shown by Mommsen (ad loc. Mon. Anc.) in November or December of the previous year, when L. Saenius was cos. suff., and was probably connected with the census then about to be taken (Staatsr. ii. 1101). Mommsen also shows that Dio (49. 43, 6) must be in error in stating that a previous addition to the patriciate was made in 721, B.C. 33.

3. **laeta in rem publicam.** The accus. with 'in' has here nearly the force of a simple dat. (see Introd. i. v. 60 b), and 'in rem publicam' seems here used for 'in publicum' (cp. 12. 8, 3, and note).

Beyond the desire to pay a compli to the person thus ennobled, the practical object of such a measure w be to enlarge the area of candidatur the few offices, such as those of 'flamines maiores' (see 4. 16, 2) stil stricted to patricians.

munia . . . inibantur, 'this fun was taken up by the censor with ext delight.'

5. **recens repertam.** In 725, B.C Augustus had induced fifty senato resign their rank voluntarily, and ha pressure on one hnndred and forty c to make them follow that example 52. 42, 2; cp. Suet. Aug. 35). For instances of the exercise of this p see 2. 48, 3; 12. 52, 4, and notes. Cla no doubt enrolled other senators in places, among whom were M. C Priscus and M. Salonius (Insc. Or. Henzen 6005).

quam, with ellipse of 'magis' Introd. i. v. § 64, 1).

7. **exuendi**, so read, after Lip 'exeundi': cp. 3. 17, 8; H. 2. 86, many similar metaphorical uses c verb noted on 1. 69, 2. Senatorial could not be resigned without such mission: cp. 1. 75, 5; Momms. St iii. 881.

8. **propositurum**, 'he would pul

9. **permixta:** so Halm, Nipp. D Jacob, after Ritt. for the Med. 'perm which could only be defended by posing a personification quite forei the passage. The use of a neute with a masc. or fem. substantive is mon (see on 1. 46, 1).

11. **promiscum**, 'given to other on 1. 72, 2) and thus not truly disti

ilis honoranda: sed ipse cohibuit consulem ut nimium ad-ntantem. condiditque lustrum, quo censa sunt civium quin-agiens noviens centena octoginta quattuor milia septuaginta io. isque illi finis inscitiae erga domum suam fuit: haud ulto post flagitia uxoris noscere ac punire adactus, ut deinde desceret in nuptias incestas.

26. Iam Messalina facilitate adulteriorum in fastidium versa incognitas libidines profluebat, cum abrumpi dissimulationem iam Silius, sive fatali vaecordia an imminentium periculorum medium ipsa pericula ratus, urguebat: quippe non eo ventum,

:. **cohibuit.** Mommsen notes (Staatsr. 395, 3) that the title thus refused by ıudius was afterwards borne by Com-dus, Balbinus, and Pupienus, as shown their coins.

:. **condidit lustrum.** This expres-ı is used properly of the closing cere-ny of 'lustratio' by 'suovetaurilia' v. 1. 44, 2).

ıuinquagiens, etc. = 5,984,072. Halm : other recent edd. so read in :ds the figures given in Med. LVIIII. XXIIII. LXXII.). The other MSS. (see lther) vary considerably, and Jerome Syncellus, varying from these and n each other, give nearly a million re (see Orelli's note). It is suggested hmann, p. 292) that these may repre-: later additions. Augustus (Mon. :. ii. 2-8) gives the numbers on two sus held by him in 726, 746, B.C. 28, ıs 4,063,000, and 4,233,000. These res, when addition is made for women children, would represent a total c population throughout the empire of or five times the number given.

; **finis inscitiae**: cp. c. 13, 1; also lecus ille domus sciet ultimus' Juv. 342. His actual knowledge is not ted till c. 30. The rest is inter-iate.

:ga, in relation to: cp. Introd. i. v. .

adactus, with infin. as in 4. 29, 3 ere see note). The omission of 'est' ırsh, as the subject is changed; Nipp. ks it must be inserted.

incestas, with his niece Agrippina.

iam . . . cum. These are evidently be taken together. The continued lness of Claudius (c. 25, 8) has made adultery pall upon her: she is pin-for a new excitement and ready to ge into it, when Silius unexpectedly fires her by urging a bold stroke for empire, to be accompanied by marriage. She is opposed to the first part (§ 5), but catches eagerly at the second, the 'nomen matrimonii,' for its very novelty (§ 6).

adulteriorum: so nearly all edd. since Ern., after the ed. pr., for Med. 'adulterorum'; the personal sense of 'facilitas' (6. 15, 3) being wholly inap-plicable here.

8. **profluebat**, used here alone in the sense of 'prolabebatur.'

9. **sive . . . an**, here alone (acc. to Dr.) used for 'sive . . . sive.' Nipp. thinks another clause with 'sive' has dropped out, after which 'an' might stand in the third clause, as perhaps in 14. 59, 1 (where see note); Ov. F. 3, 773-779. 'An' stands in a second clause, without 'sive,' in 16. 23, 3, etc. Tacitus perhaps here intends to indicate a preference for the second explanation.

10. **urguebat**, here alone with acc. and inf.: for other verbs so used, cp. c. 10, 8; Introd. i. v. § 44.

quippe, introducing his arguments.

non eo ventum, etc., 'they were not driven to the necessity of waiting for the old age (the natural death) of the prince.' They had accomplices ('con-scios') and could take a bolder course. For that sense of 'eo ventum ut,' cp. 15. 27, 1, and the full expression 'eo necessi-tatis . . . ventum est' (H. 1. 16, 1); for the meaning of 'opperiri,' cp. 2. 69, 4, etc.; also 'senectus eius expectabatur' (16. 9, 2). Others, as Dr. and Jacob, with whom J. H. Müller (Beitr. iv. 3) mainly agrees, take the words to mean, 'they had not pushed matters so far, in order now to take up a waiting attitude; i.e. they had gone too far to make that safe; but this meaning appears less suit-able to the words.

ut senectam principis opperirentur. insontibus innoxia consilia flagitiis manifestis subsidium ab audacia petendum. adesse con scios paria metuentes. se caelibem, orbum, nuptiis et adoptand Britannico paratum. mansuram eandem Messalinae potentiam addita securitate, si praevenirent Claudium, ut insidiis incautum ita irae properum. segniter eae voces acceptae, non amore i maritum, sed ne Silius summa adeptus sperneret adulteran scelusque inter ancipitia probatum veris mox pretiis aestimare nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit ob magnitudinem infamia cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est. nec ultra exspectat quam dum sacrificii gratia Claudius Ostiam proficisceretur, cunct nuptiarum sollemnia celebrat.

27. Haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri tantum ull mortalium securitatis fuisse in civitate omnium gnara et nih

1. **consilia**, rightly taken by Nipp. in contrast to 'audacia,' as 'insontibus' to 'manifestis flagitiis': 'to the innocent, deliberate plans might be harmless.' The conciseness of expression makes the connection obscure, but evidently a second reason against delay is added, that the bolder course was to them the only safe one.

3. **paria metuentes**, i.e. equally desperate, and therefore equally ready for a bold course, or likely to turn against them if they delayed.

caelibem. He had divorced his wife (c. 12, 2).

5. **incautum**, 'unguarded'; used with similar dat. in 4. 1, 3, and (acc. to some) in 1. 68, 5 (where see note).

6. **irae properum.** Here, and in 4. 59, 5; 14. 7, 2, the case is doubtful, but in 12. 66, 2 it is plainly genit., and is best so taken here (see Introd. i. v. § 63 e γ). 'Properus' has this construction only in the Annals.

amore, causal abl.

7. **ne**, 'from fear lest': cp. the similar brachylogy in H. 2. 23, 2 ('diffisus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium parum tolerent'), and other passages given by Nipp. on c, 15, 2.

8. **inter ancipitia**, 'in the midst of peril': the same expression is used in H. 3. 40, 4; G. 14, 3.

9. **nomen**, i.e. a nominal marriage, preceded by no divorce.

10. **cuius**, etc., 'a pleasure which, with the abandoned, outlasts all others,' has still some piquancy, when all others have palled. Seneca (Ep. 122, 18) express a somewhat similar sentiment, 'nolu solita peccare, quibus peccandi praemiu infamia est.' 'Prodigus' seems nowhe else thus used in the general sense ἄσωτος; hence Dr. reads 'profligato and Nipp. inclines to read 'perditos Pfitzn. would supply 'infamiae' aga with 'prodigos.'

nec ultra exspectato, repeated 7, 3: on the abl. abs. see Introd. i. § 31 a.

11. **sacrificii gratia.** Dio states (31, 4) that he went there πρὸς ἐ σκεψιν σίτου. A reconciliation is su gested by Lips., who notes the menti in Ammian. 19. 10, 4 of a sacrifice offer in time of scarcity by the annonae pr fectus in the temple of Castor and Poll at Ostia, to propitiate them, as deities fair weather (Hor. Od. 1. 12, 27), grant a safe passage to the corn shi He thinks that Claudius may have go there to offer a similar sacrifice as pon fex maximus. Claudius had carried great works at Ostia to improve harbour (Suet. Cl. 20), and may a have founded the temple and institu the sacrifice.

14. **securitatis**, 'recklessness': cp 3, 2.

nihil reticente. The freedom wi which even dangerous subjects were tal about is attested by Seneca (de Tranq. 7) 'teterrimum vitium, auscultatio, publicorum secretorumque inquisitio multarum rerum scientia, quae nec to narrantur, nec tuto audiuntur.'

eticente, nedum consulem designatum cum uxore principis, raedicta die, adhibitis qui obsignarent, velut suscipiendorum berorum causa convenisse, atque illam audisse auspicum verba, ubisse, sacrificasse apud deos; discubitum inter convivas, oscula omplexus, noctem denique actam licentia coniugali. sed nihil ompositum miraculi causa, verum audita scriptaque senioribus radam.

28. Igitur domus principis inhorruerat, maximeque quos penes otentia et, si res verterentur, formido, non iam secretis con- oquiis, sed aperte fremere, dum histrio cubiculum principis nsultaverit, dedecus quidem inlatum, sed excidium procul afuisse:

1. **nedum,** 'much more': cp. 13. 20, ; 38, 3. This use in an affirmative ause appears to be found first in Livy . 18, 4). The instances seem too rious to be all explained as occurring sentences negative in thought.

consulem designatum: cp. c. 5, 3.

2. **qui obsignarent,** 'those who were sign the marriage contract' (as wit- sses). The whole description may be mpared with that in 15. 37, 9; Juv. 10, 9, foll., and the general account of the arriage ceremonies in Friedl. Sitteng. 416; Marquardt, Privatl. i. 47, foll.

velut suscipiendorum liberorum usa, i.e. as for a legitimate marriage; insertion of words to that effect being essential part of the marriage contract, d this form being used to express regular rriages (cp. Suet. Jul. 52; Hor. Epp. 2, 44; Aug. de Civ. Dei, 14, 18, etc.). the use of 'velut,' with the force of see Introd. i. v. § 67.

3. **auspicum verba**: cp. 15. 37, 9; . 10, 336, and Mayor ad loc. Accord- to Cic. de Div. 1. 16, 28, the old tom of doing nothing of importance si auspicato' survived as an empty m in marriage ('nuptiarum auspices re omissa nomen tantum tenent'). e part appears to have been nominally tained by friends present (Marquardt, vatl. i. 48, 1), who would seem to have l to repeat some formula.

. **subisse.** It is possible to suppose t this was a recognised term for some t of the marriage ceremony, such as t of entering the husband's door, taking yoke, putting on the veil. Most . treat it as corrupt, and alter to psisse' (Lips.), 'subscripsisse' (Ritt.), add 'flammeum' (Urlichs and Nipp. n 15. 37, 9), or 'vota' (Dr.). Jacob follows Walther in taking it with 'auspi- cum verba,' and bracketing 'audisse' as a gloss.

discubitum, sc. 'ab ipsis,' 'they took their places': cp. Juv. 2, 119 'Sig- natae tabulae, dictum "feliciter," ingens Caena sedet, gremio iacuit nova nupta mariti.'

oscula complexus, sc. 'fuisse': similar omissions in vivid description are found in 13. 44, 6, etc.

5. **sed nihil,** etc.: see the similar pro- test in 4. 11, 5.

6. **senioribus,** dat. of agent: cp. Introd. i. v. § 18.

7. **tradam,** i.e. 'I always have related and will relate': cp. the similar future in 13. 20, 4; H. 3. 51, 4; Agr. 10, 1. On the other version of this story, given in Suet. Cl. 29, and accepted by some critics, see Introd. p. 42.

8. **inhorruerat,** 'had shuddered,' used with dat. in H. 3. 84, 6.

quos, etc., the freedmen. It is stated by Dio (60. 31, 2) that they turned against Messalina when she destroyed Polybius.

9. **si res verterentur,** 'if a revolution ensued'; if the bold design of Silius (c. 26, 2) succeeded: cp. 'verso civitatis statu' (1. 4, 1); 'versa . . . civitas' (12. 7, 5).

10. **histrio,** Mnester: see on c. 4, 2; 36, 1.

11. **insultaverit.** This reading of most recent edd. after ed. Bip., is supported by 4. 59, 5 (where see note). J. F. Gron. had attempted to approach nearer to the Med. 'exultabero' by reading 'exultaverit,' and taking that verb as an equivalent of ἐξορχεῖσθαι, which, besides its use of the pantomimist's art, is used also in the sense of insulting or disgracing. But no

nunc iuvenem nobilem dignitate formae vi mentis ac propinqu consulatu maiorem ad spem adcingi; nec enim occultum, qui post tale matrimonium superesset. subibat sine dubio metu reputantes hebetem Claudium et uxori devinctum multasqu mortes iussu Messalinae patratas: rursus ipsa facilitas imperatori fiduciam dabat, si atrocitate criminis praevaluissent, posse opprim damnatam ante quam ream; sed in eo discrimen verti, si defensi audiretur, utque clausae aures etiam confitenti forent.

29. Ac primo Callistus, iam mihi circa necem *Gai* Caesar

trace of any such meaning appears to be found in the Latin verb; nor does any attempt to explain this reading (see Walth., Ritt. 1838, Frost) appear successful. Ritt. now (1864) reads 'in cubiculum . . . exultaverit,' apparently in the sense of 'has made a spring into.' Several other emendations have been suggested, but have not found favour.

excidium, sc. 'principis': cp. 'excidio ipsius' (12. 45, 2).

1. **dignitate formae**. This emendation of Lips. for the Med. 'dignitate, forma,' is supported by 12. 51, 5 (cp. Suet. Cl. 30). Nipp. would take the ablatives as dependent on 'adcingi'; but it seems better to take them (with Jacob) as brachylogical ablatives of quality; the real instrumental abl. with the verb being supplied from 'tale matrimonium.' On 'propinquo consulatu,' see c. 5, 3, and note.

2. **adcingi**, refl., 'was arming himself,' bracing his energies: cp. 4. 66, 1; 15, 51, 5, etc.

4. **hebetem**; so used of dullness of intellect in 14. 11, 3, etc.

5. **facilitas**, 'pliability'; so used again of Claudius in 12. 61, 4, and of Galba (H. 1. 2, 5), and others.

6. **atrocitate**, 'through the enormity of the charge': on such abl. of objective cause, see Introd. i. v. § 30.

7. **ream**, 'placed on trial.'

sed in eo, etc., 'the crisis turned on the chance whether she would get a hearing, and on the necessity of closing his ears even against a confession.' For a similar expression with some difference of meaning, cp. 'salus Galliarum in discrimine verteretur' (H. 4. 85, 5). 'Si' and 'utque' are expository of 'in eo'; such a coordination being, according to Dr., unprecedented even in Tacitus, and apparently due to the desire of brevity: the sense of 'si' is somewhat similar to that in 1. 48, 1 (where see note); and 'utqu (as Nipp. notes) appears to be abbreviat for 'et quod efficiendum esset, ut.'

9. **ac primo**, etc. The connection b tween this chapter and the last is obscu and is the subject of a dissertation J. H. Müller, Beitr. iv. 4, foll. It see best to take 'primo' and 'dein' as r ferring to two stages of the plan of acti following on the general discussion of t situation given above. They could s plainly that if she was to be accused at a her condemnation must be secured b sudden stroke. The peril of this cou led them to consider first whether th could not gain their practical object separating her from Silius) without act accusation, by merely threatening to vulge her intercourse with him, keep in reserve their knowledge of the ulter designs. On further thought, Pallas a Callistus see the danger of her turn upon them and prevailing with Clau against them, and resolve to do noth Narcissus persists, but agrees in reject the present plan, and falls back on e original and bolder course.

Callistus. Scribonius Largus, wo dedicated to him his treatise on medic gives him his full title, C. Iulius Claud Callistus, showing that he took na from both his patrons. His contempt beginnings are alluded to by Seneca (Ep 47, 9); his great influence under Ga and his unscrupulous self-enrichment are mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 19. 1, 1) the thirty splendid onyx columns of his dining-chamber are described by Pl (N. H. 36. 7, 12, 60). That he was privy to the assassination of Gaius is affirmed by Josephus (l. l.) and Dio (59. 29, 1); but Tacitus had prob shown his share in the plot more fully His department under Claudius app to have been 'a libellis.'

mihi narratus = 'de quo narr

ırratus, et Appianae caedis molitor Narcissus flagrantissimaque › in tempore gratia Pallas agitavere, num Messalinam secretis ıinis depellerent amore Silii, cuncta alia dissimulantes. dein ıetu, ne ad perniciem ultro traherentur, desistunt, Pallas per ;naviam, Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus et potentiam ıutis quam acribus consiliis tutius haberi: perstitit Narcissus, :t solum id immutans, ne quo sermone praesciam criminis et ccusatoris faceret: ipse ad occasiones intentus, longa apud ›stiam Caesaris mora, duas paelices, quarum is corpori maxime ısueverat, largitione ac promissis et uxore deiecta plus potentiae stentando perpulit delationem subire.

30. Exim Calpurnia (id paelici nomen), ubi datum secretum, enibus Caesaris provoluta nupsisse Messalinam Silio exclamat;

ipp. compares 'Agricola . . . narratus' \gr. 46, 4); also Vell. 2. 29, 2; Plin. a., etc. On the use of 'circa' ('con- rning') see Introd. i. v. § 58.

1. **Appianae**, that of Ap. Junius Si- nus (on whom see 4. 68, 1, and note). acitus alludes to what had no doubt en mentioned in its proper place (795, D. 42), that he had become the step- ther of Messalina (see on c. 37, 4), and d refused to yield to her desire, and was ıt to death by a plot arranged between r and Narcissus, who made up a dream out him to frighten Claudius (Dio, 60. , 3; Suet. Cl. 37). Nipp. notes that e rarity of the praenomen Appius makes ppianae' a sufficient designation.

Narcissus, called Ti. Claudius Nar- ssus in Insc. Or. 720. He had the de- rtment of secretary ('ab epistulis' Suet. . 28), and is often mentioned. On his ath, see 13. 1, 4.

flagrantissima . . . gratia, abl. of ality. The word is so used metaphori- lly with 'amicitia' (13. 45, 4) and ibertas' (14. 39, 3), etc. On the ex- ession 'eo in tempore' see Introd. i. v. 26; also 13. 47, 2; 15. 7, 2.

2. **Pallas**, a freedman of Antonia, who ıployed him to disclose the plot of ianus to Tiberius (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6); so brother of Felix (12. 54, 1). He d the department of treasurer or 'a tionibus' (Suet. Cl. 28), and is con- ıntly mentioned. On his death see 14. , 1.

agitavere. The use of this verb with um' (H. 1. 19, 5) and other interroga- re particles (13. 41, 1; H. 3. 1, 2) ems especially Tacitean.

secretis, addressed to her privately.

3. **alia dissimulantes**, 'concealing their knowledge of all else,' i. e. of the conspiracy (c. 26, 2).

4. **ultro**, i. e. lest they should not only fail but bring themselves to ruin (cp. 3. 36, 1).

5. **prioris . . . regiae**, the court of Gaius (see above), rhetorically called 'regia' (cp. 1. 4, 4; 4. 3, 3).

peritus, used by zeugma with 'ha- beri' in the sense of 'expertus.' Ritt. needlessly inserts 'certus' after 'haberi.'

6. **perstitit**, in contrast to 'desistunt' above, meaning that he persisted in the resolve to take action of some sort.

7. **set solum**. Nipp. follows Halm in so reading for Med. 'ut solum.' Other texts omit 'ut' or alter to 'ac' or 'at.' Walth. would retain the Med. text and explain it to mean 'ita perstitit ut . . . mutaret.'

8. **intentus**, so with 'ad' (4. 67, 5; 14. 24, 6, etc.) and 'in' (6. 19, 4; H. 4. 18, 1, etc.).

longa . . . mora, abl. abs.

9. **paelices**. Such persons were usually freedwomen, as Acte (13. 12, 1), Caenis (Suet. Vesp. 3), etc.: see Friedl. i. 106, foll.

10. **insueverat**, with dat. as in c. 3, 2.

11. **perpulit . . . subire**: so all edd. after Puteol., for Med. 'perculit.' On the construction cp. 6. 33, 1, and note.

12. **secretum**, 'private interview': cp. 3. 8, 4, etc.

13. **genibus . . . provoluta**: so in 12. 18, 3; 14. 61, 3; also Justin, 11. 9, 14 ('provoluta genibus Alexandri'). Similar expressions are 'pedibus advolutus' (1.

simul Cleopatram, quae id opperiens adstabat, an comperisset interrogat, atque illa adnuente cieri Narcissum postulat. is veniam in praeteritum petens, quod ei Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset, nec nunc adulteria obiecturum ait, nedum domum servitia et ceteros fortunae paratus reposceret. frueretur immo his, set redderet uxorem rumperetque tabulas nuptiales. 'an discidium' inquit 'tuum nosti? nam matrimonium Silii vidit populus et senatus et miles; ac ni propere agis, tenet urbem maritus.'

23, 2) 'advolvi genua' (1. 13, 7): the more usual expression is 'provolvi ad' (14. 2, 4, etc.).

2. **interrogat . . . postulat.** If, with Ritt., we were to take Claudius to be the subject of these verbs, it would be needful to follow him in inserting the name: but in that case some such verb as 'imperat' would have stood in place of 'postulat.' Calpurnia appeals in corroboration to Cleopatra, and then demands that Narcissus should be called, fully to confirm her statement.

3. **quod ei Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset,** 'for having concealed from him his knowledge of the adulteries of a Vettius, a Plautius.' The text is that of Nipp. for the corrupt Med., 'quod ei cis ueticis Plautio dimulauisset.' The plurals are rhetorical, as in 1. 10, 3, etc., and the names (on which see c. 31, 6: 37, 5) had apparently been already made familiar by Tacitus to his readers. It is very probable that 'cis' is the corruption of another name, but it is hardly well to read, with Brotier and Halm, 'Titios,' as a reference to Titius Proculus; that person being apparently (see c. 35, 6) neither previously known, nor one of her adulterers. Others have attempted to retain 'cis' by reading 'cis Vettios, Plautios' (Ritt.), or 'cis Vectios, cis Plautios' (J. F. Gron.), with the meaning 'while she did not go beyond these'; but 'cis' would rather exclude than include such persons; and we could hardly suppose such a phrase as 'dissimulare cis aliquem.'

4. **nec nunc.** On 'nec' with the force of 'ne . . . quidem,' see 2. 34, 7, and note: 'nunc' is used where, in obl. oratio, 'tunc' would be more regular (see Nipp. on 14. 35, 1).

nedum domum: so Halm for Med. 'ne domum,' which is retained by most edd., who take 'ne' as = 'nedum,' as in Cic. Fam. 9. 26, 2 'nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit, ne nunc senem' (cp. Sall. Cat. 11, 8; Liv. 3. 52, 9). Ritt would read 'nedum' alone, thinking tha the expression in Dio, 60. 31, 3 (οἰκίαν αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἐχαρίσατο) is to be understood, not of giving him a house, but o making his house a palace by her gifts The subject of 'obiecturum' is of cours Narcissus, but that of 'reposceret' woul more fitly be Claudius, and the whol passage is spoken in bitter irony. 'I wil say nothing of the acts of adultery, stil less must you think of reclaiming he gifts to him; let him only condescend t restore your wife to you and cancel th marriage.' It might be possible, wit similar irony, to take the reading 'ne . . reposceret' (with Pfitzn.) in the ordinar sense:—'I will say nothing of the adultery, lest such a charge should carry yo to the length of reclaiming her gifts.'

5. **immo,** in anastrophe, as in 12. 6, 4 15. 21, 4: so first in Liv. (35. 49, 3), an in Quint., etc.

set: so Halm and others after Acid for the Med. 'et'; which would give sufficient sense, but the omission of 's' i highly probable.

6. **rumperet tabulas.** The same expression is used of cancelling a marriag contract in Juv. 9, 75, etc.

an discidium, etc., 'do you kno that she has divorced you?' i. e. 'do yo know it and acquiesce in it?' The tran sition, to heighten the rhetorical effec from indirect to direct speech, is thu introduced with 'inquit' in 16. 22, 2; an without it in 2. 77, 5; 3. 46, 3; 4. 40, 5 H. 3. 2, 8, and in several places in Livy

7. **nam,** etc., i. e., 'it would seem s for all the city has seen the marriage, an assumes your acquiescence, and the on question now is whether the husband your wife is also master of Rome.'

8. **populus et senatus et miles.** I this formula, as in 1. 7, 3, 'populus' used for 'plebs,' which is substitute for it in 14. 11, 1: see Momms. Staats iii. 1255, 2.

31. Tum potissimum *quemque* amicorum vocat, primumque rei umentariae praefectum Turranium, post Lusium Getam prae- ›rianis inpositum percontatur. quis fatentibus certatim ceteri rcumstrepunt; iret in castra, firmaret praetorias cohortes, secu- tati ante quam vindictae consuleret. satis constat eo pavore ffusum Claudium, ut identidem interrogaret, an ipse imperii po- ens, an Silius privatus esset. at Messalina non alias solutior luxu, dulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat. rgueri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsulta- ant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo

1. **potissimum quemque.** Halm, ipp., and others insert the latter word ter MS. Agr. Others, as Or. and Ritt., ad 'potissimos' (after Mercer), follow- g 13. 18, 1; 14. 65, 1. Walth. ıdeavours to defend the Med. text, by king 'potissimum' as a neuter, and refers › 15. 61, 4, which is not really apposite. he retinue of Claudius at Ostia is seen › have included two eminent senators . 33, 3), two equestrian praefecti, and ıe freedman Narcissus: cp. the 'comi- tus' of Tiberius (4. 58, 1).

2. **C. Turranium.** He was already olding the office of 'annonae praefectus' on the functions of which see Momms. taatsr. ii. 1041) thirty-four years pre- ously (see 1. 7, 3, and note). Faenius ufus afterwards held it for some years 3. 22, 1; 14. 51, 5).

Lusium Getam. On his character, e c. 33, 1; on his subsequent removal om office, 12. 42, 1. The other prae- ct, Rufrius Crispinus (c. 1, 3), was no oubt in Rome.

4. **castra,** the praetorian camp (see 4. 1).

6. **offusum,** 'was overpowered.' The ord does not seem to be elsewhere so sed of persons; but the sense resembles ıat in Cic. Fin. 3. 14, 45 ('offunditur ce solis lumen lucernae'), and Val. lax. 2. 7, 6 ('oculos clarissima in luce nebris offusos'). In c. 20, 1, etc., the gure is different.

an ipse, etc., 'am I emperor? is ilius a subject?' 'Privatus' is thus sed in contrast with 'princeps' in H. 21, 1; 49, 8, etc., more usually in ontrast with 'magistratus,' as in 4. 19, etc.

7. **solutior luxu,** 'more abandoned wantonness': cp. 'pax . . . soluta' . 50, 7).

8. **adulto** = ἀκμάζοντος: cp. 2. 23, 1, and note. The time would thus appear to be about the middle of October, in which month an old rustic kalendar (Or. ii. p. 381; C. I. L. i. p. 359) notes 'Vindemiae sacrum Libero.' The usual period of the vintage is marked by the opening sacrifice on the 19th of August (Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 333), and by the 'vindemialis feria' from Aug. 22 to Oct. 15 (Cod. 3. tit. 12), which latter day was also specially kept (C. I. L. i. p. 404, note; Henzen 6112). Ritter (1838) seems wrong in supposing that the month of November is here meant.

simulacrum. This apparently only means that it was not a real vintage, but a representation, though apparently with real presses and wine.

per domum, 'in procession through the house' (that of Silius).

9. **urgueri prela, fluere lacus,** 'the presses are at work, the vats overflow with must.' The grapes, after being first trodden, were further squeezed in the press or 'torcular,' and the juice was received in what Cato (R. R. 25) speaks of as 'lacus vinarii picati.' 'Fluere' is thus used in Sil. 7, 190 ('fluxit mulctra mero').

pellibus accinctae, 'clad in the fawnskin' (νεβρίς): cp. Verg. Aen. 7, 396 ('Pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas').

adsultabant, apparently here alone used in the sense of 'iuxta saltabant. Nipp. thinks the word may also mean this in H. 4. 22, 3 ('adsultante per campos equite').

10. **fluxo** = 'fluitante.' Dr. notes that this word is nowhere else used of the hair; but the use may be compared with the bold figure 'fluxa arma' (H. 2. 99, 2), also 'fluxos . . . astrinxit amictus' (Luc. 2, 362), 'fluxa habena' (Liv. 38. 29, 6), etc.

thyrsum quatiens, iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere co thurnos, iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro. ferun Vettium Valentem lascivia in praealtam arborem conisum, interro gantibus quid aspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem sive coeperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium verti

32. Non rumor interea, sed undique nuntii incedunt, qu gnara Claudio cuncta et venire promptum ultioni adferren igitur Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius dissimulando met ad munia fori digrediuntur. ceteris passim dilabentibus adfuer centuriones, inditaque sunt vincla, ut quis reperiebatur in public aut per latebras. Messalina tamen, quamquam res adversa consilium eximerent, ire obviam et aspici a marito, quod saep subsidium habuerat, haud segniter intendit, misitque ut Britannicu

1. **hedera vinctus**, etc. It would appear that he assumed the character of Bacchus: cp. the description of M. Antonius (Vell. 2. 82, 4), 'cum redimitus hederis coronaque velatus aurea et thyrsum tenens cothurnisque succinctus curru velut Liber pater vectus esset Alexandreae.'

3. **Vettium Valentem**: cp. c. 30, 3; Pliny (N. H. 29. 1, 4, 8) mentions him among famous physicians ('Vettius Valens adulterio Messalinae Claudii Caesaris nobilitatus, pariterque eloquentiae adsectator'), and adds that his influence enabled him to be the founder of a school or sect. Another of the name was a distinguished soldier about this time, and afterwards (Henzen 6767; Wilm. 1617); two others occur two successive generations later (Wilm. 2117).

lascivia, 'in his gaiety' (abl. of manner): cp. 'lascivia epularum' (4. 48, 3).

conisum: so 'equitatus . . . in summum iugum . . . conititur' (Caes. B. C. 1. 46, 3).

5. **sive coeperat**, etc. Nipp. thinks it so remarkable that the obvious alternative suggestion (that Vettius meant ironically to predict what was coming) is ignored, that he suggests the probable loss, after 'lapsa,' of such words as 'vel consilio missa'; but 'in praesagium vertit' would hardly be said of an intentional prediction. It is certainly probable that 'tempestatem' is metaphorical; as the significance of 'coeperat' is hardly obvious, unless the 'species' described as beginning to show itself can be supposed to be the first rumour of danger indicated below. The conjectures of Lips. ('ceperat,' sc. 'animum') and Madvig ('ceper eam speciem') seem needless.

6. **rumor**, sc. 'incedit' (cp. 1. 5, supplied from 'incedunt.'

7. **gnara** = 'nota': on this Tacitean u cp. 1. 5, 4, and note.

promptum, with dat. cp. 1. 2, 1, a note: on the ellipse of 'eum,' see Intro i. v. § 8.

8. **Lucullianos** (see c. 1, 1): so edd., after Ber. for the Med. 'fuciliano

dissimulando metu (repeated i 69, 2), best taken as dat. (cp. Introd. v. § 32 b), but by some as abl. (see 14. 8, and note). Here Med. has 'met (the stroke being, according to Baiter, a later hand), whence 'metum' is re here by Orelli, and in both places Ritt.

9. **ceteris . . . dilabentibus**, best tak as abl. abs. Nipp. notes that it is impli that Silius also was arrested; Messali alone being excepted by the context.

12. **consilium eximerent**: cp. 'co stantiam exemerat' (1. 32, 1). She h no time to deliberate, but, as it we instinctively took this course (Nipp.).

13. **intendit**, 'makes up her mind this verb is so used with inf. in 2. 12, 22, 5: so 'oravit . . . adire' below (cp. 2, 3, and note), and many other such u (Introd. i. v. § 43).

misitque, 'and sent orders.' T correction of Halm has been genera followed, and is supported by H. 4. 21 ('mittitque legatos . . . ut . . . acciperent Med. has 'missique' (the second 's' bei written above by a later hand), the co mon text 'iussitque' (from G. 'iussique It is to be supposed that her childr

Octavia in complexum patris pergerent. et Vibidiam, virginum estalium vetustissimam, oravit pontificis maximi aures adire, ementiam expetere. atque interim, tribus omnino comitantibus id repente solitudinis erat—spatium urbis pedibus emensa, hiculo, quo purgamenta hortorum excipiuntur, Ostiensem viam rat, nulla cuiusquam misericordia, quia flagitiorum deformitas aevalebat.

33. Trepidabatur nihilo minus a Caesare: quippe Getae aetorii praefecto haud satis fidebant, ad honesta seu prava xta levi. ergo Narcissus, adsumptis quibus idem metus, non am spem incolumitatis Caesaris adfirmat, quam si ius milin uno illo die in aliquem libertorum transferret, seque ert suscepturum. ac ne, dum in urbem revehitur, ad paenitiam a L. Vitellio et Largo Caecina mutaretur, in eodem stamine sedem poscit adsumiturque.

e not with her, but probably in the atium.

. **vetustissimam**: as such, she would virgo Vestalis maxima' (see 2. 86, 1, note). Nipp. cites an inscription at ens (C. I. Att. iii. 1. 875) referring evitly to her as ἱ]ερὰν παρθένον . . . ίου Οὐίρος [θυγατέρα], and another (id. 603) to father Σ]έξτον Οὐιβίδιον Οὐίρρωνα. tenberger thinks (Eph. Epig. i. 108) that was daughter of the person mentioned . 38, 3 (where the Med. text has rronem'), and that, if so, she must become a Vestal before his expulsion n the senate, i. e. at least thirty-four s before the present date.

avit, with inf.: cp. 6. 2, 3, and note.

ontificis maximi; cp. 3. 58, 4, She could most fitly demand audience he princeps in this capacity. The edness of the person of the Vestals ed them to be often employed as cessors: cp. Cic. pro Font. 21 [17], Suet. Iul. 1; H. 3. 81, 3. On the onification of 'aures,' cp. 1. 31, 5, note.

id . . . solitudinis, noted by Dr. as ry rare use for 'tanta solitudo.'

atium urbis, 'the whole breadth he city,' from the gardens on the ian to the 'via Ostiensis,' which s the present walls by the Porta olo, close to the pyramid of Cestius.

praevalebat, 'had more weight in minds': cp. 1. 58, 7.

a Caesare. The use of the pl. bant' (altered in older edd. to 'fidebat') leads Nipp. to consider that 'ad Caesarem' must be read; but it seems possible (with Dr.) to take the words to mean 'on the side of Caesar' (cp. 'ab Romanis' 4. 25, 3), and to suppose his advisers to be included in the expression.

10. **iuxta levi**, 'alike unstable.' 'Levis' is thus opposed to 'destrictus' in 4. 36, 5, and 'ad' has often the force of 'in respect to': cp. 'stabile ad poenitentiam' (1. 43, 5); also 1. 40, 3; 6. 7, 3; 14. 23, 1, etc. On the force of 'iuxta,' see Introd. i. v. § 61; 12. 10, 1; 17, 2; 49, 1, etc.

11. **incolumitatis**, 'of life': cp. the use of 'incolumis' in 3. 30, 6; 14. 1, 1, etc.

ius militum, 'the control of the soldiers': cp. 'iura libertorum' (H. 2. 92, 5).

13. **revehitur**; so Halm and others for the Med. 'refertur uehitur.' Baiter reads the former word only, most others the latter only; the other word being in each case regarded as a gloss.

14. **et Largo Caecina**. Med. has 'P' instead of 'et'; which was taken as a praenomen ('et' being by some inserted before it), but which most recent edd., after Nipp., take to be the corruption of an abbreviation of 'et.' The only person of the name known to us is C. Largus Caecina (see the Acta Arv. C. I. L. vi. 1, 2028–2035, A.D. 38–54), who was consul with Claudius in 795, A.D. 42, remaining the whole year in office (Dio, 60. 10, 1), and was known to the elder Pliny in his youth (N. H. 17. 1, 5). Tacitus had no doubt already mentioned him.

15. **gestamine**. This word has else-

34. Crebra post haec fama fuit, inter diversas principis voce cum modo incusaret flagitia uxoris, aliquando ad memoriar coniugii et infantiam liberorum revolveretur, non aliud prolocutur Vitellium quam 'o facinus! o scelus!' instabat quidem Narcissu aperiret ambages et veri copiam faceret: sed non ideo pervici quin suspensa et quo ducerentur inclinatura responderet exem ploque eius Largus Caecina uteretur. et iam erat in aspect Messalina clamitabatque audiret Octaviae et Britannici matren cum obstrepere accusator, Silium et nuptias referens; simu codicillos libidinum indices tradidit, quis visus Caesaris ave teret. nec multo post urbem ingredienti offerebantur com munes liberi, nisi Narcissus amoveri eos iussisset. Vibidiam d pellere nequivit, quin multa cum invidia flagitaret, ne indefen coniunx exitio daretur. igitur auditurum principem et fo diluendi criminis facultatem respondit: iret interim virgo sacra capesseret.

where in Tacitus the defining genitive 'lecticae' (2. 2, 5) or 'sellae' (14. 4, 6; 15. 57, 3). Here it must mean a carriage of some kind, capable of holding four persons. 'Gestari' (as in Sen. Ep. 122, 15; Mart. 1. 12, 8: Juv. 7, 179) and 'gestatio' (as in Suet. Cl. 33) are used of taking a drive in a carriage, as of any other mode of conveyance.

adsumiturque: so recent edd. generally, after Walth., for the Med. 'adsumitque'; which would be used properly of Claudius (cp. 'vehiculum ascendit, adsumit uxorem' Plin. Ep. 3. 1, 5), and is here apparently an error of abbreviation. Older editions read sumitque' (sc. 'sedem'), after inferior MSS.

2. **modo . . . aliquando**, a coordination not unfrequent in Tacitus (1. 70, 4; 81, 2; 6. 31, 5; 16. 10, 5; H. 2. 74, 4), and apparently peculiar to him.

3. **infantiam**, taken in pregnant sense for 'the thought of their infancy': cp. Introd. i. v. § 84. Nipp. notes that a term so taken is usually joined to and explained by another in ordinary sense (as here 'memoriam'): cp. 4. 3, 3, and note; also 'orsus a questu periculisque' (H. 4. 32, 3), and many other instances here given by him.

4. **instabat . . . aperiret**, etc., 'was pressing him to explain his riddle and give a chance of seeing his real meaning. This correction of Halm (after Madvig, Adv. ii. 551) for the Med. 'aperire' 'facere' seems necessitated by the chan of subject in 'aperiret': the passage Cic. Verr. 2. 3, 59, 136 ('instat . . . p cere recuperatores'), is not parallel. 'A rire ambages' is thus used in H. 2. 78, 'aperire sententias' ('to speak out th opinions') in H. 2. 53, 1. For 'copi facere,' cp. 2. 7, 2; 4. 74, 3, etc.

5. **non ideo**: cp. 1. 12, 6, and note

pervicit quin. Dr. notes this pression (cp. 15. 57, 2) as new, cit as the nearest parallel 'nec . . . va quin' (Liv. 4. 44, 2).

6. **suspensa**, etc., 'hesitating pressions (cp. 1. 11, 4) and such as wo lend themselves to any interpretati His words above might be underst of Messalina's guilt or of that of accusers. For this sense of 'ducere' 6. 5, 2, and note.

9. **cum obstrepere**, so most edd. a Acid. for Med. 'obstreperet': the hist. is often so used (see Introd. i § 46 b).

11. **communes liberi**: cp. 'c munem filium' (1. 40, 3). Here word would distinguish Octavia and tannicus from their half-sister Ant (12. 2, 1).

12. **Vibidiam**; see c. 32, 5.

13. **multa cum invidia**, 'with m reproachful expressions': cp. 3. 6 and note.

5. Mirum inter haec silentium Claudii, Vitellius ignaro ›ior: omnia liberto oboediebant. patefieri domum adulteri ıe illuc deduci imperatorem iubet. ac primum in vestibulo ;iem patris Silii consulto senatus abolitam demonstrat, tum lquid avitum Neronibus et Drusis in pretium probri cessisse. ›nsumque et ad minas erumpentem castris infert, parata tione militum; apud quos praemonente Narcisso pauca verba t: nam etsi iustum dolorem pudor impediebat. continuus ›inc cohortium clamor nomina reorum et poenas flagitantium; ıotusque Silius tribunali non defensionem, non moras temp- t, precatus ut mors adceleraretur. eadem constantia et stres equites Romani cupidi maturae necis fuerunt. Titium culum, custodem a Silio Messalinae datum et indicium

ignaro propior, 'resembled one ›nscious': cp. 4. 22, 1; 14. 3, 6; 15. .

domum, see c. 30, 3.

patris Silii. The mention of his and death (4. 18–20) records no e respecting his statues; and the ›bition of any possession of the statue condemned ancestor in a house (see , 4; 16. 7, 3, and notes) is somewhat ıd the usual practice; though their ›as forbidden at funerals (see 2. 32, 76, 5, and note).

quidquid avitum. This correction Ied. 'habitum' is supported by the rence of a similar error in 13. 34, 3; . On the heirlooms of the imperial ;, given by Messalina to Silius, see on c. 12, 5. 'Neronibus et Drusis' ›oupled in 1. 28, 6, and denote the ›es of the Claudii Nerones and Livii ;, united in the descendants of lius Nero and Livia (see 5. 1, 1, and).

pretium probri cessisse, 'had to swell the reward of infamy': cp. retium belli cessurae' (H. 1. 11, 4), imilar expressions in H. 1. 70, 4; ›; also 'cedere in imperium,' 'in am' (Liv. 1. 52, 1; 6. 14, 12), and mewhat similar use by Tacitus with onal accus. (1. 1, 3, and note).

praemonente, aoristic present: cp. , 1, also 'respondens' (H. 2. 4, 3), tentem' (Agr. 9, 1), and other in- s given in Introd. i. v. § 54 a. The el expression in 12. 69, 1 ('monente cto') suggests that here, as there, ›nition is addressed to the soldiers, ›hom Narcissus for a time assumes the position of praefect (c. 33, 2). The context shows that Claudius was glad to be spared some of the recital.

8. etsi iustum, taken closely with 'dolorem.' 'His indignation, however justified, could hardly express itself for shame.' The sentence thus explains 'pauca.'

10. tribunali. Such an erection was part of the 'principia' in a camp: cp. 1. 18, 3.

12. cupidi . . . fuerunt: so Halm and Dr., after Haase; the older edd. read 'cupidos . . . fecit,' after G; Orelli, Ritter, and Jacob follow Nipp. in giving the words of the Med. text ('cupido naturae necis fuit') and bracketing them as a gloss. The probability that the names of these knights were added leads Ritt. to add 'Cotta ac . . . Fabius' (from Sen. Lud. 13, 4): Nipp. would take 'eadem constantia' (sc. 'fuere') as abl. of quality, and supposes that the knights are those whose names follow, and that 'et,' repeated in Med. before 'Titium,' is used to specify (as in 2. 50, 1; 3. 38, 1); but certainly Titius Proculus could not have been said to have shown the same 'constantia' as Silius.

13. custodem, etc. It was not uncommon for the husband to take this means for ensuring the fidelity of his wife, or for her to do the like by him. Cp. 'Custodes das, Polla, viro, non accipis ipsa' (Mart. 10. 69, 1); 'Quos igitur tibi custodes, quae limina ponam?' (Prop. 2. 6, 37); 'quis custodiet ipsos Custodes' (Juv. 6, 347: cp. 235); also Ov. Am. 2. 3, 1; A. A. 3, 612, etc. The assignment of such a guardian in this case was part of the irony of the marriage.

offerentem, Vettium Valentem confessum et Pompeium Urbic ac Saufeium Trogum ex consciis tradi ad supplicium iub Decrius quoque Calpurnianus vigilum praefectus, Sulpicius Ru ludi procurator, Iuncus Vergilianus senator eadem poena adfe

36. Solus Mnester cunctationem attulit, dilaniata veste clar tans aspiceret verberum notas, reminisceretur vocis, qua obnoxium iussis Messalinae dedisset: aliis largitione aut s magnitudine, sibi ex necessitate culpam; nec cuiquam a pereundum fuisse, si Silius rerum poteretur. commotum his pronum ad misericordiam Caesarem perpulere liberti, ne inlustribus viris interfectis histrioni consuleretur: sponte coactus tam magna peccavisset, nihil referre. ne Trauli quid

1. **indicium offerentem.** Instances are given under Tiberius (6. 3, 5; 7, 5) of those who saved their own lives by informing against others.

2. **Saufeium Trogum.** Nipp. thinks this may be the person whose name is written in Sen. Lud. 13, 4, as M. Helvius Trogus. The others here mentioned are unknown except from c. 30, 3.

tradi, 'to be delivered to the executioner'; so 'supplicio traditum' (Suet. Vit. 14); 'carnifici tradidit' (Id. Cal. 32); 'traditus est undecimviris' (Nep. Phoc. 4, 2). 'Claudius' is supplied from the sense as subject of 'iubet.'

3. **vigilum praefectus.** This was an important equestrian office. On the 'vigiles' see Introd. i. vii. p. 91.

4. **ludi procurator,** 'superintendent of a school of gladiators.' A permanent imperial institution of this kind, known to have existed as early as the time of Gaius (Plin. N. H. 11. 37, 54, 144), and probably the 'ludus matutinus' in the second region ('Coelimontana'), served for the regular training of the large corps of gladiators required for the shows given by the emperor. Its procurators were of equestrian rank, and are mentioned in inscriptions (e. g. Henzen 6520, Wilm. 1273). Another, entitled 'ludus magnus,' is also known, but was probably instituted (as were also two others, 'ludus Dacicus' and 'Gallicus') after the building of the Flavian amphitheatre, near which it was situated. See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1070, foll.; Friedl. Sitteng. ii. p. 335; Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen, p. 179. It is suggested by Prof. Holbrooke that these officers were intended to bring the gladiators and 'vigiles' to support the revolution.

Iuncus Vergilianus, apparently same person who is mentioned am the list of victims by Seneca (Lud. 1 under the name of 'Iunius praetor As 'Iuncus' is known as a Roman n from the Pisan cenotaph (Wilm. 88 59), we cannot decide in which au the name is correctly given. 'Sena is here added to distinguish him from knights. The list in Seneca omits names of Titius Proculus, Pompeius bicus, Decrius, and Sulpicius Rufus, adds those of Cotta and Fabius.

5. **Mnester**: see c. 4, 2.

dilaniata. The word is prop used of persons (cp. c. 22, 2); but has 'vincula dilaniat' (M. 10, 387), 'dilaniata comas' (Am. 3. 9, 52).

6. **verberum,** the stripes receive resisting Messalina's will.

reminisceretur vocis, etc. states (60. 22, 5) that Messalina, having in vain tempted him by rew and threats, procured a general injun from Claudius, that he was 'to obe in all things.' 'Obnoxius' is used i sense of 'under dominion of' or ' to' in 3. 34, 5; 58, 4, etc.

7. **largitione . . . magnitudine,** sal ablatives.

9. **rerum poteretur**: so ' adeptus est,' of Galba's accessio 55, 1).

10. **ne . . . histrioni consuler** For the use of 'consulere' in the of 'parcere' see 3. 16, 5, and note. he was beheaded, is gathered fro expression of Seneca (Lud. 13, 4), 'M pantomimus, quem Claudius decoris minorem (sc. capite) fecerat.'

12. **Trauli Montani,** the Sex. T of Sen. (l. l.).

ɪntani equitis Romani defensio recepta est. is modesta inventa, . corpore insigni, accitus ultro noctemque intra unam a ssalina proturbatus erat, paribus lasciviis ad cupidinem et tidia. Suillio Caesonino et Plautio Laterano mors remittitur, ic ob patrui egregium meritum : Caesoninus vitiis protectus est, nquam in illo foedissimo coetu passus muliebria.

37. Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, nponere preces, nonnulla spe et aliquando ira : tantum inter rema superbiae gerebat. ac ni caedem eius Narcissus pro-avisset, verterat pernicies in accusatorem. nam Claudius num regressus et tempestivis epulis delenitus, ubi vino incaluit, iubet nuntiarique miserae (hoc enim verbo usum ferunt) endam ad causam postero die adesset. quod ubi auditum et guescere ira, redire amor ac, si cunctarentur, propinqua nox uxorii cubiculi memoria timebantur, prorumpit Narcissus ıuntiatque centurionibus et tribuno, qui aderat, exsequi

. **ultro**, i.e. by her, without any over-s on his part.

. **paribus lasciviis**, abl. abs., 'her ust being no less capricious than her re.'

. **Suillio Caesonino**, one of the sons ?. Suillius (c. 2, 2). His cognomen ears to be taken from Caesonia, the of Gaius, who was his father's half-r (see on c. 18, 1; 4. 31, 5).

lautio Laterano. He was ex-ed from the senate (13. 11, 2), and subsequently involved in the con-acy of Piso and put to death (15. 49, 50, 1). The uncle here alluded to is Plautius Silvanus, the commander of great invasion of Britain (see 13. 32, Agr. 34, 1; Introd. pp. 132, foll.).

tamquam = ὡς: see Introd. i. v. § 67.

Lucullianis in hortis: cp. c. 32, . She had gone back there after her rview with Claudius (c. 34, 3).

componere preces, 'draws up a tion' (= 'litteras supplices'). Similar cise expressions are 'componere res' 1, 5), 'res gestas' (4. 34, 3), 'vitam' ıl. 14, 4), etc.

ntum . . . superbiae gerebat. t recent edd. rightly follow Bezzenb. ius correcting the Med. 'tantum . . . rbia egebat'; such wrong division of ls and loss of a syllable being com-errors in this and other MSS. The r edd. read 'tanta . . . superbia age-(after G).

9. **properavisset.** For the transitive use of this verb cp. 1. 56, 2, and note, and several instances given by Nipp. on 13. 17, 3.

10. **verterat**, indic. for subjunct. (Introd. i. v. § 50 c); intrans., as in c. 31, 6, etc.

11. **tempestivis**, 'early,' 'before the proper hour': so in H. 2. 68, 2, and in several passages of Cic. and other authors, given by Lips. in his Excursus to 14. 2. In early times to dine 'de die' (before sunset) had been a mark of luxury (see Catull. 47, 5; Hor. Od. 1. 1, 20, etc.); but at this time the 'hora nona' had become the customary time (Mart. 4. 8, 6); and, to epicures, a feast at even an earlier hour (cp. 14, 2, 1, and note) was 'in good time.'

12. **nuntiari**, 'that she should be ordered by message'; so in 2. 65, 1: cp. 'scribere' ('to command by letter') 12. 29, 2, etc.

13. **ubi auditum**, etc. The construction of the temporal clauses is varied from perfect to historical infin. (cp. Introd. i. v. § 46 c), and again to imperf.

16. **denuntiat**, 'commands': so used with infin. (acc. to Dr.) only here and in Apuleius; but a similar inf. is used with 'nuntio,' in this sense, in 16. 11, 1. The officers would be those of the cohort on duty at the Palatium (see 12, 69, 1).

caedem; ita imperatorem iubere. custos et exactor e liber Euodus datur. isque raptim in hortos praegressus reppe fusam humi, adsidente matre Lepida, quae florenti filiae ha concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta e suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur: transisse vitam neq aliud quam morti decus quaerendum. sed animo per libidi corrupto nihil honestum inerat; lacrimaeque et questus in ducebantur, cum impetu venientium pulsae fores adstititq tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis et servilit probris.

38. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspexit ferrumq accepit, quod frustra iugulo aut pectori per trepidationem adm vens ictu tribuni transigitur. corpus matri concessum. nunt tumque Claudio epulanti perisse Messalinam, non distincto s an aliena manu. nec ille quaesivit, poposcitque poculum et sol convivio celebravit. ne secutis quidem diebus odii gaudii, i tristitiae, ullius denique humani adfectus signa dedit, non c

1. **custos et exactor**, sc. 'supplicii.' He was to prevent her escape and see the sentence executed. In 3. 14, 7 the terms are contrasted, 'custos saluti an mortis exactor.'

e libertis, sc. 'Caesaris' (as in 13. 21, 2; 14. 39, 1). Euodus is thought to be the same as the freedman of Tiberius of that name mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 8). The form of the name in inscriptions (see Friedl. Sitteng. i. 77, 7) is 'Euhodus.'

2. **praegressus**, 'going on before them.' In the Med. 'p̄gressus' the stroke is thought to be by a later hand: G, and several edd. read 'progressus'; but 'raptim' favours the Med. text. The whole passage would show that he obtained admittance privately, and took note of the state of affairs (which is described by the imperfects), but did not come forward openly till the whole body burst in. Prof. Holbrooke takes the word to mean only that he marched in front, and that they all entered together.

3. **matre Lepida**, Domitia Lepida, daughter of L. Domitius and the elder Antonia (see Introd. i. ix. p. 140). On her character, and her death at the instigation of Agrippina, see 12. 64, 4, foll.

haud concors. Her second husband, Appius Silanus (Dio, 60. 14, 3) had suffered death through Messalina (c. 1, and note).

4. **supremis necessitatibus**, 'her extremity': so used in H. 1. 3, 1.

ad miserationem evicta; so 'eva (v. l. 'victa') in lacrimas' (1. 57, 5), gaudium' (H. 2. 64, 5).

8. **ducebantur**, 'were being pr longed,' used strictly with 'questus' 'ducere . . . voces' Verg. Aen. 4, and by zeugma with 'lacrimae.'

9. **per silentium**, 'in silence': this use of 'per' see Introd. i. v. § 62

11. **introspexit**, 'looked her fate in face' (fully realised it): so used of serving narrowly in 3. 60, 6; H. 2. 2, etc.

12. **accepit**, 'took into her hand.'

iugulo aut pectori, 'now to her throat, now to her breast.' Similar of 'aut' are noted on 1. 55, 2.

13. **transigitur**: so used in 2. 68; 14. 9, 4; 37, 6; Phaedr. 3. 10, Luc., etc.

14. **non distincto**, 'without distinction drawn'; a solitary instance (acc. Dr.) of the employment of this particle in the use of the abl. abs. noted in Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

15. **nec ille quaesivit.** His indifference in a less striking case is noted c. 2, 5; see also Introd. p. 48.

antes accusatores aspiceret, non cum filios maerentes. iuvitque vionem eius senatus censendo nomen et effigies privatis ac licis locis demovendas. decreta Narcisso quaestoria insignia, ssimum fastidio eius, cum supra Pallantem et Callistum ret, † honesta quidem, sed ex quis deterrima orerentur stitiis multis].

filios, 'his son and daughter': for ar uses of the masculine to denote ns of both sexes see Introd. i. v. ; also 'soceros' in Verg. Aen. 2, 'regum' (of a king and a princess) n. Med. 56.

censendo, etc. For similar decrees . 17, 8; 6. 2, 1, etc., and notes on c. 35, . 18, 1; and other references given omms. Staatsr. iii. 1190: for an in-e of the erasure of Messalina's name)r. 709 (=Wilm. 898; C. I. L. vi. 1. ; for inscriptions in which it is re-d see Henzen 5401, 5402. No ls struck at Rome bearing her effigy ; but a good specimen from Nicaea hynia is engraved in Cohen, i. p. 268, ssists to identify other extant effigies, n have been, with more or less doubt, ied to her, such as the large gem in British Museum, and the statue, sar-, and cameo engraved in Visconti, om. pl. 28. A list, and full discus-of all of them is given in Bernoulli's 'Die Bildnisse der Römischen Kaiser hrer Angehörigen' (Berlin, 1886), i. 364. On her probable age see Introd. . 4.

quaestoria insignia: cp. 16. 33, 4, note on c. 4, 5. The extension of senatorial distinctions even to freed-(cp. 12. 53, 2), who not only were nators, but (until the time of Cara-) were incapable of becoming such, rs to originate with Claudius: see ns. Staatsr. i. p. 464.

evissimum, etc., 'a most insignifi-eward to his disdain, when he bore lf even above Pallas and Callistus' irst in the emperor's favour). Orelli and Walther retain the Med. 'fastidii' ('this honour was the least ground of his arrogance'); most of the older edd. read 'fastigii' (after several inferior MSS.). Cp. the language of Juvenal (14, 329) 'divitiae Narcissi, Indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius Paruit imperiis, uxorem occidere iussus.' To one who stood so high, an empty honour placing him on a level with the lowest rank of senators, would seem very little.

5. **honesta quidem**, etc. Most edd. treat these words as more or less corrupt. It is very probable that Tacitus concluded the Book with some general remark, similar perhaps to that in 1. 81, 4; but the words here stand in no relation to the immediate context, 'honesta' being only capable of a general reference to the de-served punishment of Messalina and her accomplices (and hardly an appropriate term even for this), and 'deterrima' to the following marriage destined to rise out of it. Also the harsh abl. abs. (for which some inferior MSS. and old edd. read 'flagitiis multis' or 'flagitiis in-ultis') is a weak conclusion, hardly strengthened, though simplified in point of construction, by reading (with Jacob) 'tristitiis simul multis.' The words bracketed, as above, by Halm, are omitted by Nipp.; and the whole sentence is bracketed by Ritt. and Dr. as the note of a reader, introduced into the text by a copyist. Others treat the words as fragmentary, and either suppose a new sentence to have begun with 'tristitiis multis' (as Baiter), or mark a lacuna before and after 'honesta quidem' (as Pfitzner).

APPENDIX I.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE ACTUAL SPEECH OF CLAUD AND THEIR RELATION TO THE VERSION GIVEN TACITUS (11. 24).

THE bronze table or tables[1] containing this document were dug at Lyons (Lugdunum) in 1524[2], and are preserved in the Museu that city. The inscription appears to have been first printed by Lip in his Excursus to the Annals, afterwards in Gruter's collection o scriptions (502), and often subsequently. The text here given is th Boissieu (Inscr. Antiques de Lyon, p. 136).

It is evident that we have here fragments of the actual spee Claudius; the whole of which, together with the decree of the se which followed it, was no doubt engraved and set up at Lugdunum, probably at other places in the provinces to which it related[3].

The speech is divided into paragraphs as here given, and in almo cases, the end of a word, except where it coincides with the end of a is indicated by a point, and in many, though not in all cases, accent placed upon long vowels. A few errors of the engraver in the divi of words, and in the words themselves, are pointed out in the notes[4].

A comparison of these fragments with the speech as given by Ta throws much light on the question how far he considered hims

[1] Boissieu treats it as certain that the two columns were originally united at the side; but the edge of the first column, on the side towards the second, is now in several places mutilated (see the italics in the text). Both are perfect at the bottom and defective at the top. Some of the letters now noted as wanting appear to have become defaced since the date of the early printed versions.

[2] The above date is that of sieu; Lips. gives it as 1529, Brot 1528.

[3] The practice of thus engravin portant speeches of the princeps, is tioned in Plin. Pan. 75.

[4] See notes on Col. i. 6; 21; 30; 37; 39. We should also exp new paragraph in ii. 30, where n indicated.

erty to ignore such documents, or to deal with them as he thought irable.

On the whole, the substance of the existing portions may be said to e been given, and the fact that they are represented by but a few tences would go to prove that the whole speech (as indeed the gments themselves suggest) was long and discursive, and could only brought into a space proportionate to the narrative of the Annals by ch omission and abridgment.

The sentences 'advenae in nos regnaverunt,' and 'Omnia, patres con-pti, quae nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere : plebeii magistratus t patricios' (§ 11), seem intended to answer to nearly the whole of the column; the continuation, 'Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae tium post Latinos,' appears to render the sense of the opening words he second. The sentences answering to the remainder of this column 'num paenitet Balbos ex Hispania[1] nec minus insignes viros e Gallia bonensi transivisse? manent posteri eorum nec amore in hanc riam nobis concedunt' (§ 4), and 'ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas, um breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum : continua inde ida pax' (§ 9).

The fact that the order of these sentences does not in any way espond to that of those in the original speech would show that itus, in that process of adaptation to his narrative which he describes he word 'invertere,'[2] considered himself fully at liberty to re-arrange vell as to condense, and to give the arguments in what seems to him e their most appropriate form and order.

The style and expression is thus his own, and the tedious antiquarian intry of Claudius is just sufficiently suggested to make the speech racteristic without being wearisome.

Our means of judgment are necessarily much limited by our inability compare the speeches as a whole; and it is also unfortunate for itus that the only instance in which we are thus able to bring him to k, is one in which such obligations to fidelity as he may have desired ecognise must have been sorely tried by the literary and rhetorical cts of his original.

[1] The allusion to the Spanish origin of Balbi does not appear in the actual h, but may have been transferred by us from some other part of it.

[2] Cp. 15. 63, 7, where he gives a reason for declining to relate the last words of Seneca.

Col. I.

mae rerum *nostr* . . . . . *sii* . . . . |

Equidem primam omnium illam cogitationem hominum, qua*m* maxime primam occursuram mihi provideo, deprecor, ne | quasi nova istam rem introduci exhorrescatis, sed illa | potius cogitetis, quam mu in hac civitate novata sint, e*t* | quidem statim ab origine urbis nostrae quod formas | statusque respublica nostra diducta sit. |

Quondam reges hanc tenuere urbem, nec tamen domesticis succe soribus eam tradere contigit. Supervenere alieni et quidem ex*ter* | ut Numa Romulo successerit ex Sabinis veniens, vicinus *qui* | dem, tunc externus, ut Anco Marcio Priscus Tarquinius. *Is* | propter temerat sanguinem, quod patre Demaratho C*o* | rinthio natus erat et Tarquinie matre generosa, sed inop*i* | , ut quae tali marito necesse habu succumbere, cum domi re | pelleretur a gerendis honoribus, postqu Romam migravit, | regnum adeptus est. Huic quoque et filio nepo eius (nam et | hoc inter auctores discrepat) insertus Servius Tullius nostros | sequimur, captiva natus Ocresia; si Tuscos, Caeli quonc

3. **maxime primam.** This unusual expression appears to be chosen, as Nipp. notes, to emphasize 'primam' without repeating 'omnium.'

6. **quod,** for 'quot.'

7. **diducta sit,** i. e. how many separate phases and constitutions it has taken.

8. **Quondam reges,** etc. The opening sentence of the Annals is very similar ('urbem Romam principio reges habuere'), and the subsequent changes are in that chapter briefly recapitulated.

domesticis, 'persons of their own family,' as opposed to those of other families ('alieni'), or of other peoples ('externi').

9. **Supervenere,** 'there ensued,' as the kingly office from time to time was vacated.

11. **'Is,'** inserted by Orelli, as probably lost in the mutilations of the right hand edge of this column.

12. **temeratum,** 'polluted' by the admixture of a non-citizen element.

Demaratho, probably an error of the engraver for 'Demarato': see 11. 14, 4; Liv. 1. 34, 2.

13. **sed inopi.** This, as Nipp. notes, is apparently a supposition suggested by the following words.

14. **succumbere,** so used in this sense with dative in Varr. R. R. 2 9, etc.

domi, at Tarquinii. In the acc given of his migration in Liv. 1. 3 otherwise substantially the same, his Tanaquil is made to take an impo part in guiding his movements.

16. **nam et hoc,** etc. The ge view, as given by Livy, makes Tarqu Superbus the son of Tarquinius Pri The idea that he was the grandson, st by the annalist L. Piso and approve Dion. Hal. (4. 7), is suggested b chronological difficulty arising from interposition of the forty years' rei Servius Tullius.

17. **insertus,** sc. 'est,' 'was inter between them.' This is to be taken Nipp., as a finite verb, and 'natus' apposition. A fresh sentence begin 'si Tuscos,' etc.

si nostros, etc. For the accou the origin of Servius Tullius see S Hist. Exam. of Liv. B. 1. p. 47.

18. **Ocresia.** The name is so w in Ov. F. 6. 627, and Pl. N. H. 36. 2 204, in other accounts 'Ocrisia' or ' sia.' She is represented as becom slave by the capture of the Lati Corniculum. The father of her c either made to be her former hu

| vennae sodalis fidelissimus omnisque eius casus comes, post | quam ria fortuna exactus cum omnibus reliquis Caeliani | exercitus Etruria cessit, montem Caelium occupavit et a duce suo | Caelio ita appelliius, mutatoque nomine (nam Tusce Mastarna | ei nomen erat) ita pellatus est, ut dixi, et regnum summa cum rei | p. utilitate optinuit. inde postquam Tarquini Superbi mores *in* | visi civitati nostrae esse eperunt, qua ipsius qua filiorum *eius*, | nempe pertaesum est mentes ni, et ad consules, annuos mag*is* | tratus, administratio rei p. transa est. |

Quid nunc commemorem dictaturae hoc ipso consulari *imp*e | rium entius repertum apud maiores nostros quo in *as* | perioribus bellis aut civili motu difficiliore uterentu*r*? | aut in auxilium plebis creatos unos plebei? Quid a con*s*u | libus ad decemviros translatum imium, solutoque po*st*ea | decemvirali regno ad consules rusus reditum? id in *pl*u | ris distributum consulare imperium, tribunosque m*ilitum* | sulari imperio appellatos, qui seni et saepe octoni crearen | tur? id communicatos postremo cum plebe honores non imperii | solum, sacerdotiorum quoque? Iam si narrem bella, a quibus | coeperint iores nostri, et quo processerimus, vereor, ne nimio | insolentior esse ear, et quaesisse iactationem gloriae pro | lati imperi ultra Oceanum. illoc potius revertar. Civitat*em* |

Col. II.

. . . . isi sane | novo . . . Divus Aug. . . . . . no i

ius, prince of that city, or a client of uinius, or the Lar of the house, or anus. See Ov. and Plin. (l. l.); Dion. 4. 1, and other authorities cited in f Biog.

Tuscos, etc.: see 4. 65, 1, and note. name is there given as Caeles Via, and the person so named is rented as himself the settler on the ian mount.

. **reliquis** = 'reliquiis.'

. **appellitatus**, apparently an error e engraver for 'appellitavit.' The is used by Tacitus (l. l.) in his version is story, and by later writers.

astarna. This name must have been by Claudius from some Tuscan on otherwise unknown to us.

. **rusus**, an archaic form of 'rursus,' in Lucr. 5, 749; as also 'rusum' for um' in Id. 3, 1001; 4, 333. Such isms were an affectation of Claudius Introd. p. 37).

in pluris: for this distributive force of 'in' see note on 1. 55, 2.

35. **seni et saepe octoni.** During the last thirty-eight years of the existence of military tribunes with consular power, their number is regularly six. Eight names are given only in one year (Liv. 5. 1, 2), when it is supposed that the two censors may have been reckoned in.

40. **ultra Oceanum**, by the conquest of Britain. This boast is constantly paraded in the epigrams of the period: see Introd. p. 130.

illoc, old form of 'illuc,' like 'hoc,' 'istoc.'

Civitatem. This passage probably went on to speak of the progressive extension of the 'civitas' and of the area from which senators were chosen. The substance of this portion is given by Tacitus at some length (11. 24, 2–4).

2. **Divus Augustus.** This passage probably described the practice of Augus-

set patruus Ti. | Caesar omnem florem ubique coloniarum et munic piorum, bo | norum scilicet virorum et locupletium, in hac curia es voluit. | Quid ergo? Non Italicus senator provinciali potior est? Ian vobis cum hanc partem censurae meae adprobare coepero, quid | de re sentiam, rebus ostendam. Sed ne provinciales quidem, | si mo ornare curiam poterint, reiciendos puto. |

Ornatissima ecce colonia valentissimaque Viennensium quam | lon iam tempore senatores huic curiae confert? Ex qua colo | nia inter pauc equestris ordinis ornamentum, L. Vestinum, fa | miliarissime diligo hodieque in rebus meis detineo; cuius libe | ri fruantur quaeso prin sacerdotiorum gradu, post modo cum | annis promoturi dignitatis su incrementa. Ut dirum nomen la | tronis taceam, et odi illud palaestricu prodigium, quod ante in do | mum consulatum intulit, quam colo

tus in his 'lectio senatus' (see Momms. on Mon. Anc. p. 35). No mention of it appears in the speech given by Tacitus.

3. **coloniarum ac municipiorum**, used of the towns of Italy (see 1. 79, 1, and note): cp. 'Italicus senator' below.

6. **cum hanc partem**, etc., 'when I shall have begun to commend to you (cp. 1. 44, 8; 16. 18, 4; Agr. 5, 1, etc.) this part of my censorship.' The addition 'rebus ostendam' goes to show that he is not here referring to any argument to come afterwards in his speech, but to the justification which his actual 'lectio senatus,' when it took place, would carry with it. The 'lectio' (alluded to in 12. 4, 4) would naturally come after this question was decided.

7. **rebus**. He will show by facts that he does consider Italians to have a prior claim to provincial citizens, by choosing a senate in which they will preponderate.

8. **poterint**, an unusual form for 'poterunt.'

9. **Viennensium**. Vienne, in Dauphiné, the chief or only city of the Allobroges (Ptol. 2. 10, 4), forming part of Gallia Narbonensis. On its opulence, its rivalry with the neighbouring Lugdunum, and its narrow escape from being destroyed by the Vitellian forces, see H. 1. 65–66. On the date of its full establishment as a colony see below (on l. 15). The senators of long standing here alluded to must have belonged to such families as had received the 'civitas' individually, as must have been the case with that of Valerius Asiaticus (see l. 15).

11. **inter paucos . . . ornamentum**, 'one of the few greatest ornaments': cp. 11. 10, 5; 16. 18, 4.

L. Vestinum, probably the same w is mentioned in H. 4. 53, 1, as stil knight in 823, A.D. 70, but of great ei nence. The consul of 15. 48, 1, etc probably his son.

12. **et hodieque** = 'et hodie quoq **in rebus meis**, in the duties of a curator: see 4. 6, 5, and note; 12. 1, etc.

13. **fruantur**, etc. This req amounts to a 'commendatio' (Intro vi. p. 79) of these persons to the sen with whom the election formally see 3. 19, 1, and note. Priestly of are often given to young men of r before the beginning of their care magistracies (3. 29, 3, etc.).

14. **Ut . . . taceam**, etc. (referred to 'confert'; the intervening sente being parenthetical), 'not to mention, The allusion is to Valerius Asiaticu whom see 11. 1–3; and the ep 'palaestricum' refers to his habits o (cp. 'quibus insueverat exercitation 11. 3, 2).

15. **ante . . . quam**, etc. The da Asiaticus' first consulship is unknown he was a consular at the death of (see note on 11. 1, 1). The ori foundation of the colony (probably Latin rights) is generally referre Augustus (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 11 the strength of coins of his date (E 71) found at Lyons with the letters C (taken to be 'Colonia Iulia Viennen The gift of full privileges is suppos Mommsen (see Hirschfeld in C. I. L. p. 218) to have been conferred by during his stay in Gaul, but might been due to Claudius, and seems m accordance with his spirit.

ı solidum civitatis Roma | nae benificium consecuta est. Idem de tre eius possum dicere, | miserabili quidem indignissimoque hoc casu, vobis utilis | senator esse non possit. |

Tempus est iam, Ti. Caesar Germanice, detegere te patribus con- iptis | quo tendat oratio tua: iam enim ad extremos fines Galliae ır | bonensis venisti. |

Tot ecce insignes iuvenes, quot intueor, non magis sunt paenitendi | ıatores, quam paenitet Persicum, nobilissimum virum, ami | cum um, inter imagines maiorum suorum Allobrogici no | men legere. ıod si haec ita esse consentitis, quid ultra desidera | tis, quam ut vobis ito demonstrem solum ipsum ultra fines | provinciae Narbonensis iam ɔis senatores mittere, quando | ex Luguduno habere nos nostri ordinis ɔs non paenitet? | Timide quidem, p. c. egressus adsuetos familiares ɘ vobis pro | vinciarum terminos sum, sed destricte iam comatae lliae | causa agenda est. In qua si quis hoc intuetur, quod bello per | cem annos exercuerunt Divom Iulium, idem opponat centum | ıorum immobilem fidem obsequiumque multis trepidis re | bus nostris squam expertum. Illi patri meo Druso Germaniam | subigenti tutam ete sua securamque a tergo pacem praes | titerunt, et quidem cum ːensus novo tum opere et in ad sue | to Gallis ad bellum avocatus

6. **sua** refers to the subject, not of , but of the leading clause.

7. **de fratre.** Nothing is known of brother. We gather from this passage it had been thought necessary for ırity to expel him from the senate.

ɔ. **Ti. Caesar Germanice.** The esqueness of this apostrophe to him- illustrates the criticism which Suet. speaking of his historical works) pro- ıces on his style (Cl. 41), 'composuit ɔte magis quam ineleganter.' Cp. the ment of Tacitus on his speaking (13.). The title of 'Germanicus' was rited by Claudius and his brother ı their father Drusus (Introd. i. ix. 48).

3. **quot intueor.** Probably, as Nipp. gests, some young Gallic nobles had ı sent as deputies to request the privi- now being discussed, and were wed to be present.

aenitendi senatores: cp. the ds given by Tacitus (11. 24, 4), 'num ıitet Balbos ex Hispania, nec minus nes viros e Gallia Narbonensi transi- :.'

ı. **Persicum.** Paullus Fabius Persicus, whom see 6. 28, 1, and note. The allusion to his ancestry is absurd, as Q. Fabius (cos. 633, B.C. 121) was called 'Allobrogicus' not from his descent, but as the conqueror of that people.

29. **Luguduno.** Both this form and 'Lugdunum,' occur repeatedly in inscriptions (see Wilm. Index, p. 440), but the former is the older and more correct form, and is explained by Jacob to mean 'Longos dunum' ('Ravens' mount'). Claudius himself was born there (Suet. Cl. 2), and no doubt many of its nobles were Roman citizens. It had become a colony in 711, B.C. 43 (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 115).

30. **p. c.**, 'patres conscripti.'

familiares que, thus engraved 'divisim,' apparently by error: cp. 'in ad sueto' (l. 37), 'quam vis' (l. 39).

31. **destricte.** This word appears here to have the meaning of 'expressly.'

32. **per decem annos.** Compare this passage as put by Tacitus (11. 24, 9).

35. **Germaniam subigenti**, in 742–745, B.C. 12–9.

37. **adcensus**, an error of the engraver, probably for 'ab census' or 'ab censu.' On the census of Gaul see 1. 31, 2, and note.

esset. Quod opus quam ar | duum sit nobis nunc cum maxime, qua vis nihil ultra quam | ut publice notae sint facultates nostrae, exquiratu nimis | magno experimento cognoscimus. |

38. **quod opus**, that of holding a census under any circumstances.

39. **nobis**, 'to us Romans'; though it might be supposed that practice had made it easy to us.

nunc cum maxime, at this moment (see 3. 59, 4, and note).

quam vis, etc., i.e. although the cens which Claudius was then holding (11. 25, 8) was not, like the Gallic, basis of taxation, but a mere statisti survey.

41. **cognoscimus**: Claudius spea here only of himself.

BOOK XII.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

1-4. Intrigues respecting the selection of a wife for Claudius.

, 2. Agrippina, Lollia Paulina, Aelia Paetina recommended on various grounds. , 4. Agrippina preferred: she employs Vitellius to induce Claudius to annul the etrothal of Octavia to L. Silanus.

A. U. C. 802, A. D. 49. C. Pompeius, Q. Veranius, coss.

5-9. Marriage of Claudius to Agrippina, and events connected with it.

. 6. Vitellius induces the senate to legalise the marriage. 7. Marriage and poli- cal influence of Agrippina. 8. Suicide of Silanus, and exile of Calvina. Seneca :called from exile, made praetor, and instructor of young L. Domitius. 9. Octavia etrothed to Domitius.

10-21. Affairs in the East.

0, 11. Meherdates son of Vonones sent from Rome on request of Parthian nobles, ıd conducted to the Euphrates by L. Cassius, legatus of Syria. 12, 13. Dilatory :tion of Meherdates in Armenia and Mesopotamia: local worship of Hercules. 4. Meherdates defeated through the treachery of Izates and Acbarus: subsequent eath of Gotarzes: short reign of Vonones, who is succeeded as king of Parthia y Vologeses. 15-17. Mithridates tries to recover the Bosporan kingdom, and resisted by Cotys, aided by a Roman force, and Eunones king of the Aorsi, ho besiege and take Uspe, and force Zorsines king of the Siraci to submit. 3-21. Mithridates takes refuge with Eunones, is delivered to Claudius, and :ought to Rome.

22-24. Other events of the year.

2. Agrippina procures the banishment and death of Lollia Paulina, and exile Calpurnia. 23, 24. Privilege granted to senators belonging to Gallia Nar- ›nensis: Ituraea and Judaea, vacant by the death of Sohaemus and Agrippa, ldded to Syria. Revival of the 'Salutis augurium.' Claudius extends the ›merium of Rome: its ancient limits described.

. U. C. 803, A. D. 50. C. Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nerullinus, coss.

25, 26. Claudius persuaded by Pallas to adopt Domitius, who becomes Nero aesar. Agrippina receives the title of 'Augusta': neglected condition of ritannicus.

27-30. Affairs in Germany.

', 28. The capital of the Ubii made a colony and named after Agrippina. The hatti, who had made predatory attacks on Upper Germany, forced to submission P. Pomponius. 29, 30. Vannius, formerly made king of the Suevi by Drusus, iven out by his subjects, takes refuge in Roman territory: his nephews angio and Sido divide his dominion between them.

31-40. Affairs in Britain.

l. P. Ostorius, the new legate, checks attacks on the friendly tribes, and quells

a rebellion of the Iceni. 32. The Decangi ravaged, the Brigantes repressed colony founded at Camulodunum. 33. The Silures resist under Caratacus, w transfers the seat of war to the Ordovices. 34, 35. Caratacus defeated in a gr battle: his wife and daughter prisoners: his brothers submit. 36, 37. Carata given up to the Romans by Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes: his arri at Rome and reception there. 38, 39. Unsuccessful subsequent warfare agai the Silures: death of Ostorius. 40. A. Didius, sent as legatus, drives back Silures: a Roman legion assists Cartimandua against her former husband Venuti who had attacked her and renounced the Roman alliance.

A. U. C. 804, A. D. 51. Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus V, S Cornelius Orfitus, coss.

Ch. 41–43. Affairs at Rome.

41. Nero assumes the toga virilis: various honours decreed to him: contr between his position and that of Britannicus, whose attendants are replaced creatures of Agrippina. 42. Afranius Burrus made praefect of the praetori through Agrippina, who also protects Vitellius from an accusation. 43. Prodig recorded: famine in Rome, and popular discontent shown towards Claudius.

Ch. 44–51. Affairs in the East.

44. Pharasmanes, king of the Hiberi, incites his son Radamistus to plot agai Mithridates king of Armenia. 45–47. War between the two kingdoms: Ra-mistus, aided by a Roman praefect, takes Mithridates prisoner by treachery puts him and his sons to death. 48. Quadratus, legatus of Syria, dissuaded his advisers from taking a vigorous course. 49. Paelignus, procurator of Cap-docia, bribed by Radamistus to support him in seizing Armenia. 50, 51. Vologe sets up his brother Tiridates as king of Armenia, and invades the coun Radamistus at length forced to fly: his wife Zenobia saved from death taken captive.

A. U. C. 805, A. D. 52. Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix, L. Salvius O Titianus, coss.

Ch. 52. Furius Camillus Scribonianus exiled: astrologers expelled from It 53. Honours decreed to Pallas. 54. His brother Felix procurator of Judaea Samaria. 55. Rebellion of the Clitae in Cilicia put down by king Antioch 56, 57. Ceremony of opening the tunnel made to drain lake Fucinus: Agripp blames Narcissus for the failure of the work.

A. U. C. 806, A. D. 53. D. Iunius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus, cos

Ch. 58. Marriage of Nero to Octavia: his speeches for Ilium and Bono freedom given back to Rhodes. 59. Suicide of Statilius Taurus under a f charge got up by Agrippina. 60. Judicial authority of procurators establish contrast with previous enactments. 61. Immunity given to the people of 62, 63. Remission of tribute granted to the Byzantines.

A. U. C. 807, A. D. 54. M. Asinius Marcellus, M'Acilius Aviola, coss.

Ch. 64–69. Agrippina resolves to kill Claudius.

64. Prodigies announced: Agrippina, conscious of her danger, causes the d of Domitia Lepida. 65. Narcissus boldly takes up the cause of Britanni 66, 67. He is obliged by illness to leave Rome: Agrippina profits by his abs to poison Claudius by the help of Locusta and Xenophon. 68, 69. Oct. 3. The death of Claudius kept secret till all arrangements were made: Nero sal as imperator by the soldiers and confirmed by the senate: funeral and deifica of Claudius.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XII.

1. CAEDE Messalinae convulsa principis domus, orto apud ›ertos certamine, quis deligeret uxorem Claudio, caelibis vitae :oleranti et coniugum imperiis obnoxio. nec minore ambitu ninae exarserant: suam quaeque nobilitatem formam opes ntendere ac digna tanto matrimonio ostentare. sed maxime ıbigebatur inter Lolliam Paulinam M. Lollii consularis et liam Agrippinam Germanico genitam: huic Pallas, illi Callistus

. **convulsa,** 'was upset': cp. c. 65, 4. 40, 4, and note. Here it is exined by the division among the freed-ı, who had hitherto held together.

pud. Nipp. notes the use of this p. here with the force of 'inter,' and ıpares H. 5. 5, 2 ('apud ipsos fides tinata'). So we have 'dissensio,' litio apud aliquos' (3. 39, 2; H. 2. 1).

. **intoleranti.** This correction of the l. 'intonanti' is due to Muret. and ıena. The word is used with genit. . 31, 4; etc.; also in Liv. 9. 18, 1; 28, 4. Suet. states (Cl. 26) that ıdius, on the death of Messalina, mnly announced that he would never ry again, but immediately began to another wife. He had contracted e marriages, besides two betrothals in y life: see Suet. l. l., Introd. i. ix. pp. 149.

ɔnoxio: cp. 11. 36, 1, and note.

contendere, 'brings into compari- (with those of others). This sense ɔund in 4. 32, 1; 13. 3, 3; also in , etc. The Med. text 'contenderet ostentaret' might be retained with the insertion of 'cum' (as by Weissenborn) or 'quin' (as by Ritter).

6. **Lolliam Paulinam.** Pliny, who describes as an eye-witness (N. H. 9. 35, 58, 116) the extraordinary magnificence of her jewels, states that she was granddaughter of the well-known M. Lollius (on whom see 3. 48, 3, and note): Suet. states that she had married C. Memmius, a consular in command of a military province, whose name is generally taken to be an error for that of P. Memmius Regulus (on whom see 5. 11, 1, and note), and that she had been taken from him by Gaius, who soon dismissed her (Suet. Cal. 25; Dio, 59. 12, 1). On her subsequent history see c. 22.

M. Lollii consularis, sc. 'filiam.' Tacitus, who elsewhere uses analogous ellipses (see Introd. i. v. § 80), appears here alone to use this particular one; of which, however, there are several instances in other authors (see Nipp. here) and in inscriptions. The younger Lollius, who may be the person addressed in Hor. Ep. 1. 2 and 18, or his brother (see Ep. 1. 18, 63), is not known to have ever been consul; for which reason, added to that of

fautores aderant; at Aelia Paetina e familia Tuberonum Narcis fovebatur. ipse huc modo, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentiu audierat, promptus, discordantes in consilium vocat ac prome sententiam et adicere rationes iubet.

2. Narcissus vetus matrimonium, filiam communem (na Antonia ex Paetina erat), nihil in penatibus eius novum dissereba si sueta coniunx rediret, haudquaquam novercalibus odiis visu Britannicum, Octaviam, proxima suis pignora. Callistus inpr batam longo discidio, ac si rursum adsumeretur, eo ipso superbar; longeque rectius Lolliam induci, quando nullos liberos genuiss, vacuam aemulatione et privignis parentis loco futuram. at Pall id maxime in Agrippina laudare, quod Germanici nepotem secu traheret, dignum prorsus imperatoria fortuna: stirpem nobile

the harshness of the ellipse, Ritt. inserts 'neptem' after 'consularis,' and Madvig (Adv. iii. 230) thinks that 'genitam' should govern both clauses and that 'M. Lollio, filio' had dropped out before 'M. Lollii.'

1. **Aelia Paetina**, whom he had already married (Suet. Cl. 26), and divorced after the birth of Antonia (c. 2, 1). Her father was a consular (Suet. l. l.), perhaps a son of the jurist Q. Aelius Tubero.

Narcisso. On this dative see Introd. i. v. § 18.

2. **modo, modo**, repeated in similar position in Sall. Jug. 45, 2. This arrangement of antithetical words (Chiasmus) is noted as not common in Tacitus: cp. 'hostibus terror, fiducia militi' (1. 63, 4); 'socors domi, bellis infaustus' (c. 10, 2), and other instances in Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 235.

3. **promptus**, 'inclined': cp. 4. 60, 5, and note.

5. **filiam communem**: cp. 'communes liberi' (11. 34, 4). Halm follows Muret. in thus correcting the Med. 'familiam,' and notes the apparent similar error in 16. 26, 4. Most others retain the Med. text, which might be defended by supposing that 'familiam' is used rhetorically of a single child, or that Antonia may herself have had children. On her marriages and subsequent history see Introd. i. ix. p. 150.

6. **nihil . . . novum.** It seems best to take this, with Nipp., not as an ellipse of 'esse' or 'fore,' but as a simple accus. after 'disserebat,' answering to 'vetus matrimonium,' etc. The construction would be like that of 'nihil occultum n 3. 9, 3 (where see note).

7. **visura**, 'likely to look upon': b 'quid ut noverca me intueris' (Hor. Ep 5, 9). M. Seneca (who appears to be first to use the adjective) has 'novercal oculis aliquem intueri' (Contr. 4. 6).

8. **pignora.** The use of this w specially of children or relatives, pledges of love (cp. 15. 57, 3; 16. 26 G. 7, 4; Agr. 38, 1), appears to adopted from Livy (2. 1, 5) and Augu poets (e. g. Prop. 4 (5), 11, 72; Ov. 11, 543).

inprobatam, 'was disqualified.' word is not found elsewhere in T tus, unless it be inserted (with Andre in Dial. 14, 4.

9. **discidio**: cp. 11. 30, 5, etc.

10. **quando**, etc., giving the reaso the following words ('vacuam,' etc.) the use of 'privignis' see note o 38, 3.

12. **Germanici nepotem**, youn Domitius (Nero): cp. 11. 11, 5.

13. **dignum**, etc., 'fully worthy c perial position' (cp. 11. 13, 5). would hardly be politic to speak o as a possible successor, we must su it to be meant that he was worthy introduced, by his mother's marriage the emperor's house. For a diff punctuation and interpretation o clause see next note.

stirpem nobilem, etc., 'let him to himself a noble race, the po of the Iulii and the Claudii.' 'E posteros' may be taken as explanat 'stirpem nobilem,' and can be satisfa

familiae *Iuliae* Claudiaeque posteros coniungeret, ne femina ›ertae fecunditatis, integra iuventa, claritudinem Caesarum ım in domum ferret.

3. Praevaluere haec adiuta Agrippina inlecebris: ad eum per ciem necessitudinis crebro ventitando pellicit patruum, ut elata ceteris et nondum uxor potentia uxoria iam uteretur. n ubi sui matrimonii certa fuit, struere maiora nuptiasque mitii, quem ex Cn. Ahenobarbo genuerat, et Octaviae Caesaris ıe moliri; quod sine scelere perpetrari non poterat, quia L. ano desponderat Octaviam Caesar iuvenemque et alia clarum

rstood as referring to the lineage of ippina and her son. She was of the ın house by lineal descent (on her her's side) and by adoption (on her er's), and was also of the Claudian e (by her father's lineal descent), and efore should not be allowed (see the wing sentence) to marry elsewhere, cially as she might yet have more lren. The text of Halm and Orelli, bove given, departs from the Med. by adopting Freinsheim's insertion Iuliae' and alteration of 'quae' to ,' and appears to give the best sense the least change. In the Med. text stands, 'stirpem nobilem,' etc., could refer to Nero, who could not be said imself to 'unite the Claudian house' ıgh the marriage of his mother to dius would do so by bringing together branches of it), and whose prospec- marriage with Octavia would not be ally implied in the words, and would ly have been mentioned at this stage c. 3, 2). To adopt (with Nipp.) the inder of Freinsheim's alteration, by ng 'coniungere' and placing a colon 'traheret,' gives the words 'dignum ratoria fortuna' a less appropriate ing by applying them to a plan or ct instead of a person; nor in either ese interpretations is the sequence of (or 'et ne') easy to trace, though bly capable of comparison with that 47, 2, etc. To simply omit or et 'quae' (with Pfitzn., Jacob, and), without any sufficient suggestion count for its insertion, is in effect a violent change than that given in xt above. For other suggested cor- ns see Walther, and for a further ssion of the passage see J. H. Müller, iv. pp. 7–9.

expertae, 'proved': cp. 3. 74, 4, Most edd. have followed Ryck. in so reading (after MS. Agr.). The Med. 'experta' is retained by Ritt. and by Nipp. who compares 'expertum belli' in H. 4. 76, 2; where, however, the sense of 'experienced,' here inapplicable, seems preferable.

integra iuventa. She was probably thirty-three: see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 145.

claritudinem Caesarum, 'the illustrious name of the Caesars,' alluding to her lineal descent from Augustus.

4. **ad eum.** The ed. princeps ('Spirensis') has 'quae' before these words, a reading followed by Lips. and several subsequent edd.

per speciem necessitudinis, 'on the plea of her relationship' (as his niece): cp. Suet. Cl. 26 'inlecebris Agrippinae . . . per ius osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem.'

9. **L. Silano,** one of the great-great-grandsons of Augustus (see the pedigree, Introd. i. ix. p. 139). A Greek inscription quoted by Nipp. (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 612) gives him the surname Torquatus (see on 3. 69, 9), and records that he was 'flamen Iulianus, sodalis Augustalis,' and had filled the offices of 'praef. urb. ob ferias Latinas' (see 4. 36, 1), 'triumvir monetalis' (see Introd. i. vi. p. 77), and 'quaestor Caesaris' (see 16. 27, 2, and note). His name occurs among the Arvales perhaps as early as 796, A.D. 43 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2032). Dio adds (60. 5, 8) that privilege was obtained for him to fill magistracies five years before the legal age (cp. 3. 29, 1), and afterwards states (60. 31, 7) that he became praetor πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου. It is thus clear (see Borghesi, Œuvr. v. 190, 193) that he was not more than twenty-five years old, perhaps even less, at the time of his disgrace and death.

10. **desponderat Octaviam.** This betrothal appears to have been at least

insigni triumphalium et gladiatorii muneris magnificentia pr tulerat ad studia vulgi. sed nihil arduum videbatur in anim principis, cui non iudicium, non odium erat nisi indita et iussa.

4. Igitur Vitellius, nomine censoris serviles fallacias obtege ingruentiumque dominationum provisor, quo gratiam Agrippin pararet, consiliis eius implicari, ferre crimina in Silanum, cui sane decora et procax soror, Iunia Calvina, haud multo an Vitellii nurus fuerat. hinc initium accusationis; fratrumque n

arranged in the first year of his rule (Dio, 60. 5, 7), when Octavia was a mere infant (see note on 14. 64, 1). Augustus had allowed girls to be formally betrothed at ten years, and married at twelve years old (Dio, 54. 16, 7), and frequent cases are recorded at even earlier ages: see a number of instances collected in Friedl. Sitteng. i. p. 504, foll.

alia clarum = τά τ' ἄλλα λαμπρόν. Dräger notes such use of 'alia' in Sallust and that of 'cetera' elsewhere in Tacitus (as in 6. 15, 2; 42. 4). The allusion is to his descent from Augustus.

1. **insigni triumphalium**: on the singular 'insigne' cp. 11. 20, 3, and note. The probable occasion of his receiving this distinction would be that of the triumph of Claudius from Britain in 797, A.D. 44, at which date he would probably have been nineteen or twenty years old (see note above), and had filled no magistracy: this would be a great departure from ancient practice (see 11. 20, 5, and note), which Suet. (Cl. 24) and Dio (60. 31, 7) exaggerate by saying that he received the honour in boyhood, i. e. before assuming the 'toga virilis': see Nipp.'s note.

gladiatorii muneris. It appears from Dio (l. l.) that this show was given by him in his office as praetor, at the cost of Claudius.

protulerat, 'had put forward' (C. and B.): so 'ad famam protulerat' (16. 18, 1); 'protulerit ingenium' (16. 29, 3).

2. **nihil arduum**, etc., 'no change seemed hard to bring about in the inclination of a prince,' etc. For the expression 'in animo' cp. 4. 12, 6; 14. 51, 6; 15. 50, 4; also the use of 'animus' for 'inclination' in 4. 71, 1; 5. 7, 1, etc.

3. **iudicium**; so used specially of favourable opinion in 4. 39, 2 (where see note).

erat. Nipp. notes that the verb is referred to each subject separately, 'indita' and 'iussa' to both together.

4. **nomine censoris**: see on 11. 13. On the servility of Vitellius cp. 6. 32, ; 11. 34, 1, etc.

fallacias, 'the falsehoods': in Ta-tus only here and 6. 22, 5, but of so used in Cic., etc.

5. **provisor**, apparently here al e used as 'foreseer': in Hor. A. P. 164 s 'a provider,' and in Insc. as an offi l title.

6. **ferre** = 'proferre,' as in 6. 49, 3.

cuius, generally adopted from the l. princeps for the Med. 'cui'; such e of the dative with a personal substan e being properly restricted, as Nipp. no s, to appositional clauses; e. g. 2. 43, ; 11. 8, 2.

7. **sane**, taken with 'decora' d 'procax,' concessively, as showing co r for the charge. 'Procax,' though gener y used in somewhat a bad sense, need t here mean more than the expres n ('festivissimam omnium puellarum') d of Calvina by Seneca (Lud. 8, 2); w se allusion to the subject is, however, y obscure.

multo: so Halm for Med. 'mult ,' as in 5. 3, 2; cp. Agr. 18, 2.

8. **Vitellii nurus.** Her name is ot given as one of those who were ma ed to the future emperor (Suet. Vit. 2) it may therefore be supposed that she ad been wife of L. Vitellius (on whom ee H. 1. 88, 2, etc.).

hinc. Nipp. seems rightly to er this to what had been just before n-tioned. Although the expression s ws that she had been divorced before is charge was made, such divorce did ot bar subsequent accusation (see 3. 22,); and it would appear that Vitellius as censor, took up the charge of incest, ro-fessedly as one affecting his son's h se-hold, and grounded on information co ng through this source, and probably r re-sented it as the ground of the divorce

fratrum, 'brother and sister' p. on 11. 38, 3, etc.).

cestum, sed incustoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit. et aebebat Caesar aures, accipiendis adversus generum suspicionis caritate filiae promptior. at Silanus insidiarum nescius ac te eo anno praetor, repente per edictum Vitellii ordine senatorio ovetur, quamquam lecto pridem senatu lustroque condito. simul finitatem Claudius diremit, adactusque Silanus eiurare magistum, et reliquus praeturae dies in Eprium Marcellum conlatus :.

5. C. Pompeio Q. Veranio consulibus pactum inter Claudium Agrippinam matrimonium iam fama, iam amore inlicito firma-

. **incustoditum**: cp. 2. 13, 5; 40, tc.; here an 'unguarded' or heedless ction, the free intercourse of persons ware that they were watched: cp. custoditus nimis et incautus' (Pl. Ep. 29, 10). The word appears to occur : in Ovid.

raxit, 'distorted' by misinterpreon: cp. 1. 62, 3, and note.

. **caritate**, causal abl., followed by ective genitive; so in 4. 17, 1; 19, 1, : 'promptior' is so used with gerune dat. in 15. 67, 5; Liv. 25, 11, 12; oftener with simple dat., as in 1. 2, 1,

. **edictum**, such as that by which any ta censoria' might be inflicted. The censorial power of expelling senators usually exercised at this time by the nceps (4. 42, 3, etc.), or by the senate s judicial capacity (4. 31, 8, etc.): see mms. Staatsr. ii. 946.

. **lecto pridem senatu lustroque dito**; see 11. 23, 1; 25, 3. With the er ceremony the office of censor should perly have closed; and Mommsen ks it possible that the tenure of office have been renewed to authorise this t; Vitellius being entitled 'censor ii' ome coins of his son (Staatsr. ii. 340, 413, 6). There is however reason to ot whether the office was not held im and Claudius for five years (see on 11. 13, 1).

adfinitatem, his espousal to Octavia.

urare = 'iurando abdicare'; cp. 14, 1, etc. The word appears to r only in Tacitus and in Plin. (Ep. 3, 3), and takes an accus. of the office nce 'magistratum' has here to be for Med. 'magistratu'): so Plutarch ἐξομόσασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν (Marc. 4), ιόσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν (Cic. 19). The istrate swore 'se nihil contra leges se' (Plin. Pan. 65).

7. **reliquus praeturae dies**. Suet. states (Cl. 29) that he was forced to resign on Dec. 29. Marcellus would then have held the office on the 30th and resigned on the 31st. For consulships thus held for one day see H. 3. 37, 3.

Eprium Marcellum, the famous 'delator' under Nero (see 16. 27, 10; H. 2. 53, 1; 4. 6, 1, etc.). An inscription from the province of Cyprus, found at Capua and preserved at Naples (Henzen 5425), gives his full name as 'T. Clodius, M. f. Pal(atina tribu) Eprius Marcellus,' and shows him to have been for this day praetor peregrinus, also to have been twice consul (suff. in 827, A.D. 74, and probably in 814, A.D. 61), and three years proconsul of Asia (824–826, A.D. 70–73), as well as augur, curio maximus, and sodalis Augustalis. (On the evidence for the dates here given see Nipp.). He appears also to have been legatus of Lycia (13. 33, 4). He conspired against Vespasian and was forced to suicide in 832, A.D. 79 (Dio, 66. 16, 3).

9. **C. Pompeio Q. Veranio**. The former may have been grandson of the consul of 767, A.D. 14 (1. 7, 3), and has the cognomen Longus in Frontinus (Aq. 102), but that of Gallus in C. I. L. ii. 438 and other authorities (see Nipp.), which also give the praenomen as here; so that of 'Aulus' in the Fast. Ant. (Henzen 6445) seems an error. On Veranius see 14. 29, 1; Agr. 14, 3. Lehmann suggests that he may be the same who was trib. pleb. at the death of Gaius (see Jos. Ant. 19. 3, 4): others have less probably identified him with the legatus and friend of Germanicus (2. 56, 4, etc.), who may have been his father.

10. **firmabatur**. Unless this word is taken in different senses with 'fama' and 'amore inlicito,' we must suppose (with Nipp.) that the marriage was 'cemented'

batur; necdum celebrare sollemnia nuptiarum audebant, nu exemplo deductae in domum patrui fratris filiae: quin et incestu ac, si sperneretur, ne in malum publicum erumperet metuebat; nec ante omissa cunctatio quam Vitellius suis artibus id per-trandum sumpsit. percontatusque Caesarem an iussis populi, auctoritati senatus cederet, ubi ille unum se civium et consen imparem respondit, opperiri intra palatium iubet. ipse curia ingreditur, summamque rem publicam agi obtestans venia dicendi ante alios exposcit orditurque: gravissimos princi labores, quis orbem terrae capessat, egere adminiculis, domestica cura vacuus in commune consulat. quod po honestius censoriae mentis levamentum quam adsumere con-gem, prosperis dubiisque sociam, cui cogitationes intimas, parvos liberos tradat, non luxui aut voluptatibus adsuefactus, qui prima ab iuventa legibus obtemperavisset.

6. Postquam haec favorabili oratione praemisit multae patrum adsentatio sequebatur, capto rursus initio, quando ma-tandum principem cuncti suaderent, deligi oportere femin

by popular report, in the sense of being so talked of as to be difficult to draw back from.

1. **nullo exemplo**, abl. abs.

2. **deductae**, so used of marriage in 14. 63, 4.

incestum, generally taken with 'esse' supplied, or possibly with the idea of some verb of kindred meaning supplied from 'metuebatur.' 'Spernere incestum' appears here to be a pregnant expression for 'spernere incesti metum.' For 'metuebatur' Ritt. reads 'metuebant,' which is, according to him, the Med. text.

3. **malum publicum**, 'disaster to the state,' as a divine judgment.

4. **id**, to be referred back, as Nipp. points out, to 'celebrare sollemnia.'

5. **iussis . . . auctoritati.** Nipp. shows that these terms are used with archaic precision, in accordance with the old formula 'populus iubet,' and the terms 'auctoritas (or 'consultum') senatus.'

6. **consensui imparem**, 'unable to resist unanimity.'

8. **summam rem publicam agi**, 'the highest interests of the state were affected by the question': so again in 16. 28, 1. 'Obtestari' is so used with acc. and inf. in 14. 7, 2; H. 3. 10, 6; 4. 57, 2. The full expression with this construction w d be 'obtestari deos,' as in Suet. Cal. 1

12. **censoriae mentis**, 'a mind wo y of being that of a censor' (as we sp k of a judicial mind): Walther aptly co-pares 'audiebat senatus gravitate cens a' (Pl. Ep. 3. 23, 6). 'Levamentum' i o used of the relaxation of a wife's so ty in 3. 34, 4.

13. **prosperis dubiisque**, prob y best taken as abbreviated abl. abs.; se 2. 14, 6, and note.

14. **luxui**, 'wantonness': cp. 1. 1 3, etc. The term may perhaps be qual d here by 'qui . . . legibus obtemperavis '; but it is needless to attempt to reco le such language with facts.

16. **Postquam**, etc., 'after prefac in this winning strain': the same expressi is used of a speech studied for populari in 2. 36, 5 (where see note); so also 'fav a-biliter' in Suet. Ner. 7.

17. **maritandum**, etc. This gerur ve accus. with 'suadeo' appears not t be found elsewhere in Tacitus and t be otherwise rare; but 'mihi . . . suasis m, nihil esse . . . expetendum' is foun in Cic. (Arch. 6, 14), and 'onerandas . provincias suadentibus' in Suet. (Tib. 2). On the ellipse of the verb of speakin in this passage cp. Introd. i. v. § 38 a.

bilitate puerperiis sanctimonia insignem. nec diu anquirendum in Agrippina claritudine generis anteiret: datum ab ea fecunditis experimentum et congruere artes honestas. id vero egregium, od provisu deum vidua iungeretur principi sua tantum matrionia experto. audivisse a parentibus, vidisse ipsos abripi niuges ad libita Caesarum: procul id a praesenti modestia. tueretur immo documentum, quo uxorem imperator *a patribus* ciperet. at enim nova nobis in fratrum filias coniugia: sed is gentibus sollemnia, neque lege ulla prohibita; et sobrinarum

. **sanctimonia**, 'purity of life'; used a Vestal virgin in 2. 86, 1; 3. 69, 9. **nec diu anquirendum**, etc. 'Anrere' here takes the construction of ubitare': no other instance is known. suggests (Synt. und Stil, § 286) that in . . . anteiret' is equivalent to 'quin elligerent . . . anteire.'

. **congruere artes honestas**, 'her virs (answering to 'sanctimonia' above) responded' (to her nobility of race): 'bonis artibus' (11. 22, 4), and note. e application of such terms to Agripa is part of the irony of the whole iness.

. **provisu**, 'forethought,' as in c. 12. 15. 8, 1: cp. 1. 27, 2, and note.

idua. Since the death of Domitius on 4. 75, 1) she had married Crispus sienus the orator (see 6. 20, 2, and e), whom she was supposed to have soned (Schol. on Juv. 4, 81).

ua tantum, etc., 'who had kept to own wives' (cp. 'matrimonia' 2. 13, That Claudius had led a moral life ld be notoriously untrue (Suet. Cl. ; but the apparently implied contrast the shameless adulteries of Gaius t. Cal. 36) is justifiable.

audivisse . . . vidisse. The first refers to the abduction of Livia from o by Augustus (see 5. 1, 3), the second hose of Drusilla, Livia Orestilla, and ia Paulina from their respective husds by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 24, 25).

statueretur documentum, 'let n set up an example' (cp. 'bona mae documenta' 16. 33, 1).

patribus; so Halm and Dr. after er (1864), who notes that Med. has a na of about seven letters. Baiter nates it at about five letters; whence li reads 'a re p.' and notes the similar se 'liberos a republica accipere' in Ep. 4. 15, 10. It would be equally a novelty for either senate or people to recommend a wife to an emperor. Other edd. generally ignore the lacuna, and would lay the stress on the contrast between 'acciperet' and 'abripi.'

8. **at enim**, anticipating the objection.

in fratrum filias. Here and in one other passage (c. 25, 1), 'in' has the force of 'affecting' or 'in relation to,' like πρός. For meanings approaching to this see 2. 39, 3, and note.

9. **aliis**. Marriages within this degree are found among the Spartan kings, as Anaxandrides and Leonidas (Hdt. 5. 39, 2; 7. 239, 6). For instances of marriage of still more near relations see 2. 2, 5, and note.

sobrinarum, 'second cousins' (Fest. s. v.). Evidence, that even within this degree of relationship marriage was at one time contrary to custom, is afforded by a recently discovered fragment of Livy, mentioning a patrician named Celius or Claelius, who 'primus adversus veterem morem intra septimum cognationis gradum duxit uxorem' (see Hermes iv. 372; Marquardt, Privatl. 31). It has however been thought probable that Tacitus meant here to speak of the marriage of relations in the fourth degree, or first cousins ('consobrini'); which was certainly prohibited by Roman law until the enactment of a permissory plebiscite (Plut. Quaest. R. 6) at some date prior to that at which Livy (43. 34, 3) makes a speaker mention such a marriage (A. U. C. 573, B.C. 171). Nipp. thinks that Tacitus may have here written 'sobrinarum consobrinarumque.' Others have thought that 'sobrinus' may here be used for 'consobrinus'; which however is certainly not proved by the fact that 'consobrinus' is sometimes used loosely (Vell. 2. 3, 1; Suet. Cal. 26; Cl. 26).

diu ignorata tempore addito percrebruisse. morem accommodari prout conducat, et fore hoc quoque in iis quae m... usurpentur.

7. Haud defuere qui certatim, si cunctaretur Caesar, vi actu... testificantes erumperent curia. conglobatur promisca multitu... populumque Romanum eadem orare clamitat. nec Claud... ultra exspectato obvius apud forum praebet se gratantib..., senatumque ingressus decretum postulat, quo iustae inter patru... fratrumque filias nuptiae etiam in posterum statuerentur. n... tamen repertus est nisi unus talis matrimonii cupitor, Alled... Severus eques Romanus, quem plerique Agrippinae gratia ...pulsum ferebant. versa ex eo civitas et cuncta femi... oboediebant, non per lasciviam, ut Messalina, rebus Roma... inludenti. adductum et quasi virile servitium : palam severi...

1. **percrebruisse.** On this form of the verb cp. 2. 82, 1, and note.

5. **testificantes,** 'protesting': cp. 16. 12, 3, etc.

erumperent curia. Nipp. compares the similar construction in H. 1. 86, 1 ('erupisse cella') and Sall. Jug. 99, 1 ('portis erumpere').

conglobatur. In using this verb of the crowding together of soldiers or other masses of men (cp. c. 31, 2; 1. 35, 6; 13. 39, 4; 14. 34, 3; 45, 2, etc.), Tacitus follows a frequent usage of Livy.

6. **nec Claudius.** On the use of 'nec' for 'et . . . non' see 2. 40, 6, and note; on that of 'apud' see Introd. i. v. § 57; on the abl. abs. 'expectato' cp. 11. 26, 3, and note.

8. **decretum.** Such decrees were now the usual form of legislative enactments: see c. 60, 2; 13. 5, 1; and note on 4. 16, 4; also Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1238.

inter patruos fratrumque filias. Dio states (68. 2, 4) that Nerva abolished this decree (ἐνομοθέτησε . . . μηδὲ ἀδελφιδῆν γαμεῖν); but Gaius (i. § 62) speaks of it as still in force; adding however (what the words here show) that the permission did not extend to the parallel case ('sororis vero filiam uxorem ducere non licet'). It appears really to have been abolished by Constantine and Constans (see Marquardt, Privatl. 31).

10. **cupitor,** only here and in 15. 42, 4, and once in Apuleius. On other such new words in Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 1 a.

Alledius Severus. This is no doubt the 'primipilaris' (see Introd. i. vii. p. 108, note 11) mentioned by Suet. (Cl. 26), at whose marriage Claudius and Agrippina were present. Suet. adds that the example was followed also by a freedman. See also what is stated of Domitian (Suet. Dom. 22). For the name Med. has here 'talledius,' which many read with Lips. as 'T. Alledius'; but Ritter shows (on 13. 30) that it is the universal practice of Tacitus (except in such a case as Ag. 4, 1, and in some six questioned readings) to use two names only (see note on 2. ...; 3. 49, 1); and his reading (as above) has been followed generally by subsequent editors.

11. **gratia,** here apparently in pregnant sense (Introd. i. v. § 84) for 'gratiae ferendae causa.'

12. **cuncta,** in contrast to the more limited interference of Messalina. On the position assumed by Agrippina see Introd. p. 44.

13. **rebus Romanis inludenti,** 'making state affairs the pastime of her wantonness'; viewing public men only as possible instruments of her lusts, and exerting her influence to advance or destroy them out of mere caprice.

14. **adductum,** etc., 'the reins of servitude were drawn tighter, as if by a masculine hand.' Cp. 'adductius imperitare,' 'regnare' (H. 3. 7, 2; G. 44, 1), and the metaphor 'adducere (in contrast with 'remittere') habenas amicitiae' in Cic. de Am. 13, 45. When used of demeanour, as in 14. 4, 8 (cp. 'adductus vultus' Plin. Tib. 68, etc.), the metaphor is differ...

saepius superbia; nihil domi inpudicum, nisi dominationi)ediret. cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat, quasi sub- ium regno pararetur.

3. Die nuptiarum Silanus mortem sibi conscivit, sive eo usque m vitae produxerat, seu delecto die augendam ad invidiam. vina soror eius Italia pulsa est. addidit Claudius sacra ex bus Tulli regis piaculaque apud lucum Dianae per pontifices da, inridentibus cunctis, quod poenae procurationesque incesti temporis exquirerentur. at Agrippina, ne malis tantum noribus notesceret, veniam exilii pro Annaeo Seneca, simul eturam impetrat, laetum in publicum rata ob claritudinem liorum eius, utque Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret onsiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur, quia Seneca

saepius, 'generally': cp. c. 46,

si dominationi expediret. She)elieved to have purchased the poli- support of Pallas by adultery (c. 25, 5, 4).

cupido auri: cp. 13. 18, 3; 14.

tentum habebat, 'had the ap- it excuse (cp. 1. 10, 1, etc.) of col- g resources for despotism'; i.e. it iot set down to mere avarice. On se of 'regnum' cp. 4. 1, 4; 3, 3, etc.

Die nuptiarum. This was very in the year ('initio anni' Suet. Cl.

anus: see c. 3, 2, foll. Suet. calls his suicide compulsory, and here (c. 27) speaks of him as put to , as also does Dio (60. 31, 7).

Calvina: see c. 4, 1. She was ed to return ten years later (14. 12, id was still living in the time of sian (Suet. Vesp. 23); unless the Calvina there spoken of was, as esi thinks (see Orelli's note), her

Tulli regis, Tullus Hostilius (see 5). Livy (1. 26, 13) mentions ex- y sacrifices prescribed by him to ius for the murder of his sister, and ip in that family. Those here were for the alleged incest (c. 4, 4), re prescribed by Claudius as pon- iaximus. On such offerings by the s see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 257,

um Dianae, probably the famous s Dianae' at Nemi, near Aricia (Verg. Aen. 7, 764; Stat. Theb. 3. 1, 56; 4. 4, 15, etc.). Some have thought it might be a 'lucus Dianae' near Tusculum mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 16. 44, 91, 242).

8. **procurationes**, 'expiations'; so in Cic. de Div. 1. 45, 101; Liv. 7. 6, 9; and 'procurare' Liv. 40. 2, 3, etc.

9. **id temporis**, at the moment when Claudius was marrying his niece. Tacitus follows Livy (1. 50, 8, etc.) and Cic. (Mil. 10, 28, etc.) in using the phrase 'id temporis,' but only in the later books of the Annals (c. 12, 5; 13. 18, 1; 20, 1; 14. 2, 1: 16. 15, 1): see also c. 18, 1, and note.

10. **veniam**, 'remission,' as in 16. 14, 4, etc. On the antecedents of Seneca, his previous peril under Gaius, and his rele- gation to Corsica by Claudius in 794, A.D. 41, see Introd. p. 50, 9. The old scholiast on Juv. 5, 109 is wrong in saying that his banishment lasted only three years. Such restoration of exiles was usually effected by Claudius through a decree of the senate (Suet. Cl. 12).

11. **in publicum**: cp. note on 11. 25, 7; also 2. 48, 1, and note.

12. **studiorum**, 'his literary works' (as in 3. 50, 5, etc.). A few of his extant works had been composed before this date; see Introd. l. l.

13. **ad spem**, i.e. towards the fulfilment of their hopes.

uterentur. The plural refers to Agrippina and her party, who are also the subject implied in 'credebatur,' 'placi- tum,' and 'inducunt.' Some edd. follow inferior MSS. in reading 'uteretur.'

fidus in Agrippinam memoria beneficii et infensus Claudio dol e iniuriae credebatur.

9. Placitum dehinc non ultra cunctari, sed designatum cı- sulem Memmium Pollionem ingentibus promissis induc it sententiam expromere, qua oraretur Claudius despond e Octaviam Domitio; quod aetati utriusque non absurdum et maiora patefacturum erat. Pollio haud disparibus verbis ic nuper Vitellius censet; despondeturque Octavia, ac super priorem necessitudinem sponsus iam et gener Domitius aequ ri Britannico studiis matris, arte eorum, quis ob accusa m Messalinam ultio ex filio timebatur.

10. Per idem tempus legati Parthorum ad expetendum ut rettuli, Meherdaten missi senatum ingrediuntur mandataqu in hunc modum incipiunt: non se foederis ignaros nec defectio a familia Arsacidarum venire, set filium Vononis, nepotem Phraatis accersere adversus dominationem Gotarzis nobilitati plebi ue

2. **iniuriae.** The word implies that the charge on which he was banished was unfounded; though his enemy Suillius assumes its justice (13. 42, 3).

3. **designatum consulem.** His consulship, shared with Q. Allius Maximus (Grut. 172, 6), must have been held during the latter half of the year, and he was probably designated in March (Momms. Staatsr. i. 588, 4). The 'sententia' was no doubt pronounced 'per egressionem' (see 2. 33, 2), on some question being put to him first as consul designate (see 3. 22, 6).

4. **inducunt.** The simple inf., though classical with 'animum inducere,' occurs nowhere else with this verb by itself, but is analogous to many other examples (see Introd. i. v. § 43), as is also that below with 'orare' (cp. 11. 32, 5, etc.).

6. **aetati utriusque**: see Introd. i. ix. pp. 140, 150.

7. **maiora**, pregnant construction for 'aditum ad maiora.'

9. **priorem necessitudinem.** He was already the stepson and great nephew of Claudius.

11. **ex filio**, 'Britannico.'

12. **ut rettuli.** The narrative is taken up from 11. 10, 8. The embassy is there stated to have been sent to the princeps, and appears to have been received by him in presence of the senate (c. 11, 1). Another Parthian embassy is referred to the senate in H. 4. 51, 2; and from the advice ascribed by Dio (52. 31, t Maecenas, it would appear that suc was the usual, though not invariable pr ice (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1156).

13. **mandata,** 'their message': . I 23, 5, etc.

14. **foederis.** The treaty orig lly made with Augustus (2. 1, 2) had een renewed with Tiberius through Ger ani cus (2. 58, 1), and again with aiu through L. Vitellius (Suet. Cal. 14; Dio 59. 27, 3).

defectione, 'through having re volted'; a strong instance of the c this abl. of objective causes: see I rod i. v. § 30.

15. **set**: so Halm, Or., Nipp. fo led 'sed et,' which others retain in the ens of 'but even.' Ritt. (who reads cce dere' below) marks a lacuna be ee 'sed' and 'et,' and thinks some suc words as 'Romanum ad principem av dropped out.

Vononis: see 2. 1, 1.

16. **accersere.** (On this form see 2 1, and note); here read by Halm, pp and Dr. (after Puteol. and some eri MSS.) for Med. 'accedere,' which er among them Orell. and Ritt., retai th former, however, inclining to pref 'a cire' (cp. 2. 2, 1), the latter think th original context ran differently (s no above). Tacitus uses 'accedere wi simple accus. apparently only of lac (as in 2. 58, 1; H. 2. 27, 3) or rso

ta intolerandam. iam fratres, iam propinquos, iam longius ›s caedibus exhaustos: adici coniuges gravidas, liberos parvos, n socors domi, bellis infaustus ignaviam saevitia tegat. veterem ac publice coeptam nobiscum amicitiam, et subveniendum iis virium aemulis cedentibusque per reverentiam. ideo regum ros obsides dari, ut, si domestici imperii taedeat, sit regressus principem patresque, quorum moribus adsuefactus rex melior cisceretur.

1. Ubi haec atque talia dissertavere, incipit orationem Caesar astigio Romano Parthorumque obsequiis, seque divo Augusto equabat, petitum ab eo regem referens, omissa Tiberii me-ia, quamquam is quoque miserat. addidit praecepta (etenim rat Meherdates), ut non dominationem et servos, sed rectorem cives cogitaret, clementiamque ac iustitiam, quanto ignota paris, tanto laetiora capesseret. hinc versus ad legatos ex-it laudibus alumnum urbis, spectatae ad id modestiae: ac

ed locally (as in 14. 35, 1; H. 3. 24, r in similar metaphorical expressions 1, 3); but the Med. text may receive support from the expression 'adire em in aliquem' (4. 36, 1), or the use εῖσθαι of suppliants.

longius sitos, 'more distant rela-' This sense appears to be grounded hat of Sallust in 'epistola Mithri-' § 17 ('procul iuxta sitos'), a pas-verbally copied in H. 2. 74, 1.

adici, 'were added to his victims' nd B.).

dum tegat, 'while he would hide eebleness under cruelty'; making how of energy to lead us to forget ebleness as a king. 'Infaustus,' a cal word, seems to be elsewhere used citus of things only.

publice, 'nationally': cp. 3. 36, 2, ote.

virium aemulis, etc. The Par-generally speak of themselves as rs of a rival empire to that of Rome: 58, 1; 6. 31, 2.

o regum liberos, etc. On the s inducing these kings to entrust ons to Rome see 2. 1, 1, and note. and Nipp. follow Dr. in taking ed. 'obsides liberos' as an error of osition (cp. 1. 26, 5; 65, 7, and . The interpretation given to the text by Pfitzner ('as hostages for ngs their sons are given') is much itable to the point of the sentence.

lissertavere, a word adopted by Tacitus (cp. 13. 38, 4; H. 4. 69, 1), apparently from Cato and Plautus. On his use of archaic words and frequentative forms see Introd. i. v. §§ 96, 69 (4).

10. **fastigio Romano**: cp. 3. 73, 3. This part of the speech is a rebuke to the assumption of equality in c. 10, 3. The chief homage of Parthia is that alluded to in 2. 1, 2 (where see note).

11. **petitum . . . regem**, Vonones (see 2. 2, 1, and note). Tiberius had sent Phraates and, after his death, Tiridates (6. 32). On the ellipse of noun or pronoun with 'miserat' cp. 11. 14, 4, etc.

13. **ut . . . cogitaret**, 'to conceive himself as a governor among freemen, not as a despot among slaves': cp. 'tamquam . . . Catonem cogitasset' (Dial. 2, 1).

14. **quanto ignota**. On the use of the positive see Introd. i. v. § 64, 2. Med. has 'ignata,' whence some read 'ignara' (passively, as in 2. 13, 1, etc.), but 'ignota' is supported by parallel expressions in c. 12, 1; 2. 2, 6.

15. **laetiora**: so all recent edd. after Urs. and Acid. (cp. 1. 68, 1); Freinsh. 'gratiora' (cp. 11. 16, 4), for Med. 'toleratiora'; which older edd. retain, but which, besides being ἅπ. εἰρ., can only bear the weak meaning 'more tolerable.'

16. **alumnum urbis**, 'the foster-child of Rome': cp. 'legionum alumnus' (1. 44, 1).

ad id: so used for 'ad id temporis' in c. 38, 2; also in Liv. 3. 22, 8, etc.

ac tamen. The thought is that,

tamen ferenda regum ingenia, neque usui crebras mutatio rem Romanam huc satietate gloriae provectam, ut externis q que gentibus quietem velit. datum posthac C. Cassio, qui Sur praeerat, deducere iuvenem ripam ad Euphratis.

12. Ea tempestate Cassius ceteros praeminebat peritia legu nam militares artes per otium ignotae, industriosque aut igna pax in aequo tenet. ac tamen quantum sine bello daba revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones, cura provisu p inde agere ac si hostis ingrueret: ita dignum maioribus sui familia Cassia *ratus* per illas quoque gentes celebrata. ig excitis quorum de sententia petitus rex, positisque castris a Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam inlustres Pa

even should he change his character, they had better make the best of him.

2. **rem Romanam**, etc., i. e. Rome had no longer the desire to profit by the internal seditions of other nations.

3. **C. Cassio**, brother of L. Cassius, the husband of Drusilla (on his parentage see 6. 15, 3, and note, and Lehmann, p. 256). He was cos. suff. in 783, A. D. 30 (I. R. N. 1968), and was proconsul of Asia ten years later (Dio, 59. 29, 3), and narrowly escaped death at the hands of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 57; Dio, l. l.). He succeeded Vibius Marsus (11. 10, 1) as legatus of Syria not later than 798, A. D. 45 (Eckhel, iii. 280; Mionnet, v. 176), and was succeeded by Ummidius Quadratus not later than 804, A. D. 51 (c. 45, 6). Afterwards he is mentioned several times down to the date of his exile (see 16. 9, 1).

4. **deducere.** The simple inf. is thus used after 'negotio dato' in 6. 12, 4 (see Introd. i. v. § 43). On the anastrophe of 'ad' cp. c. 51, 4; 3. 72, 2; 6. 37, 1; Introd. i. v. § 77, 4.

5. **ceteros praeminebat.** On the accus. with this verb, found only in the Annals and Sallust, see 3. 56, 2, and note. On other analogous instances see Introd. i. v. § 12 c.

peritia legum. According to Pomponius (Dig. 1. 2, 2, 51), he succeeded Masurius Sabinus in the leadership of the school formerly represented by Ateius Capito (see 3. 75, 3, and note).

6. **nam**, etc., explanatory of the fact that such an accomplishment could at that time give political prominence; military eminence, the more natural Roman ground of distinction, being precluded. The tone of the remark is suited to the age of renewed military glory under Tr 'Per otium' is so used for 'in tim peace' in 15. 6, 2; and 'industrius' 'ignavus' have here special referen the presence or absence of soldierly vig cp. 'industria' in c. 27, 4; 1. 44, 8; 'ignavia' in 15. 13, 2; H. 4. 27, 2 'Aut' has the force of 'et'—'et,' as 42, 2: cp. also 1. 64, 6; 3. 20, 3, an use of 'vel' in c. 17, 2.

7. **in aequo**, 'on a dead level (o obscurity).

8. **perinde ac si.** This Ciceri phrase is probably adopted here (see note on c. 60, 3) by Tacitus, wh 'perinde . . . atque' (without 'si') 3. 18, 2, but oftener 'perinde qua 'quam si' (cp. 1. 73, 5, and note).

9. **hostis ingrueret.** The use o verb of persons (cp. c. 30, 1; 1. 27, 2 3, 2; H. 3. 34, 1) seems not to be in earlier prose. Vergil has 'i Aeneas' (Aen. 12, 628).

10. **ratus**, so in some later MS (superscribed in a later hand) in above a lacuna apparently of eight le which Ritt. considers could not be by this word (written 'rat.') and 'et gloria.' Nipp. takes no notice lacuna. A verb or participle of th could no doubt be supplied fro sense: cp. Introd. i. v. § 38 a.

celebrata. The allusion is t successful defence of Syria again Parthian invaders after the fall of C by C. Cassius (the subsequent conspi then quaestor of the province: se 2. 46, 4; Dio, 40. 29, 1; also th sions in Cic. ad Fam. 2. 10, 2; ad 20, 3.

12. **Zeugma.** This place, named ally from the bridge made by Ale

que Arabum Acbarus advenerat, monet Meherdaten, barorum impetus acres cunctatione languescere aut in perfidiam tari: ita urgueret coepta. quod spretum fraude Acbari, qui enem ignarum et summam fortunam in luxu ratum multos dies attinuit apud oppidum Edessam. et vocante Carene mptasque res ostentante, si citi advenissent, non comminus sopotamiam, sed flexu Armeniam petunt, id temporis inporam, quia hiems occipiebat.

13. Exim nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campos propin-

, 40. 17, 3: cp. 'Zeugma Pellaeum' 8, 237), was connected by a bridge Apameia by Seleucus Nicator, the der of both towns (Pl. N. H. 5. 24, 36). It was the most usual place of sing (Dio, 49. 19, 3), but it does not ear that at this time any permanent ge across the Euphrates was kept up note on 6. 37, 4). Its site is stated Orelli) to be marked by Tscheschme Zima, opposite to Bir or Biredsjik, h occupies that of Apameia. For her place of crossing see 15. 26,

rex Arabum Acbarus. This ce ruled no part of Arabia proper, the Arab race (cp. 6. 44, 7) called by y 'Arabes Orrhoei' (N. H. 6. 9, 25, and inhabiting the district of Upper opotamia opposite to Commagene, wards known as Osrhoene, and having ts capital Edessa (see below). 'Acs' (so in Med. twice here, but in c. 14, Abbarus') appears to be not an indial name but a title borne by princes his district, and traceable from the of Crassus or earlier (see Marquardt, 9) to the third century A.D. (see Dict. iog.). It is found also as Ἄκβαρος pp. Parth. p. 34 (Sch.), as Αὔγαρος in (40. 20, 1; 68. 18, 1; 77. 12, 1) and odian (3, 9); but the correct form is n by coins (Eckh. iii. 511) and intions (see Orelli, Insc. 921) to be garus.' Nipp. thinks the present one ably the prince who ruled as Abgar Ukhama ('the dark') from A.D. o.

venerat. The singular verb may rently stand here, as the Arabian e is prominent in what follows; and construction is often in such cases ted to the more important subject. 'abstulerat' (1. 10, 1), 'reducem' o, 8), 'adfecit' (2. 19, 1), 'obstric- (2. 26, 3), and many other instances collected by Nipp. in an Appendix at the end of his volume.

2. **impetus**, 'impulses,' such as their enthusiasm for Meherdates.

4. **ignarum.** This can hardly mean 'inexperienced,' but may readily be understood of his unconsciousness of the treacherous motive; so that Madvig's conjecture 'ignavum' is needless.

summam fortunam, etc., 'thinking that royalty (cp. 11. 12, 4, etc.) consisted in sensuality' (cp. 1. 14, 3, etc.).

5. **Edessam.** This city, situate about forty miles from Zeugma, and now represented by Urfah or Orfah, appears to have been founded upon an already existing town, early in the history of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty; and to have borne at one time the name of Antiocheia, or (as some read) Antiocheia Callirrhoë (see Plin. N. H. 5. 24, 21, 86). Its celebrity belongs to later times.

vocante Carene, 'though Carenes invited him.' He was evidently governor of Mesopotamia (cp. 6. 37, 4), and is mentioned as if already known to the reader. On 'promptas res' cp. 1. 35, 3, and note.

6. **comminus.** This word has the general sense of local proximity in H. 1. 41, 1; G. 8, 1, and in other authors, and the opposition to 'flexu' ('by a detour') suggests that it is to be so taken here. Or Tacitus may have followed Vergil (G. 1, 104) in using it in the sense of 'immediately.'

7. **petunt**: so most edd. after Lips. Nipp. retains the Med. 'petivit,' which seems hardly consistent with 'advenissent.' Ritt. reads 'petivere.'

id temporis: cp. c. 8, 1. The mention of winter shows this campaign to have begun at the end of the year.

inportunam, 'unfavourable'; so in c. 33, 2.

9. **Exim.** The remainder of this narra-

quabant, copiis Carenis adiunguntur, tramissoque amne Ti permeant Adiabenos, quorum rex Izates societatem Meherd palam induerat, in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinat sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae castellum insigne fama, quod postremo inter Darium at Alexandrum proelio Persarum illic opes conciderant. inte Gotarzes apud montem, cui nomen Sanbulos, vota dis loci su piebat, praecipua religione Herculis, qui tempore stato per quiet

tive appears to belong to the following year. The mountains would be the range of Taurus and Masius in the south of Armenia: see Introd. p. 110.

campos propinquabant. Such a construction is found elsewhere only in Sall. H. 4. 62, D; 20 K; 50 G ('propinquantes . . . amnem'); nor does any other earlier prose author use the verb, which elsewhere in Tacitus takes the dat., as in 1. 63, 2; 15. 39, 1, etc. Ritt. reads 'propinquarant,' pointing out a similar confusion of 'b' and 'r' ('tenebo' for 'te, Nero') in 16. 22, 2.

1. **tramisso**: cp. 1. 56, 4; 2. 11, 1, etc.

2. **permeant**, 'traverse': cp. 1. 50, 3; 15. 9, 1.

Adiabenos. Adiabene is properly the name of the northern part of Assyria between the Tigris and its tributary the Lycus (Greater Zab) and the mountains of Kurdistan (see Ptol. 6. 1, 2). Pliny however, though apparently at times so restricting the name (cp. 'Adiabene Assyriorum initium' 6. 13, 16, 41), also takes it as in his time a name for the whole of Assyria proper (cp. 'Adiabene Assyria ante dicta' 5. 12, 13, 66), as does also Ammianus (cp. 'Adiabena Assyria priscis temporibus vocitata' 23. 6, 20); and the district, as containing Ninus, may no doubt be regarded as the cradle of Assyria.

Izates. Med. has here 'iuliates,' and in c. 14, 2, 'ezates,' which may have been the form written by Tacitus; but all editors have followed Freinsh. in reading it as in Josephus, from whose account (Ant. 20. 2–4) it appears that Izates was son of Monobazus and Helena, and became a Jewish proselyte; also that he had restored Artabanus to his throne (see Introd. p. 105, 1), but was at variance with his successors.

3. **induerat.** On the metaphor cp. 1. 69, 2, and note.

per occulta et magis fida, secret and more sincere overtures.'

4. **Ninos.** The vast remains of Nin are situate opposite Mosul. Pliny deed speaks of the city (N. H. 6. 13 42) as a thing of the past ('fuit et N imposita Tigri, ad solis occasum s tans, quondam clarissima'), and St (16. 1, 3, 737) and Lucian (Contempl represent it as having wholly peris but the latter statements must be e gerated, and that of Pliny must be refe only to its departed greatness; the x istence of an inhabited town upon site being not only attested by this sage, and by Ptol. (6. 2, 3), but als coins struck in Trajan's time and l showing that Meherdates must called it, in honour of this victory, lonia Nini (or Niniva) Clau,' or 'C diopolis.' See Marquardt, i. p. 279,

et castellum. Most edd. have serted 'et' after Lips.: some hav serted 'et Arbela,' which is foun MS. Agr. but appears to be a g Neither Arbela, which was a conside town, many miles from the field of b nor the village of Gaugamela nea actual spot (see Strabo, 16. 1, 3, could well be called 'castellum'; b is probable that a fort may have built on the site of the battle by Macedonian kings.

7. **Sanbulos.** This name appea be preserved in that of the modern M Sunbulah, a considerable offshoo Zagros, between the plains of Ghila Deira, in Lat. 34°. 25′, Long. 46° (Rawlinson, 258, n. 1). It is to be that on Mt. Kerefto, in the east of distan, a fragmentary inscription has found (C. I. G. 4673) which Boeckh as Ἡρακλῆ [προσ]κύ[νημα] . . . μη[θ]ὲ π[ά]θοι κακόν.

8. **praecipua religione Herc** 'the especial worship being that of cules.' The old editors and most c

iet sacerdotes, ut templum iuxta equos venatui adornatos ant. equi ubi pharetras telis onustas accepere, per saltus i nocte demum vacuis pharetris multo cum anhelitu redeunt. um deus, qua silvas pererraverit, nocturno visu demonstrat, eriunturque fusae passim ferae.

4. Ceterum Gotarzes, nondum satis aucto exercitu, flumine ma pro munimento uti, et quamquam per insectationes et tios ad proelium vocaretur, nectere moras, locos mutare et sis corruptoribus exuendam ad fidem hostes emercari. ex s Izates Adiabeno, mox Acbarus Arabum cum exercitu cedunt, levitate gentili, et quia experimentis cognitum est baros malle Roma petere reges quam habere. at Meherdates

erns have thus corrected the Med. rculi,' which Rup., Walth. and Ritt. n as a dat. taken closely with 'reli- e' ('the chief worship being paid to cules'), which appears hardly a pos- construction; while to take the dat. h Ern.) after 'suscipiebat,' does not, Nipp. has shown, give the meaning ch Tacitus appears to intend. On other hand, such a genitive as 'Her- ' could be defended from earlier n, as Cic. Acad. 2. 34, 108; but tus elsewhere has always 'Herculis' 4, 2; 3. 61, 3; 4. 43, 2; H. 3. 42, 3; 4, 2), and the 'i' form of such geni- had so dropped out of use (cp. it. 1. 5, 63) that Pliny (ap. Charis. P.) calls it altogether obsolete. The rrence of the Greek name Heracles in e regions has been noticed above; but worship was no doubt grounded on that me antient Eastern deity. The most able identification seems to be that the Assyrian god Nin or Ninip, a whose association with Heracles s vaguely indicated by the mythical gree in Hdt. 1. 7, 3, and who cer- y resembled him in attributes, and worshipped as giving the king suc- both in war and hunting (Rawlinson, e Great Monarchies,' i. p. 159–161). identifications with the Assyrian sun- San or Sansi, and with the Vere- gna worshipped by the Arians of and closely associated with Mithras Duncker, Hist. Ant. v. 115, foll.), to be grounded on a less close nblance.

mpore stato, 'at regular inter- ': cp. 'statos aestivis flatibus dies' 4. 81, 1).

per quietem: cp. 1. 65, 2, and note.

1. **monet sacerdotes,** etc. Nipp. rightly notes that the simple narration of this story by Tacitus need not be taken to imply his belief in it.

venatui, dat. of purpose: cp. Introd. i. v. § 22, c.

7. **Corma.** This unknown river has been by some taken to be the Kara-su or river of Kermanschat, near which place is the inscription by which Gotarzes has been thought to have commemorated his victory (see Introd. p. 106, 3). The campaign must probably have taken place in the district of Chalonitis between Mt. Zagros and the Tigris, and the positions of Gotarzes appear to have covered the advance to Ctesiphon, which Meherdates is not mentioned as having reached.

insectationes, 'insults'; so in pl. in 2. 55, 3.

9. **emercari**, a Tacitean word, only in the later books of the Annals; used here with accus. of the person, in c. 45. 5, with that of the quality in a person to which the bribe appeals, in 13. 44. 1; 16. 1, 1, with that of the favour purchased.

10. **Adiabeno**: so Halm and Nipp. with J. F. Gron. Orelli and Dr. retain the Med. 'Adiabenus,' which loses the antithesis, and seems the error of a scribe who thought it must agree with 'Izates.' Ritt. has 'Adiabenus suo,' Haase 'Adiabenum' (taking it as genit. pl., as also in 15. 1, 3).

11. **gentili,** 'characteristic of their race': cp. c. 17, 3; 34, 4; also 'more gentico diversa induere' (6. 33, 3).

12. **Roma petere**: so in 2. 1, 1.

validis auxiliis nudatus, ceterorum proditione suspecta, qu unum reliquum, rem in casum dare proelioque experiri stat: nec detrectavit pugnam Gotarzes deminutis hostibus ferox; c cursumque magna caede et ambiguo eventu, donec Caren profligatis obversis longius evectum integer a tergo glo circumveniret. tum omni spe perdita Meherdates, promi Parracis paterni clientis secutus, dolo eius vincitur traditur victori. atque ille non propinquum neque Arsacis de gente, alienigenam et Romanum increpans, auribus decisis vivere iu ostentui clementiae suae et in nos dehonestamento. dein tarzes morbo obiit, accitusque in regnum Vonones Medos t praesidens. nulla huic prospera aut adversa, quis memoraret: brevi et inglorio imperio perfunctus est, resque Parthorum filium eius Vologesen translatae.

1. **suspecta**, 'being apprehended': cp. 3. 52, 1, and note.

quod unum reliquum (sc. 'erat'), 'his only resource.'

2. **rem in casum dare**: cp. 1. 47, 1, and note.

3. **ferox**, 'confident': cp. 1. 3, 4 (and note), etc.

concursumque, etc. Cp. the description of the battle between Maroboduus and Arminius (2. 26, 4).

5. **obversis**, 'his opponents.' Dr. notes that this word is not elsewhere used substantively.

7. **clientis**, apparently a vassal freeman, but perhaps only a slave, as Justin states (41. 2, 5) that the main Parthian force consisted of such, armed and trained by the nobles with their own sons. He adds that in an army of 50,000 Parthians opposed to Antonius, only four hundred were free. (See Momms. Hist. v. 345; E. T. ii. 7.)

9. **increpans**, 'upbraiding him as'; taken strictly with 'alienigenam et Romanum,' and by zeugma with 'non propinquum,' etc.

10. **ostentui . . . dehonestamento**: on this dative (which is rare in apposition) see Introd. i. v. § 23. 'Dehonestamentum' is used for 'disgrace' in 14. 21, 7 (cp. H. 2. 87, 4), and for 'disfigurement' in H. 4. 13, 2, and once in each sense in Sall. (H. 1. 55 D, 57 K, 80 G; 'Or. Lepidi' 21), the only instances of the word before Seneca. This mutilation disposed of his chance of the crown (see Rawlinson, 259, n. 1).

dein, etc. The events of s years appear to be here grouped toget Professor Percy Gardner notes (Coi of Parthia, p. 50) that, though a coi Gotarzes has been assigned to A. D. his latest indisputable coin belong June A. D. 51, and that he may prob have died about that time. Also (p. that Vonones, to whom some assig reign of five or six years, probably is no coins and reigned only during two months of the same year, and Volgeses probably succeeded in S A.D. 51. Other views (see note on c. 4 and Nipp. here) give Vonones a some longer reign. Josephus (Ant. 20. 3 whose general account is inaccurate below), makes Gotarzes lose his life conspiracy.

11. **accitus in regnum**: cp. 11. 1 and the instances of the use of 'regn for 'the throne' there cited by N esp. Livy 1. 35, 2; 2. 6, 2, from w the expression here is taken.

Medos tum praesidens. On use of 'praesidere' with accus. cp. 3. 3 and note; on the kingdom of Media A patene see 2. 56, 1, and note. Jose (l. l.) omits all mention of this Von and calls Vologeses a brother of Gota

14. **Vologesen.** The name in Me 'Vologaeses' in 15. 7, 1, elsewhe the Annals 'Vologeses,' twice 'V gesus' (see 13. 7, 2; 37, 1, and n which form occurs also in H. 4. 5 'Vologaesus' in H. 1. 40, 4. N reads the name as 'Vologaeses,' on analogy of 'Abdagaeses' (6. 37, 5,

15. At Mithridates Bosporanus amissis opibus vagus, postam Didium ducem Romanum roburque exercitus abisse cogverat, relictos in novo regno Cotym iuventa rudem et paucas ıortium cum Iulio Aquila equite Romano, spretis utrisque ıcire nationes, inlicere perfugas; postremo exercitu coacto ;em Dandaridarum exturbat imperioque eius potitur. quae cognita et iam iamque Bosporum invasurus habebatur, diffisi ›priis viribus Aquila et Cotys, quia Zorsines Siracorum rex ;tilia resumpserat, externas et ipsi gratias quaesivere missis

'Monaeses.' Some coins are found ribed Βολαγάσου (Eckh. iii. 536) or γάσου (Gardner, l. l.), but those of king bear no name save 'Arsaces,' :pt one, which has 'Vol' in Pehlvi :rs. On the probable duration of his a see Introd. p. 97, 3. The account ıis relations with Rome is resumed 44.

Mithridates Bosporanus, so disuished from the king of Armenia (11. , etc.). Tacitus is here no doubt rring to events previously related. prince, who calls himself *υἱὸς τοῦ ουργοῦ* on an inscription (C. I. G. ii. 5; Lehm. 479, 484), is stated by Dio 8, 2) to have been a descendant of great Mithridates, and to have received kingdom (in succession to Polemo, received an equivalent in Cilicia) Claudius in 794, A.D. 41, but was wards displaced by him in favour of rother Cotys (see below and c. 18, 1, note). Coins of Cotys (see Visc. Ic. i. 157) appear to show this to have ı place in 799, A.D. 46. A kingdom ıore or less extent, having Panticam (Kertch) for its capital, and ruling of the Crimea (the chief exception the independent Greek city Heraclea hersonesus, now Sevastopol), besides minion or sovereignty, uncertain in t, over the tribes to the east of the nerian Bosporus, is traceable from fth century B.C. to the fourth century (see the list of its kings given by ames, in Dict. of Geog. s. v. and a h of its history in Mommsen, Hist. v. 294; E. T. i. 312–319). It is chiefly ıas as having been annexed by the Mithridates and retained by his son ıaces, after whose death it became ɛndent on Rome.

gus. On his deposition, he is led by Pliny (N. H. 6. 5, 17) to fled to the Sauromatae.

2. **Didium**, apparently A. Didius Gallus, who may probably, as Nipp. suggests, have acted against Mithridates as legatus of Moesia. He is known as 'curator aquarum' at this date (Frontin. Aq. 102; C. I. L. vi. 1. 1248; on which see Nipp. here). He was afterwards legatus of Britain (c. 40, 1, and note). He is called a consular (Agr. 14, 3), and must have been such to have held these appointments; but the date of his consulship is unknown.

3. **paucas cohortium**, sc. 'auxiliarium.'

4. **Iulio Aquila.** Nipp. cites an inscription at Naples (C. I. G. 5790), Γ. Ἰούλιος (wrongly there read by Boëckh as Ἰούνιος) Ἀκύλας νεώτερος, *στρατευσάμενος, ἐπιτροπεύσας, δημαρχήσας, λαυκελαρχήσας.* The two latter terms denote municipal offices, *ἐπιτροπεύσας* that of 'procurator fisci': a bilingual inscription (Or. 3311; C. I. G. 3743; C. I. L. iii. 1. 346) records him to have held that office in Bithynia, and to have made a road there by order of Nero in 811, A.D. 58.

6. **Dandaridarum.** This people are called *Δανδάριοι* by Strabo (11. 2, 11, 495), who speaks of them as a Maeotic (apparently Sarmatian) race living near the Hypanis (here evidently the Kuban), and by Plutarch, who mentions their prince as a vassal of Mithridates (Luc. 16, 501).

7. **habebatur**: so with nom. and inf. in 4. 45, 5 (where see note).

8. **Siracorum**, a correction of Lips. (for Med. 'Syracusorum') from Pliny (N. H. 4. 12, 26, 83) and Strabo (11. 2, 1, p. 492), who also (11. 5, 8, 506) calls them *Σίρακες*: in Ptol. (5. 9, 17, 19) they are *Σιρακηνοί*, in C. I. G. 2132 e (ii. p. 1009) *Σιραχοί.* On their local and ethnical affinity to the Aorsi see note below.

9. **hostilia resumpserat**: Dr. notes the analogy of this new phrase to 'hostilia facere' (15. 13, 4), 'coeptare' (H. 3. 70,

legatis ad Eunonen, qui Aorsorum genti *praesidens opibus* pra cellebat. nec fuit in arduo societas potentiam Romanam a versus rebellem Mithridaten ostentantibus. igitur pepige, equestribus proeliis Eunones certaret, obsidia urbium Roma capesserent.

16. Tunc composito agmine incedunt, cuius frontem et ter Aorsi, media cohortes et Bosporani tutabantur nostris in arm. sic pulsus hostis, ventumque Sozam, oppidum Dandaricae, qu desertum a Mithridate ob ambiguos popularium animos optin relicto ibi praesidio visum. exim in Siracos pergunt, et tra gressi amnem Pandam circumveniunt urbem Uspen, editam lo et moenibus ac fossis munitam, nisi quod moenia non saxo s cratibus et vimentis ac media humo adversum inrumpentes in lida erant; eductaeque altius turres facibus atque hastis turl-

1), etc. It is probable that some hostile act of this prince had been previously mentioned.

1. **Aorsorum**: also a correction of Lips. for Med. 'aduorsorum'; which form is given throughout, and may have been that used by Tacitus. These and the Siraci (who adjoined them on the north) are described by Strabo (ll. ll.) as Sarmatian races living between the Tanais, the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Caucasus. He makes both to be off-shoots of the great nation of the more distant Aorsi who lived further north-east, on the Caspian. The name is found both in Europe and in Asia (Ptol. 3. 5, 22; 6. 14, 10).

praecellebat. The unsuitableness of this word to denote kingship is Halm's reason for inserting 'praesidens opibus' before it; nor is it unlikely that a copyist's eye may have been led on from one word beginning with 'prae' to the other. Nipp., who also suggests an insertion of similar effect, in his text follows Haase in altering 'praecellebat' to 'praesidebat' (cp. c. 14, 7).

2. **in arduo**: so in 4. 7, 2, cp. 'in levi' 3. 54, 6 (where see note).

3. **pepigere.** Dr. notes that this verb is here alone used with simple subjunct.: so 'perpulerant' (H. 4. 20, 2).

6. **composito agmine.** The context seems to show that this means here 'with combined forces,' as also probably in H. 5. 1, 5. In H. 2. 89, 1, and elsewhere, the expression denotes an orderly or disciplined force.

7. **nostris in armis.** Nipp. notes at this is taken closely with 'Bospor,' being superfluous in relation to 'cohor.' The Roman military organisation ado d by allied or even hostile peoples (c 2. 45, 3; 52, 4; H. 3. 47, 3) was prob y here, and in most cases, that of Ro n auxiliary cohorts, but sometimes, a in the case of Deiotarus (Bell. Al. 34, 4) at of the legions (cp. also 3. 43, 2).

8. **Sozam.** This town, as also U e, and the Panda, are nowhere else m tioned; but the line of march appea to have been to the north-east from he straits (c. 17, 3).

9. **popularium,** probably here he citizens,' or 'population,' a sense the by this substantive in late writers. Np. points out that they could hardl be called 'the countrymen' of Mithrid s, who had usurped rule over them.

optineri, 'to be secured': cp. p tinendis quae percurrerat' (Agr. 23,

12. **nisi quod,** qualifying 'munit : cp. 1. 33, 6, and note.

saxo, abl. of material: cp. 'ro solida' (2. 33, 1, and note).

13. **vimentis** ($ἅπ. εἰρ.$) = 'vimin s,' forming a hendiadys with 'cratibus.' On the preference of Tacitus for the pre unusual forms either in 'men' or 'en tum' see Introd. i. v. § 69.

media, 'filling the space between

14. **turbabant.** The action of the en in the towers is here assigned to the t ers themselves. Dr. compares this fig of speech to the frequent personificati of

ıt obsessos. ac ni proelium nox diremisset, coepta patrataque ɔugnatio eundem intra diem foret.

17. Postero misere legatos, veniam liberis corporibus orantes: vitii decem milia offerebant. quod aspernati sunt victores, a trucidare deditos saevum, tantam multitudinem custodia gere arduum: belli potius iure caderent, datumque militi-;, qui scalis evaserant, signum caedis. excidio Uspensium tus ceteris iniectus, nihil tutum ratis, cum arma, munimenta, ɔediti vel eminentes loci amnesque et urbes iuxta perrum-entur. igitur Zorsines, diu pensitato Mithridatisne rebus ex-mis an patrio regno consuleret, postquam praevaluit gentilis itas, datis obsidibus apud effigiem Caesaris procubuit, magna ria exercitus Romani, quem incruentum et victorem tridui ere afuisse ab amne Tanai constitit. sed in regressu dispar

ıus,' 'dies,' 'nox,' etc. (cp. Introd. i. 75).

postero, sc. 'die': cp. 4. 45, 4, and

servitii, abstr. for concr.: cp. 'e tio Blaesi' (1. 23, 2), and many more nces in plural. The large number ed appears to show an active slave in these parts (see Momms. Hist. 33; E. T. ii. 319).

ıod. The grounds of the refusal this to refer to all proposals of sur-er, conditional or unconditional.

belli potius iure caderent. Med. 'ut' before these words, which is ıed by most edd. and defended by . Müller (Beitr. iv. 10); the clause taken as depending on some such as 'visum est,' supplied from 'asper-re.' But such passages as are referred .g. 3. 68, 1; 71, 3; H. 4. 5, 1) are really parallel, and a sentence so lete in itself as that here given ɔd . . . arduum') would hardly be ıwkwardly followed by a final clause. possible that some participle has ɔed out, but Ritter's insertion of itum' is violent. It seems better to suppose (with Acid.) that the e has got out of its place, and should after 'signum caedis,' or to follow with Halm and Nipp., in treating as the insertion of a scribe who ;ht such a construction necessary, o take the sentence as the expression thought ('let them rather perish by of warfare') with the verb of think-ɔmitted (see Introd. i. v. § 38 a). transition is somewhat harsh, but less so than if 'ut' were altered to 'at' (with Haase).

7. **evaserant**, sc. 'in muros' or 'moenia'; the full expression is used by Livy (2. 17, 5; 10. 17, 7), who appears to follow Verg. Aen. 2, 458 ('evado ad summi fastigia culminis'). The verb is also used in the sense of 'ascending' by Sallust (Jug. 52, 3, etc.).

8. **arma . . . urbes**. For the change from asyndeta to clauses connected by particles, and the variations in these, cp. 1. 11, 6, and note, also c. 39, 3; 64, 3, etc. Such variations occur in other authors, e.g. Liv. 9. 14, 11, 'caedunt pariter resistentes fusosque, inermes atque armatos, servos liberos, puberes impubes, homines iumentaque.'

9. **impediti vel eminentes**. The situation of Uspe was on an eminence, besides being fortified (c. 16, 3).

iuxta = 'pariter': cp. 11. 33, 1, and note.

10. **pensitato**: cp. 3. 52, 4, and note.

11. **gentilis** = 'gentis suae': cp. 11. 1, 2; also 'gentile imperium' (6. 32, 5).

12. **procubuit**, 'prostrated himself': cp. 1. 12, 1, etc. The effigy of Caesar was carried with the standards (cp. 15. 24, 3). Artabanus in similar manner 'aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit' (Suet. Cal. 14).

magna gloria, abl. abs.

14. **ab amne Tanai**. Orelli notes that this river was, in Roman idea, one of the extremities of the known world: cp. 'extremum Tanain si biberes' (Hor. Od. 3. 10, 1).

fortuna fuit, quia navium quasdam (quippe mari remeabant) litora Taurorum delatas circumvenere barbari, praefecto cohort et plerisque auxiliarium interfectis.

18. Interea Mithridates nullo in armis subsidio consulta cuius misericordiam experiretur. frater Cotys, proditor oli deinde hostis, metuebatur: Romanorum nemo id auctoritat aderat, ut promissa eius magni penderentur. ad Eunon convertit, propriis odiis *non* infensum et recens coniuncta n biscum amicitia validum. igitur cultu vultuque quam maxi ad praesentem fortunam comparato regiam ingreditur ge busque eius provolutus 'Mithridates' inquit 'terra mariq Romanis per tot annos quaesitus sponte adsum: utere,

1. **quia,** 'inasmuch as.' Nipp. notes a similar use in 14. 22, 4.

quippe: so Halm and Dr., after Nipp., for the Med. 'quae,' on the supposition that the troops are supplied as the subject of 'remeabant.' It is impossible to suppose that the historian meant to say no more than that the ships went by sea, nor can the Med. text be well defended by supposing 'remeabant' to convey the meaning that they were returning loaded with troops. Ritter imagines that 'Pontico' may have dropped out; but this would hardly be a correct designation of the Palus Maeotis. The genit. 'navium' resembles 'cohortium' in c. 15, 1, and many others (Introd. i. v. § 32 c).

2. **Taurorum.** This people were known to Herodotus, who represents them (4. 99, 3) as the inhabitants of the Crimea. He distinguishes them from Scythians proper, and would perhaps connect them with their predecessors, the half-legendary Cimmerians (4. 12, 1). He also mentions (4. 103, 1) their savage worship of the Παρθένος. In a wider sense they were no doubt a Scythic race, and are so called by Strabo (7. 4, 2, p. 308), who mentions their piratical habits and hostility to strangers.

3. **plerisque** = 'permultis,' cp. 3. 1, 2, and note.

auxiliarium, the soldiers of the cohorts (c. 15, 1). This correction of Lips. for Med. 'consiliarium' has been generally followed. The old edd. read 'consularium'; but there could have been none of such rank in this force (see on c. 18, 1). Some have followed Rhen. in reading the correction of an inferior MS., 'centurionum.'

interfectis, aoristic perf.: cp. trod. i. v. § 54 b.

5. **frater Cotys:** see c. 15. 1.

proditor olim. A story is preserved the Byzantine writer Petrus Patricius (Momms. Hist. v. 379, 2; E. T. ii. 46, that Mithridates (whom he confuses w the Armenian king of that name) m tated revolt, but, to keep up the appe ance of fidelity, sent to Rome his brot Cotys, who there informed against h and received the kingdom as his rewa

6. **nemo id auctoritatis.** This pression is ἅπ. εἰρ., founded on the anal of the Ciceronian 'id temporis' (cp. 2, and note), 'id aetatis' (5. 9, 3). e Roman commander was only a kn (c. 15, 1).

8. **convertit,** intrans., as in 3. 35 4. 3, 3.

propriis, 'personal.' He had y become his enemy to please the Rom

non infensum. All recent d. follow Ryck. and Ern. in thus inser the negative, after MS. Agr. The a native emendation, 'inoffensum,' sugge by Jac. Gron. and approved by Ma (Adv. ii. 551), is hardly supported by passages as 13. 30, 4. Eunones wou the more influential ('validus': cp. 4 6; 6. 8, 4, etc.) with the Romans, as had themselves sought his alliance (c 2). The adverbial use of 'recens' i found in the minor writings of Ta nor in Cic. or Caes., but is otherwise uncommon.

9. **cultu vultuque.** Dr. notices any such play on words (cp. 'fa fatumque' Agr. 42, 4) is rare in Ta and in historians generally, more com in Cicero, most of all in Apuleius.

10. **genibus..provolutus:** cp. 11.

les, prole magni Achaemenis, quod mihi solum hostes non stulerunt.'

19. At Eunones claritudine viri, mutatione rerum et prece ud degeneri permotus, adlevat supplicem laudatque quod ntem Aorsorum, quod suam dextram petendae veniae delerit. simul legatos literasque ad Caesarem in hunc modum ttit: populi Romani imperatoribus, magnarum nationum regis primam ex similitudine fortunae amicitiam, sibi et Claudio am communionem victoriae esse. bellorum egregios fines, otiens ignoscendo transigatur: sic Zorsini victo nihil ereptum. o Mithridate, quando gravius mereretur, non potentiam neque gnum precari, sed ne triumpharetur neve poenas capite expenret.

20. At Claudius, quamquam nobilitatibus externis mitis, duavit tamen, accipere captivum pacto salutis an repetere armis tius foret. hinc dolor iniuriarum et libido vindictae adigebat:

. **prole magni Achaemenis.** His estor, the great Mithridates (see on 5, 1), is said by Justin (38. 7, 1) 'paios maiores suos a Cyro Darioque, . . . ernos a Magno Alexandro et Nicatore euco . . . referre.' Achaemenes is resented as great-grandfather of Cyrus dt. 7. 11, 3), and founder of the family the Achaemenidae, to which all the sian kings belonged (Id. 1. 125, 5). race uses 'dives Achaemenes' (Od. 2. 21) as a name for a typical Eastern g.

uod, 'which possession,' i.e. the y of this ancestry.

. **haud degeneri**, 'not undignified': cp. eces degeneres' (c. 36, 6), and similar ressions in 4. 38, 4; 11. 19, 4; H. 3. 4, etc. He had not condescended to ulate, but had relied, as a king, on the erosity of a brother king.

. **suam dextram**, 'his good faith' and B.): cp. 'renovari dextras' foedus') in 2. 58, 1.

elegerit, so with gerundive dat. in , 2; 6. 43, 2, etc.

. **imperatoribus . . . regibus.** The ling of the older editors, 'magnaque,' has been generally set aside in nt texts for the Med. as above; but asyndeton is harsh, and the instances 1 by Nipp. hardly apposite, as the ies spoken of here are those between m friendship is formed, and answer to i et Claudio' below.

8. **primam . . . amicitiam,** 'friendship originates': on 'fortuna,' in the sense of rank, cp. 11. 30, 3, etc.

10. **quotiens ignoscendo transigatur,** 'whenever the matter is ended by a pardon': in the same sense impers. in passive in G. 19, 3 ('cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur'), also intrans. act. in H. 3. 46, 4; Agr. 34, 4.

11. **gravius mereretur.** Nipp. notes that, though the sense is here that of an adjective ('had deserved heavier punishment'), the construction is adverbial, as in 'bene,' 'male mereri,' etc.

12. **ne triumpharetur,** 'that he should not be led in triumph': so 'triumphati magis quam victi' (G. 37, 6); and in Verg., Hor., Ov., etc.: the transitive active sense is of later use.

poenas . . . expenderet, a poetical expression, here apparently taken by Tacitus from Vergil (Aen. 10, 669; 11, 258).

14. **nobilitatibus,** 'princes' (abstr. for concrete; cp. Introd. i. v. § 1), so used (as also 'nobilis') of royal or princely rank in c. 37, 1; 53, 3; 13. 12, 2; 14. 26, 1. A similar dative with 'mitis' is found in Agr. 16, 3 ('poenitentiae mitior'), and with 'inmitis' in 14. 23, 3: cp. 'adrogans minoribus' (11. 21, 4).

15. **repetere,** 'to recover him,' like 'res repetere,' etc.

16. **hinc** = 'ab hac parte,' as in 3. 10, 6: 'adigere' can be used absolutely (cp. 15.

sed disserebatur contra suscipi bellum avio itinere, inportuo mari; ad hoc reges feroces, vagos populos, solum frugu egenum, taedium ex mora, pericula ex properantia, modica victoribus laudem ac multum infamiae, si pellerentur. qu arriperet oblata et servaret exulem, cui inopi quanto longiore vitam, tanto plus supplicii fore. his permotus scripsit Eunon, meritum quidem novissima exempla Mithridatem, nec sibi vim a exsequendum deesse: verum ita maioribus placitum, quanta pe-vicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia adversus supplices utendum; nam triumphos de populis regnisque integris acquiri.

21. Traditus posthac Mithridates vectusque Romam per I-nium Cilonem, procuratorem Ponti, ferocius quam pro fortu disseruisse apud Caesarem ferebatur, elataque vox eius in vu-gum hisce verbis, 'non sum remissus ad te, sed reversus: u

33, 1, and note); so that the correction 'huc,' adopted by Nipp. and Jacob after Lips., seems needless. In Gerber and Greef, Lex., 'vindictae' is less well taken as dat. The 'iniuriae' would appear to consist in his having meditated revolt (see on c. 18, 1), after having received his kingdom as a gift from Claudius (see on c. 15, 1).

1. **suscipi** = 'suscipiendum esse': so 'incipi' in 2. 76, 4.

inportuoso: cp. 4. 67, 2, and note. The ablatives here are absolute.

2. **ad hoc**, 'besides' (= πρὸς τούτοις), as in c. 34, 1; 13. 34, 5; 14. 24, 2, etc.

3. **egenum**: cp. 1. 53, 3, and note; here a correction from MS. Agr. for Med. 'egentum' (in margin 'egens tum').

properantia = 'properatione'; only here and in Sall. Jug. 36, 3.

4. **quin arriperet**, 'why not seize the offer,' equivalent to 'quin arripe' in oratio recta: cp. 'quin . . . accingeretur' (H. 3. 66, 6).

5. **servaret exulem**, 'keep him alive, but in exile.'

7. **meritum . . . novissima exempla.** The expression is repeated in 15. 44, 8, and 'novissima' means 'the uttermost' in 6. 50, 8 (where see note): 'exemplum' is used for 'punishment' in Caes. B. G. 1. 31, 12 ('omnia exempla cruciatusque edere'), and a few other places (cp. 14. 44, 7, and note).

8. **pervicacia**, in good sense ('resolution'): cp. 'recti pervicax' (H. 4. 5, 4). The thought seems taken from that of Vergil (Aen. 6, 854), 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

9. **in . . . adversus**, interchanged, s in c. 55, 3; 6. 1, 5, etc.

10. **integris**, perhaps best taken wi Ruperti as = 'universis' (whole people s opposed to single individuals). Oth would take it as 'unimpaired.' Mit-dates had already been driven from s kingdom by Cotys.

11. **Iunium Cilonem.** The M. 'Colonem' is thus corrected from D, who gives a story (60. 33, 5) of his ac-sation for extortion, and of Narcissus s telling Claudius that the accusers (wh e voices were drowned by a tumult) w e praising his government; whereupon e emperor, without further inquiry, g e him two years' extension of his of . 'Cilo' and 'Chilo' are both Rom names, differing in their etymology e Nipp.), but sometimes confounded in c is (Eckh. v. p. 212) and inscriptions p. Wilm. 1202 a, b; 2815).

12. **procuratorem Ponti.** Dio (l.) calls him governor of Bithynia, wh, with part of Pontus, was a senatal province under proconsuls of praetin rank (see on c. 22, 4, also 1. 74, 1, d note). If he was only a 'procur or fisci' (see 4. 15, 3, and note), he wld be no more than a knight, but may ve had subordinate charge, in that capa y, of the district of Pontus. See below on 2.

ferocius, 'with more spirit.'

13. **elata . . . in vulgum**, 'be ne publicly known': 'efferre' has the ce of 'eloqui' in 6. 9, 1.

14. **reversus.** Nipp. notes that Ta us here uses the less classical deponent rm of the perfect probably on account o he

non credis, dimitte et quaere.' vultu quoque interrito per- ansit, cum rostra iuxta custodibus circumdatus visui populo aeberetur. consularia insignia Ciloni, Aquilae praetoria decer- ntur.

22. Isdem consulibus atrox odii Agrippina ac Lolliae infensa, od secum de matrimonio principis certavisset, molitur crimina accusatorem, qui obiceret Chaldaeos, magos interrogatumque ɔollinis Clarii simulacrum super nuptiis imperatoris. exim audius inaudita rea multa de claritudine eius apud senatum aefatus, sorore L. Volusii genitam, maiorem ei patruum Cot- n Messalinum esse, Memmio quondam Regulo nuptam (nam Gai Caesaris nuptiis consulto reticebat), addidit perniciosa in

ximity of 'remissus.' Claudius had ginally given him the kingdom (see on 5, 1); so that he means to say 'you t me there, and I have come back to of my own free will.'

. **dimitte et quaere**, 'set me free in and catch me if you can.'

. **rostra iuxta**: for the anastrophe 2. 41, 1; Introd. i. v. § 77, 1. Taci- makes no further mention of Mithri- es, who is stated by Plutarch (Galb. 15, 9) to have been put to death by Galba complicity in the treason of Nymphi- s Sabinus (on whom see 15. 72, 3 and e). An inscription at Rome (Henzen 3) records one of his household ('ego L. Lutatius Paccius thurarius de ilia rege Mithredatis').

. **consularia insignia**, etc. On such signia' or 'ornamenta' see 11. 38, 5, note. The fact that Cilo received a ner distinction than the knight Aquila, had certainly done much more (c. 15, oll.), would rather argue that Tacitus wrong, and Dio right, in the rank gned to him (see above): on the other d, Graecinus Laco, as procurator of il, received a similar honour (Dio, 60 3; Inscr. Or. 3130); and Suet. who (Cl. 24) 'ornamenta consularia etiam uratoribus ducenariis indulsit,' seems e alluding especially to this case; as p. points out that a procurator of tus and Bithynia is styled δουκηνάριος ceiving a salary of 200,000 HS.') in . G. 2509. It is possible that Suet. be merely following Tacitus here, misled by him, and that Cilo may been the successor of Cadius Rufus 2, 4).

atrox odii, 'unrelenting in her hatred.' This genit. (ἅπ. εἰρ.) is analogous to those with 'ferox' (4. 12, 3) and others: see Introd. i. v. § 33 e, γ.

Lolliae: see c. 1, 3, and note.

6. **molitur**, taken by zeugma with 'accusatorem': cp. 11. 12, 1.

7. **Chaldaeos, magos**, used in a pregnant sense for the consultation of such persons: for other such instances in which the sense of a participle or abstract noun is thus supplied cp. 1. 68, 6; 15. 36, 1; Introd. i. v. § 80. On the Chaldaeans (astrologers) and magicians see 2. 27, 2 (and note); and, on the measures taken against them, c. 52, 3; 3. 32, 5, and note.

8. **Apollinis Clarii simulacrum.** We should rather have expected 'oraculum'; but it must apparently be understood that she was alleged to have consulted, probably through persons sent for the purpose, the famous oracle at Colophon (on which see 2. 54, 3, and note); for we can hardly suppose, with Ritter, that some image of the god kept at Rome was interrogated. On the criminality of consultations of any sort concerning the imperial family see c. 52, 1; 3. 22, 2, and note.

9. **inaudita**, 'unheard in her defence,' a Tacitean sense of the word: see 2. 77, 5 (and note); 4. 11, 2.

10. **L. Volusii**: see 13. 30, 4, and note: on Cotta Messalinus see 2. 32, 2, and note; on P. Memmius Regulus see 5. 11, 1 (and note); 14. 47, 1; on the marriage of Lollia to Gaius see note on c. 1, 3.

12. **perniciosa**, sc. 'esse.' It is also possible (with Nipp.) to supply some such word as 'prohibenda' by zeugma from 'detrahendam.'

rem publicam consilia et materiem sceleri detrahendam: pro publicatis bonis cederet Italia. ita quinquagiens sestertium opibus immensis exuli relictum. et Calpurnia inlustris femi pervertitur, quia formam eius laudaverat princeps, nulla libidir sed fortuito sermone, unde ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit. Lolliam mittitur tribunus, a quo ad mortem adigeretur. damn tus et lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus accusantibus Bithynis.

23. Galliae Narbonensi ob egregiam in patres reverentia datum, ut senatoribus eius provinciae non exquisita princip sententia, iure quo Sicilia haberetur, res suas invisere licer. Ituraeique et Iudaei defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrip

1. **materiem,** 'her means for criminal enterprise,' i. e. her wealth (on which see note on c. 1, 3): the word is often used similarly of cause or opportunity.

2. **cederet Italia.** The expression would seem to denote not full 'exilium' but 'relegatio,' which was not necessarily or usually accompanied by forfeiture of property (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 287). The sum of five million HS., represented as a pitiful fraction of her former wealth, illustrates the remark of Seneca (ad Helv. 12, 4) 'maius viaticum exulum, quam olim patrimonium principum fuit.'

3. **inlustris femina.** These words distinguish her from the Calpurnia of 11. 30, 1. Her return from exile is mentioned in 14. 12, 5.

5. **ira Agrippinae,** etc., 'the resentment of Agrippina stopped short of the last extremity.' For 'ira' Med. has 'irex': the old edd. followed G. in reading 'vis,' but all recent edd. have adopted the above correction from Bötticher, which is supported by being an evident reminiscence of Ov. Tr. 2, 127 ('citraque necem tua constitit ira'). 'Stare' has the sense of 'coming to a standstill' in H. 4. 67, 3; Agr. 16, 5.

in Lolliam, etc. Dio states (60. 32, 4) that her head was brought to Agrippina, who carefully identified it by examining some peculiarity in the teeth. Her ashes were brought back for burial to Rome after her persecutor's death (14. 12, 6).

7. **Cadius Rufus,** proconsul of Bithynia (see note on c. 21, 1) in or before 801, A.D. 48; as would appear from coins of that province bearing the heads of Messalina and Britannicus with the inscription ἐπὶ Γαΐου Γαδίου Ῥούφου ἀνθυπάτου (Eckh. ii. 402; Mionn. ii. 450 f.; Supp. V. 81 f.). He appears to have been expell from the senate, and to have been resto to it twenty years later by Otho (H. 77, 6).

8. **Galliae Narbonensi.** This Gallic province was under senatorial r. The Roman citizens belonging to it l for some time enjoyed the 'ius honoru' (cp. 11. 23, 1), and had furnished, es cially from the colony of Vienna, m senators to Rome (see 'Oratio Clau' ii. 9; Friedl. i. 201).

9. **ut senatoribus,** etc. Under e Republic, absent senators could be c pelled to return to Rome by the con s (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 912), and the who wished to be absent on private b ness for some time usually availed th selves of the fiction of 'legatio libe.' Augustus, who had made an ordina e soon after Actium forbidding senator o reside out of Italy without permis n (cp. 6. 14, 3), had made an excep n allowing those who had property in Si y to visit it when they pleased (Dio, 52. 2, 6). The further extension here gra d by Claudius was the only one dow o the time of Dio (see l. l.). Under e early Empire, the senate retained its p r to grant 'legatio libera' (Suet. Tib. ; but Claudius is stated to have taken o his own hands all privilege of gran g leave of absence to individuals (Suet. l. 23; Dio, 60. 25, 6). On the vast es es held by many senators in the provi es see Friedl. i. p. 218, foll.

10. **iure quo** = 'eodem iure quo': p. 2. 63, 2, and note.

11. **Ituraei.** This people, calle an Arab race by Dio (59. 12, 2), had en in part conquered by the Jewish g Aristobulus in B.C. 100 (Jos. Ant. 13 1, 3), had been subjected to the Romar by

vinciae Suriae additi. Salutis augurium quinque et septua-
ta annis omissum repeti ac deinde continuari placitum. et
nerium urbis auxit Caesar, more prisco, quo iis qui protulere

peius in 691, B.C. 63 (App. Mithr. , had formed part of the dominion Ant. 15. 10, 1) placed under the rule [erod the Great, and had passed to on Philip (St. Luke 3, 1). They are ibed as a barbarous and predatory furnishing a corps of archers to the an army (Bell. Afr. 20, 2; Cic. Phil. 4, 112; Strab. 16. 2, 18, 755; Verg. , 448; Luc. 7, 230; Vopisc. Aurel.).

haemo. The origin of this e does not appear to be known. was made king of this people by s in 792, A.D. 39, and confirmed by e of the senate (Dio, 59. 12, 2). different person of the name see 13.

grippa. Herodes Agrippa I, grand-of Herod the Great, had courted the lship of Gaius in the lifetime of ius, and had been rewarded by him quently with the gift of the northern chies of Palestine and the title of (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 10; 7, 2). His ance to Claudius during the crisis accession had been rewarded by the on of Judaea and Samaria (Id. 19. ; so that his dominion was equal to of Herod the Great, and 'Iudaei' is taken in a wide sense. His coins his effigy, with the title *βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Φιλοκλαύδιος* (Visc. Ic. l. 48, 9). His death (on which see 12, 23) appears from Josephus (19. o have taken place in 797, A.D. 44. us may perhaps have deferred men-of it till this date so as to record er the incorporation of Ituraea and a. It is also suggested (see Mar- i. 253) from comparison of Jos. 2 and 20. 1, 1, that the formal sub-tion to Syria did not take place till s (11. 10, 1) was succeeded by s (c. 12, 1).

provinciae Suriae additi. This sistent with the statement in Hist. ('Claudius, defunctis regibus aut licum redactis, Iudaeam provinciam us Romanis aut libertis permisit'), e procurators were subordinate to atus of Syria. Cuspius Fadus had ppointed procurator of Judaea after pa's death (Jos. 19. 9, 2); on others, 54, 1.

atis augurium. This *οἰώνισμα τῆς ὑγιείας* is explained by Dio on the relation of an occasion of it in the year of Cicero's consulship (37. 24, 1). Divination was resorted to by the augurs to ascertain *εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ὑγιείαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι. Καὶ ἐτελεῖτο κατ' ἔτος ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν στρατόπεδον μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῄει, μήτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετό τισι μήτε ἐμάχετο.* He adds that the frequency of foreign and civil wars had made the opportunities for such augury few and far between, and that in the year mentioned, the first after a long interval, it was questioned (cp. 'addubitato Salutis augurio' Cic. de Div. 1. 47, 105).

quinque et septuaginta. Med. has 'quinque et XX,' which would make the last occasion to have been in 777, A.D. 24, when Tacitus, who treats of that time in 4. 1–16, would probably have made some mention of it. Modern edd. have therefore followed Ritter (1838) in supposing that 'L' has dropped out before 'XX' in Med., so as to give an at least approximately correct reference to 725, B.C. 29, when Dio (51. 20, 4) records such an augury as taken by Augustus. We have no record of any intermediate occasion, unless Suet. (Aug. 31) is to be taken to mean that Augustus revived it as an annual custom, which may have dropped again by reason of wars and subsequent neglect.

2. **continuari,** 'to be made continuous,' i. e. annual.

3. **pomerium urbis.** Gellius (13. 14, 1) gives the definition of this term from the books of augurs: 'locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii.' The derivation from 'post murum' is given by Varro (L. L. 5. § 143) and Plutarch (Rom. 11), as also by Livy (1. 44, 4), who however notes that it extended within as well as without the wall, and that the consecration of such a space (no doubt for military reasons) was an Etruscan custom. The interior limit was apparently ignored in Livy's time; the exterior one being of more importance, not only as the limit of auspices (see Gell. above), but also formerly as having an important bearing on the circumscription

imperium etiam terminos urbis propagare datur. nec tan duces Romani, quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, usur verant, nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus.

24. Regum in eo ambitio vel gloria varie vulgata: sed i tium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, nos haud absurdum reor. igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum t

of the authority of magistrates. This, however, had become practically obsolete, as the proconsulare imperium and tribunitia potestas of the princeps had no local limit (Introd. i. vi. p. 71).

auxit, 'extended': cp. 'auget (urbem) Esquiliis' (Liv. 1. 44, 3). The inscription on one of the boundary stones (Or. 710; C. I. L. vi. 1, 1231) runs thus 'Ti. Claudius, Drusi f., Caisar Aug. Germanicus, Pont. Max., Trib. Pot. VIIII, Imp. XVI., Cos. IIII, censor, P. P. (pater patriae), auctis Populi Romani finibus pomerium amplia-/it termina-/itque.' The increase of empire here alluded to was the conquest of Britain; and the action of Claudius is expressly cited (Lex de imp. Vesp. 14) as a precedent for Vespasian ('utique ei fines pomerii proferre promovere, cum ex republica censebit esse, liceat, ita uti licuit Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico'). The statement here and in Gell. (l. l.), that such a privilege belonged to any one who had added to Roman territory, corresponds with the formula on the boundary stones (see above), but is qualified by the statement of Seneca (de Brev. vitae 13, 8), 'pomerium . . . numquam provinciali, sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit'; and the fact, here admitted, that the generals under whom the greatest conquests of the Republic were made exercised no such right, leads Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 738; see also iii. 829) to conclude that it was not a magisterial, but a regal prerogative, revived by Sulla when possessed of quasi-regal authority, and incorporated by Claudius into the powers of the principate. In its original idea it appears connected with the συνοικισμός accompanying expansion of territory (Momms. l. l.).

3. **nisi L. Sulla et divus Augustus.** On this point we have considerable discrepancy of authorities. The action of Sulla is attested by Seneca (l. l.) and Gell. (l. l.); but in the former passage (written probably before this act of Claudius) he is said 'ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomerium,' and Gellius makes no mention of Augustus, but mentions Julius Caesar, who is also said by Di (43. 50, 1; cp. 44. 49, 1) to have so, and certainly seems at least to published an intention of adding to city (cp. 'de urbe augenda quid sit mulgatum non intellexi' Cic. Att. 1 1; also 33, 4; 35, 1). The extensi Augustus is attested by Dio (55. 6, 6 the 'vita Aureliani' (21, 11), bu absence of mention in Seneca and Ge and the still more important silen the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' and de imperio Vespasiani' (see above) t great doubt on the statement, which be an error of some authority Tacitus and others have followed, a out of some definition of boundaries, Augustus does appear from inscri to have made (Grut. Insc. 196, 3; 19 and which may have arisen, as Mom thinks (Staatsr. ii. 1072, 3), out partition of the city into 'regiones. the later extensions by Nero, Vespa Titus, Trajan, and Aurelian see M 1073, 3.

4. **Regum,** etc., 'various traditi current as to the vanity (cp. 14. 29, 1, etc.) or renown of kings i matter'; i. e. as to kings of Rom had enlarged the pomerium, w through vanity in respect of pre conquests or to record the glory ones. Livy mentions no other ext of the pomerium besides that by S Tullius (1. 44, 3), but records e ments of the city by Tullus (1. and Ancus (1. 33, 1).

initium condendi, 'the comm ment of the foundation of Rome,' th ing points of the original enclosure

5. **noscere haud absurdum re** similar expression of quasi-apol the introduction of a digression o quarian note is given in 4. 65, 1; 2; H. 3. 51, 4; 4. 48, 1. 'Nosce trace out' or 'investigate,' as in 1. 4. 33, 2, etc.

6. **igitur,** etc. The following p as containing the fullest account to us of the circumscription of t ginal city, has been fully commente

ulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, cus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram plecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima ntis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tum ad sacel-

he leading writers on Roman topo-hy. Among recent works, it will be ient here to refer to those of Mr. (D. of Geogr. ii, p. 724, foll.), Mr. (p. 33, foll.), H. Jordan (i, 1, p. foll.), and Prof. Middleton (p. 45, . In all these treatises, the view of Rosa, that the original Rome, the η τετράγωνος of Dion. Hal. 2. 65, not co-extensive with the Palatine onfined to the northern portion of it, ore or less controverted, but Mr. in a later work (Ancient Rome, 1883, , foll.) has adopted it. The descrip-of Tacitus is unfortunately obscure important point. It should be ob-d that he is tracing, not the line of which may be supposed to surround op of the hill, but the pomerium, skirted its base. This line, start-om a point somewhere between San gio in Velabro and Santa Maria in edin, follows a direction nearly coin-with that of the 'spina' of the s Maximus or that of the modern i Cerchi; but our ignorance of the the 'curiae veteres' (see below, § 3) it uncertain whether the line to the 'sacellum Larum' took a between the Palatine and Caelian ng the supposed depression between o summits of the former hill. It l be noted, however, that the words ma montis Palatini' appear to apply the points mentioned, and Tacitus ar in agreement with other writers, llius (13. 14, 2), who in general speak of the original city as com-by the Palatine hill. Prof. Mid-adds in confirmation that traces of ive fortification have been found on outhern portion, and Mr. Burn whether any strongly marked de-on similar to that between the two ts of the Capitol ever existed be-the two parts of the Palatine.

um tauri simulacrum. This cannot have given its name to the boarium,' as Ovid (F. 6, 478) es, but was no doubt placed in the arket as an appropriate site, being the plunder brought from Greece, chief specimen in Rome of Aegi-bronze (Pl. N. H. 34. 2, 5, 10). 'Quia' has no reference to the statue, but explains the reason for beginning at this forum.

2. **sulcus designandi oppidi.** On the genit. see Introd. i. v. § 37 b. The ceremony is described by Cato (Origines, as quoted by Serv. on Verg. Aen. 5, 755), Varro (L. L. v. § 143 Mull.), Dion. Hal. (1. 88), Ovid (Fast. 4, 821, foll.), Plutarch (Rom. 11), and others; whence we gather that the founder wearing the 'cinctus Gabinus,' on an auspicious day, traced, in a direction always keeping to the left, with a plough drawn by a white bull on the off and a white cow on the near side, a furrow called 'sulcus primigenius,' round a circumference, of which the excavation termed the 'mundus' formed the centre, that the furrow was termed the 'fossa' and the earth turned inside from it the 'murus,' and that the plough was lifted at the spaces intended for gates. This circuit was the outer limit of the pomerium, within which the wall of defence was built afterwards. The ceremony is stated to be of Etruscan origin, and, if so, hardly likely to have been observed in founding a primitive Latin city.

Herculis aram. This altar, situated near the northern end or 'carceres' of the Circus, and called 'Ara Maxima,' was originally connected with the hereditary priesthood of the Potitii and Pinarii, and was in all probability erected to the true Italian Hercules, the presiding spirit of the homestead and of property, the god of good faith (Dius Fidius): see Momms. Hist. Rom. i. ch. 12; Seeley, Introd. to Livy, p. 30). Tradition, however, made it belong to a Greek worship, instituted by Evander, to commemorate the slaying of Cacus, the stealer of the oxen of Geryon: see 15. 41, 1; Verg. Aen. 8, 179, foll.; Prop. 4. 9, 68; Liv. 1. 7; Ov. Fast. 1, 543, foll.

3. **lapides,** 'boundary stones,' the 'cippi pomerii' of Varr. L. L. 4, 32. It is suggested that these indications of the primitive pomerium were kept up to mark out the course of the Luperci (see Marquardt, iii. 425).

4. **aram Consi.** This 'ara defossa' (Tert. de Spect. 5) near the 'meta' of the

lum Larum, inde forum Romanum; forumque et Capitolium n a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere. mox p fortuna pomerium auctum. et quos tum Claudius terminos p- suerit, facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum.

Circus, was exposed to view only during the Consualia, a festival held with circensian games in August, and said to have been instituted by Romulus, and to have been the occasion of the rape of the Sabines. Dion. Hal. (2. 31) and others make Consus another name for Poseidon, and Livy (1. 9, 6) represents the Consualia as held to 'Neptunus Equestris' (on which see Seeley's note): a more prevalent tradition makes Consus the god of counsel, as in an old inscription (ap. Tert. l. l.), 'Consus consilio Mars duello Lares coillo (v. l. comitio) potentes.' Another view (Pseud. Ascon. in Cic. Verr. 2. 10, p. 142 Or.) somewhat combines these, speaking of worship paid to Consus 'consiliorum deo, id est Neptuno laticum regi et rerum conditarum.' Preller (Myth. R. ii. 24) makes Consus an earth god, connecting the name with 'condere' or 'conserere.'

mox curias veteres. Here, and with 'forum Romanum' below, the prep. is supplied from the context. The 'curiae veteres,' also called 'Curia vetus' (Notitia) or 'Curia Prisca' (Ov. F. 3, 139), claimed to have been the original meeting-place of the curiae, and continued to be used for four of those bodies after the others had transferred their meetings to the 'curiae novae' (Fest. p. 174 M). No other indication of the site is known than that given by the order of names in the 'Notitia' (cir. A.D. 300), showing it to have lain somewhere between the Septizonium and the Temple of Jupiter Victor (perhaps 'Stator'): see Dyer, in D. of Geogr. p. 725; Burn, p. 32.

sacellum Larum. This is generally supposed to be the 'aedes Larum in summa sacra via' (somewhere near the arch of Titus), built or perhaps rebuilt by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 4. 7), which was dedicated to the ἥρωες (Mon. Anc. Gr.), or Lares 'gemini qui compita servant,' the legend of whose birth is given in Ov. Fast. 2, 599 foll. (see Momms. on Mon. Anc. l. l.). They are to be distinguished from the Penates, on whom see 15. 41, 1, and note. Orelli, restoring the corrupt Med. text differently (see below), reads 'Larundae,' a form of the name given to the mother of the Lares (see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 244); but there appear be record only of an altar, not a shrin this goddess or nymph (Varr. L. L. 5.

1. **inde forum Romanum; for que.** Halm, Nipp., Dr., and Jacob read, after Weissenborn, for the M. 'larū de forū q.'; Orelli's reading quoted above; Ritt. places a semico at 'Larum' and reads 'dein forumq'; others read 'Larum forumque Roman' separated by a colon from 'et Cap lium.' Tacitus appears to mean to that the pomerium skirted the Fo without including it, and that peopl general have believed neither it nor Capitol to be parts of the original Ritter would read 'prodidere,' ot 'tradidere,' so as to make the refer lie not to general belief but to auth ties. It is stated by Dion. Hal. (2. that the Temple of Vesta (between Palatine and Forum), was outside τε- γωνος Ῥώμη, also (2. 33) that the Capi was part of the city of Tatius, w Livy (1. 11, 6), Plutarch (Rom. 17), others represent as having taken it the Romans. It was probably the cit of the Sabine settlement on the Quir and the Forum a common market tween them and the citizens of the La tine. It is to be observed that Tacit is wholly silent as to the line of the p rium from the Forum to the star point. Probably he may have thoug needless to trace it. M. Ampère th that the marshy character of the gr prevented the line from being accur laid down in that quarter in an times.

2. **pro fortuna,** 'according to the acquisitions made.'

3. **auctum**: cp. 'auxit' c. 23, 4.

quos tum Claudius, etc. known from Seneca (de Brev. vit. 1 and Gellius (13. 14) that the Aven though within the walls of Servius, technically 'extra pomerium'; its exclu sion being usually explained by its h been the site of the unlucky augu Remus. A more probable explan may be found in the fact that its te of Diana was common ground to Ro and Latins (Livy 1. 45, 2). Gellius that he had found it stated 'in

5. C. Antistio M. Suillio consulibus adoptio in Domitium oritate Pallantis festinatur, qui obstrictus Agrippinae ut iliator nuptiarum et mox stupro eius inligatus, stimulabat dium consuleret rei publicae, Britannici pueritiam robore ımdaret: sic apud divum Augustum, quamquam nepotibus ixum, viguisse privignos; a Tiberio super propriam stirpem nanicum adsumptum: se quoque accingeret iuvene partem rum capessituro. his evictus biennio maiorem natu Domi-

natici veteris commentario' that ıill was included when the pome- was extended by Claudius. This rity, however weak in itself, has fully confirmed by the recent dis- of a cippus, with similar inscrip- o that noted on c. 23, 4, between ventine and Monte Testaccio (Lan- in Athenæum, Jan. 25, 1886).

ɔlicis actis. Nipp. thinks this here mean not the 'acta populi' 2, etc.), but inscriptions. Ritt. in- 'in' before 'actis'; but the simple can be used, as in referring to a

C. Antistio M. Suillio. The Fasti es (Henzen 6445 = C. I. L. i. p. and another inscription (Or. 3389) he full names C. Antistius Vetus, illius Nerullinus; the former being in one of them as cos. ii. He is prob- on of the consul of 776, A.D. 23 (on see 4. 1, 1, and note), and related one mentioned in 13. 11, 1. The was son of the Suillius of 11. 1, 1, other of the Caesoninus of 11. 36, 5; s cognomen may probably, as Nipp. ts, have been assumed in honour of son of Germanicus, to whom the Suillius had been quaestor (4. 31, Ie is shown by coins (Eckh. ii. to have been proconsul of Asia Vespasian, and may (as Nipp.) have been successor in that office teius Agrippa (H. 3. 46, 5) in 822– .D. 69–70.

ptio in Domitium . . . festi- On the force of 'in' cp. c. 6, 5, ɔte; on the transitive and passive 'festinare' cp. 1. 6, 4, and note. ay of adoption is shown by the Arvalium (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2041) to een Feb. 25. Suetonius (Ner. 7) s wrongly to place it a year earlier.

bstrictus, 'pledged to her service.'

tupro, abl.; cp. 'veneno inli- (6. 32, 2).

4. **robore**, 'with the strength of a protector': cp. the expression 'munimenta' used of heirs in 1. 3, 5.

6. **subnixum**, 'supported by.' On the 'nepotes' (Gaius and Lucius) and the 'privigni' (Tiberius and Drusus), and on the adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius, see 1. 3, and notes.

7. **accingeret**. Dräger notes that this verb nowhere else takes an abl. of person.; but the use is analogous to those in which, from the idea of girding oneself with a sword, it comes to have the sense of furnishing or providing with resources: cp. c. 44, 5, and note.

8. **biennio maiorem natu**. Nero is known from Suet. (Ner. 6) to have been born on Dec. 15, 790, A.D. 37, and must therefore have been at this time twelve years and two months old. That Tacitus knew his age correctly appears from 13. 6, 2 (cp. also c. 58, 1). Britannicus is said elsewhere (13. 15, 1) to have been about to complete his fourteenth year at the beginning of 808, A.D. 55; a computation which agrees with the statement of Suet. (Cl. 27) that he was born almost immediately after his father became princeps ('vicesimo imperii die'), i.e. Feb. 12 or 13, 794, A.D. 41. Suet. adds, inconsistently (unless 'imperii' refers to the consulate), 'inque secundo consulatu,' which would place the birth a year later still, a date probably copied by Dio (60. 12, 5), but apparently refuted by a coin of Alexandria of A.D. 41, in which both children are represented with Messalina (Eckh. iv. 52). The only question is whether the error here ('biennio') is due to Tacitus or the copyist. In another similar case (3. 31, 1), Halm and Nipp. alter 'biennio' to 'triennio,' and the latter adopts from Freinsh. the same change here, to which the inconsistency of 'biennio' with the reckoning of ages in 13. 6, 2, and 13. 15, 1 gives some support.

tium filio anteponit, habita apud senatum oratione *in* eunder quem a liberto acceperat modum. adnotabant periti nullar antehac adoptionem inter patricios Claudios reperiri, eosque a Atto Clauso continuos duravisse.

26. Ceterum actae principi grates, quaesitiore in Domitiur adulatione; rogataque lex qua in familiam Claudiam et nome Neronis transiret. augetur et Agrippina cognomento Augusta quibus patratis nemo adeo expers misericordiae fuit, quem no

1. **filio anteponit.** By adoption he became his equal in position, and would then naturally take precedence as the elder. Thus his name comes before that of Britannicus in an inscription cited by Lehmann (B. 4. No. 399). Germanicus had a similar precedence over Drusus, son of Tiberius. Such cases would not exist in ancient times, when only those who had no children adopted others.

in eundem . . . modum, 'to the same purport' (cp. 6. 49, 1, and note). The preposition is omitted in Med., but inserted by Muret. and subsequent edd. (after G.). Halm, noting that an erasure of about one letter occurs after 'eundem' in Med., reads 'eundem in . . . modum,' noting the similar anastrophe in 6. 41, 1; 11. 2, 3; 13. 13, 1; but in none of these is a relative clause interposed.

2. **adnotabant periti.** These words are repeated from H. 3. 37, 3; Agr. 22, 2: cp. 'adnotabant seniores' (13. 3, 3). 'Periti' is often used thus absolutely for 'docti' ('experts'), as in Cic. de Or. 1. 23, 109. The version here given is more probable than that of Suet., who (Cl. 39) makes the remark an ill-judged utterance of Claudius himself.

3. **patricios,** used to distinguish them from the famous plebeian branch, the Claudii Marcelli. Tiberius, when he adopted Germanicus, was not a Claudius but a Julius, and adopted him into that house. On Attus Clausus see 4. 9, 3 (and note); 11. 24, 1.

4. **duravisse,** here used of the continued existence of a family through generations, as elsewhere (3. 16, 2, etc.) of individual life.

5. **quaesitiore,** 'more recondite'; repeated from 3. 57, 1.

6. **lex,** a 'lex curiata,' passed in presence of the pontiffs (H. 1. 15, 1); the curiae being supposed to be represented by thirty lictors. Such adoption was termed 'adrogatio' (see the form described in Gell. 5. 19), and this supposed 'auctoritas popul (cp. c. 41, 7) was required by law wh the person to be adopted was 'sui iur (Gell. l. l.; Gaius 1. 99), as Nero h become by his father's death. August for a similar reason, adopted Tiberius this form (Suet. Aug. 65), having p viously adopted Gaius and Lucius, w were not 'sui iuris,' by the ceremony fictitious purchase (Id. 64). Galba (H. 1. 17, 3), and after his example t later Caesars, assumed the right of ado ing by simple declaration, or 'nuncupa pro contione': see Momms. Staatsr. 1138.

nomen Neronis. His name fr this time till his accession is 'Ti. Claud Nero Caesar,' or 'Nero Claudius Cae Drusus Germanicus': see Introd. i. ix. 147. On the many inscriptions a medals commemorating the event Schiller, Nero, p. 72, 2.

7. **augetur,** 'is exalted'; so 'impe toriis nominibus auxit' (1. 3, 1); 'hon bus augebantur' (6. 8, 4).

Augustae. Her title on coins a inscriptions is 'Iulia Augusta Agrippi (see Introd. i. ix. p. 145; Insc. Or. 65 Wilm. 899 d = C. I. L. vi. 1. 921 a An inscription at Mytilene calls her *θεά* (Eph. Epig. ii. p. 8); from anot Greek inscr. (C. I. G. 2183) she appe to have been worshipped as Dem (*καρποφόρος*). Livia had become Aug by her husband's will (1. 8, 2), Ant after the accession of her grandson (Int l. l. p. 146), Messalina only by provin adulation (Introd. l. l. p. 145): Agripp is the first to be 'Augusta' in her h band's lifetime, and the first (except t certain extent Livia) to treat the title conferring a substantial share of po (see 14. 11, 1, Introd. pp. 43, foll.; Mom Staatsr. ii. 788, 4). Nero gave the t to Poppaea (15. 23, 1); and from Do tian's time it is usually borne by emper wives (Momms. ii. 821).

tannici fortuna maerore adficeret. desolatus paulatim etiam vilibus ministeriis puer intempestiva novercae officia in ludium vertebat, intellegens falsi. neque enim segnem ei fuisse olem ferunt, sive verum, seu periculis commendatus retinuit am sine experimento.

27. Sed Agrippina quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus entaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos oniamque deduci impetrat, cui nomen inditum e vocabulo us. ac forte acciderat ut eam gentem Rhenum transgressam s Agrippa in fidem acciperet.

fortuna maerore; so Halm, Or., Ritt., Jacob (after Ern.): Nipp. retains Med. 'fortunae maeror'; which, besides awkward combination of two geni-, requires 'maeror' to bear the rently unexampled meaning of 'sad ition' (as 'metus' = 'metuendum id' in 1. 40, 1, etc.).

solatus, a poetical word, used in , 4; 16. 30, 4. Here it means 'ded of,' as in Stat. Theb. 9, 672 ('deumque magistro Agmen'); Suet. Cal. 'desolata subsidiis aula'); Apul. 4. 24, 290 ('parentibus desolata'). removal of the attendants of Britan- is further described in c. 41, 8.

puer. Halm., Nipp., Ritt., Dr.,), follow Sirker in this reading. has 'p. imtempestiva,' which is read l edd. as 'per intempestiva,' and exed by taking 'vertebat' intransitively n 6. 46, 3, etc.). Orelli follows ling in reading 'perintempestiva,' a not elsewhere found, but analogous ers which Tacitus invents or adopts od. i. v. § 69, 3). 'Intempestivus' is of compliments which are 'ill-timed,' e sense of being unsuitable to the nt circumstances of the person to they are paid (cp. H. 2. 52, 3; , and the more emphatic word might have been here used of the outward uiousness of Agrippina towards one lorn.

librium, generally read, after Nipp., ed. 'ludibria.'

intellegens falsi = 'fraudis,' as in 3, etc. For the genit. cp. 4. 38, .

sive verum, 'whether this was really

riculis commendatus, 'winning thy by his peril.'

inuit, i.e. kept in the memory of lown to the time when Tacitus was writing. The sympathy felt may have led posterity to credit him with an intelligence which he never had the chance of showing by proof. The anecdotes given by Tacitus (c. 41, 6; 13. 15, 1) would show him to have been sensitive and not unintelligent; and his alleged liability to epileptic fits (13. 16, 5) may have been a mere invention, or may not have affected his intellect generally.

7. **oppidum Ubiorum**: see 1. 36, 1, and note. On the birth of Agrippina there see Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 145.

veteranos coloniamque, hendiadys for 'coloniam veteranorum.' Mommsen (Hist. v. 90; E. T. i. 99) thinks it was probably a Latin colony.

8. **impetrat.** The accus. and inf. with this verb is a novelty, analogous to that with 'orare' (11. 10, 8): see Introd. i. v. § 44.

nomen. Its title, usually abbreviated in inscriptions, is 'Colonia Agrippinensis' (or 'Agrippinensium'), (Wilm. 833, etc.), or sometimes 'Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensium' (Grut. 436), or 'Colonia Claudia Ara' (see note on 1. 39, 1), or 'Colonia Agrippina' (Notitia). The Ubii from this time drop their German name and are called 'Agrippinenses' (see H. 4. 28, 2; G. 28, 5).

vocabulo, often used of proper names: cp. c. 66, 4; 1. 8, 4 (and note), etc.

9. **ac forte**, etc., i.e. there was this further reason for the name. It has been thought that, when Tacitus wrote the Germania (l. l.), he believed the name to be taken from Agrippa (see Schweizer-Sidler ad loc.). The Ubii were transported with their own consent (Strab. 4. 3, 4, 194), and the date was probably that on which Dio (48. 49, 3) mentions Agrippa as having crossed the Rhine (716, B.C. 38). For 'Rhenum' (Sirker), Med. has 'rheno.'

Isdem temporibus in superiore Germania trepidatum advent Chattorum latrocinia agitantium. dein P. Pomponius legatus aux liares Vangionas ac Nemetas, addito equite alario *inmittit*, monit ut anteirent populatores vel dilapsis inprovisi circumfunderentu et secuta consilium ducis industria militum, divisique in du agmina, qui laevum iter petiverant, recens reversos praedaq per luxum usos et somno graves circumvenere. aucta laetiti quod quosdam e clade Variana quadragensimum post annu servitio exemerant.

28. At qui dextris et propioribus compendiis ierant, obv hosti et aciem auso plus cladis faciunt, et praeda famaque onus ad montem Taunum revertuntur, ubi Pomponius cum legionib opperiebatur, si Chatti cupidine ulciscendi casum pugnae pra berent. illi metu, ne hinc Romanus, inde Cherusci, cum q aeternum discordant, circumgrederentur, legatos in urbem

2. **Chattorum**: see I. 55, 1, and note. For an earlier expedition against them in the first year of Claudius see Introd. p. 32.

dein P. Pomponius. In the Med. text the praenomen is 'L.' and the sentence has no verb. The former is corrected by Ritt. (1864) from 11. 13, 1; the person meant being Pomponius Secundus (5. 8, 1). For the verb 'inmittit' is inserted by Halm and Nipp., after Doed., 'inmisit' by Dr. and Jacob, after Ritt., 'mittit' (after 'Nemetas') by Walther. Orelli follows Ritt. (1838) in thinking that the Med. 'dein l.' is a corruption of 'deligit.' None of these corrections are very satisfactory; and it is possible that Ern. is right in thinking that one or more sentences alluding to the earlier hostilities (see note above) may have dropped out.

3. **Vangionas ac Nemetas.** These tribes (with the Tribocci) occupied the left bank of the Rhine in 'Germania Superior' (G. 28, 4; Pl. N. H. 4. 17, 31, 106). The chief town of the former was Borbetomagus (Worms), those of the latter Noviomagus (Speyer) and probably Argentoratum (Strassburg): see Ptol. 2. 9, 17, and the correction of Zeuss (in Schweizer-Sidler on G. l. l.).

equite alario, the general body of auxiliary horse, or part of it (cp. 4. 73, 3).

4. **anteirent**, 'get before them' (on their line of retreat): so used in the sense of 'praevenire' in 5. 6, 4; 10, 4, e The poetical word 'populator' is no by Dr. as not elsewhere used by Tacit but found in Liv. (3. 68, 13).

6. **qui laevum**, etc. The answer clause 'at qui dextris,' etc. is introdu as a new sentence, on account of sentence interposed. Nipp. places 'au . . . exemerant' in parentheses, with o a comma before 'at,' and takes 'pra . . . onusti' as referring to both divisio.

recens, adv., as in c. 18, 2, etc.

7. **per luxum**, 'in a debauch': cp. 16, 3, etc.

8. **clade Variana**: see I. 3, 6, a note. It took place in 762, A. D. 9.

10. **At qui dextris.** This body h evidently followed the instruction 'ant populatores' (c. 27, 3).

compendiis, more fully 'comp diis viarum' (I. 63, 6).

11. **aciem auso**: cp. c. 32, 2; 11. 9, and note.

12. **montem Taunum**, near W baden: see I. 56, 1, and note.

13. **si**, 'in case that': cp. I. 48, 1 49, 1, etc.

casum, 'opportunity': cp. I. 13, and note.

14. **Cherusci.** On this tribe, see I. 7 (and note), 11. 16, 1. The Chatti overpowered them in the time of Tac (G. 36, 2).

15. **aeternum**, adv. here and in 3. 3; after Verg. and Hor.: cp. Introd. v. § 5.

ides misere; decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, mo- a pars famae eius apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria ecellit.

29. Per idem tempus Vannius Suebis a Druso Caesare in- itus pellitur regno, prima imperii aetate carus acceptusque ularibus, mox diuturnitate in superbiam mutans et odio olarum, simul domesticis discordiis circumventus. auctores re Vibilius Hermundurorum rex et Vangio ac Sido sorore nnii geniti. nec Claudius, quamquam saepe oratus, arma cer- tibus barbaris interposuit, tutum Vannio perfugium promit- s, si pelleretur; scripsitque Palpellio Histro, qui Pannoniam esidebat, legionem ipsaque e provincia lecta auxilia pro ripa

triumphalis honos, i.e. the 'orna- ta triumphalia.'

carminum gloria, probably best n with Nipp. as nom. On the ary reputation of Pomponius see 5. and note.

Vannius. This prince, a Quadian ace, was mentioned in 2. 63, 7 as set some of the subjects of Maroboduus Catualda. This kingdom, called ic here and in H. 3. 5, 4; 21, 3 (cp. , 6, and note), and 'regnum Vanni- ' by Pliny (N. H. 4. 22, 25, 81), d appear at this time to have in- ed the whole territory of the Marco- and Quadi (answering generally to mia and Moravia); as the enemies annius, besides his own rebellious cts, are the Hermunduri and Lugii 3), who bordered on Bohemia to the and north, and his allies are the ges (§ 4), who bordered on the Quadi e east. See Mommsen, Hist. v. 196; i. 215.

carus acceptusque popularibus. e words are an exact verbal imi- of Sall. Jug. 70, 2, where 'cla- the reading of all the MSS., has altered by Kritz and Dietsch to m'; the combination 'carus accep- e' being found also in Id. 12, 3; ; also 'carior acceptiorque' in Liv. 5, 4; 'carus iucundusque' in Cic. Sull. 21, 62, etc.). Hence Halm r. follow Wölfflin (Philol. xxvi. p. in altering the Med. 'clarus' to s' here. 'Clarus' can no doubt stand, taken by itself, without con- n with 'popularibus,' and without g part of the antithesis to 'mox,' and is retained by others and de- l by Nipp.

6. **mutans,** absol. as 'mutabat' (2. 23, 4): cp. 'ut nihil odor mutaret' (Liv. 3. 10, 6).

8. **Vibilius.** On this prince and on the Hermunduri see 2. 63, 6, and note; on the latter, also 13. 57, 1. The ortho- graphy of the first Med. (l. l.) is followed, in preference to that of the second Med. here ('uibillius').

11. **Palpellio Histro.** The first name, written in Med. 'p·atellio,' is thus cor- rected by Lips. from an inscr. at Pola given in Or. 693 (cp. Henzen, p. 66); Wilm. 1133; C. I. L. v. 1, 35: 'Sex Pal- pellio, P. f. Vel(ina tribu) Histro, leg(ato) Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug., pro cos., pr(ae- tori), tr. pl., X vir. stl(itibus) iudic(andis), tr. mil. XIII Geminae, comiti Ti. Caesaris Aug. dato ab divo Aug.' The proconsul- ship there mentioned would be that of some senatorial praetorian province, and the 'legatio' that of some lesser Caesarian province than Pannonia, as the inscrip- tion appears to be prior in date to his consulship, which is mentioned by Plin. (N. H. 10. 12, 16, 35) as shared with L. Pedanius (14. 42, 1). Wilm. and Nipp., following a very fragmentary inscription, place them as 'suffecti' in 796, A.D. 43, Borghesi (cited on C. I. L. l. l.) four years later.

Pannoniam praesidebat. On the use of the accus. cp. c. 14, 7; on the pro- vince of Pannonia see note on 1. 16, 1. Its garrison consisted of three (1. 16, 2), or at times of two (4. 5, 5; H. 2. 86, 1) legions.

12. **auxilia.** Nipp. points out that these are evidently not the standing force attached to the legion, but bodies speci- ally called out. On such troops cp. 1. 56, 1 (and note); c. 49, 2; 15. 5, 3; H. 1. 52, 6, etc.

componere, subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores, ne f- tuna elati nostram quoque pacem turbarent. nam vis innum[e]a, Lugii aliaeque gentes adventabant, fama ditis regni, quod V- nius triginta per annos praedationibus et vectigalibus auxe[r]t. ipsi manus propria pedites, eques e Sarmatis Iazygibus e[ra]t, impar multitudini hostium, eoque castellis sese defensare bellu- que ducere statuerat.

30. Sed Iazyges obsidionis impatientes et proximos [pe]r campos vagi necessitudinem pugnae attulere, quia Lugius H-

pro ripa, 'along the bank' (of the Danube): so in 2. 9, 3; 15. 3, 3; see note on 1. 44, 4. Mommsen notes (Hist. v. 187; E. T. i. 205) that the Pannonian legions were posted at this time chiefly on the Drave, and the defence of the Danube left generally to the fleet (see c. 30, 3).

1. **componere.** The older edd. and Orell. follow the 'ed. princeps' in reading 'componeret'; but the simple inf. after 'scribere' is used in 15. 25, 6, and is analogous to many others (Introd. i. v. § 43).

subsidio, dat. of purpose (Introd. i. v. § 22 c), co-ordinate with accus. (see c. 32, 5; G. 46, 1; Introd. i. v. § 91, 1).

2. **innumera**: cp. 56, 4; 14. 53, 5; in poets and Pl. ma.

3. **Lugii.** Med. and the old edd. and Ritt. read, here and in c. 30, 'ligii' and 'ligius,' Oberl. and others Lygii; Greek writers have Λύγιοι (Dio, 67. 5, 2) or Λούγιοι (Strab. 7. 1, 3, 290; Ptol. 2. 11, 18); and most recent edd. follow Müllenhoff in reading 'Lugii' here and in G. 43, 3; 44, 1 (where the MSS. have various forms). The name appears to be connected with 'lug,' an old German word for a marsh or wood, and the tribe denoted, a Suebic race with many subdivisions, are thought to have lived in Silesia and part of Poland, and to have extended northwards between the Oder and Vistula. See Schweizer-Sidler, on G. l. l.

fama, causal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 30).

4. **triginta.** He was set up by Drusus in 772, A.D. 19 (2. 63, 7).

vectigalibus, i.e. by duties on merchandise (Nipp.). The considerable and lucrative traffic across the Danube in those quarters is alluded to in 2. 62, 4.

5. **ipsi manus**, etc. Pfitzn. p[lac]es commas after 'manus' and 'Iazygis,' and joins 'erat' with 'impar,' ta[kin]g 'propria . . . Iazygibus' as in apposit[io]n; but it seems better to stop as in the [te]xt, and to suppose 'erant' to be supp[li]ed with 'pedites.' 'Impar' is no d[ou]bt referred to the whole force; the cons[tru]ction being somewhat sacrificed in [t]he attempt to state concisely in a s[ing]le sentence the composition of the army [an]d its inferiority as a whole to that o[f t]he enemy.

Iazygibus. For this, the [us]ual form of the name, Med. has here 'iazigibus,' in c. 30, 1 'iazygies,' in H. 3. . . 'Iazugum,' which form Nipp. and [Ri]tt. adopt here. Those meant are the Ἰάζυγες μετάνασται of Ptolemy (3. 7, 1), who [h]ad driven out the Dacians from the [tr]act between the Danube and Tibiscus (Th[ei]ss), and were thus on the frontier of Pann[on]ia (Plin. N. H. 4. 12, 25, 81), and [ca]me later into collision with the empire (Gibbon, c. 18). We hear of them o[n t]he lower Danube in Ovid's time (Ex [P.] 4. 7, 9; Trist. 2, 191); and other, prob[ab]ly older branches of the race, were o[n t]he Euxine and Palus Maeotis (Strab. . 3, 17, 306; Ptol. 3. 5, 19).

6. **defensare.** This verb, used al[so] in 2. 5, 3; Agr. 28, 3, appears to be ad[opt]ed by Tacitus from Sallust and Livy, a[nd] by them from Plautus.

7. **ducere**, 'to protract'; so 'du[cere] bellum' (H. 2. 32, 6): cp. 'tempus [q]ue iter ducens' (2. 34, 6); 'lacrima[e] ducebantur' (11. 37, 5).

8. **impatientes**, often with genit. (. . . 2. 64, 4; 4. 3, 2; 72, 1, etc.), after V[er]g., Ov., Liv., etc.

9. **necessitudinem . . . attulere.** [T]hey brought upon themselves an attac[k] in which Vannius was obliged to su[pp]ort them.

ndurusque illic ingruerant. igitur degressus castellis Vannius ditur proelio, quamquam rebus adversis laudatus, quod et nam manu capessivit et corpore adverso vulnera excepit. erum ad classem in Danuvio opperientem perfugit; secuti x clientes et acceptis agris in Pannonia locati sunt. regnum igio ac Sido inter se partivere, egregia adversus nos fide, iectis, suone an servitii ingenio, dum adipiscerentur domina- is, multa caritate, et maiore odio, postquam adepti sunt.

1. At in Britannia P. Ostorium pro praetore turbidae res epere, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus eo violentius, quod um ducem exercitu ignoto et coepta hieme iturum obviam rebantur. ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam

illic ingruerant: cp. 'illuc incu- Germani' (H. 4. 18, 6).

gressus: so most edd., after Ern., he Med. 'digressus,' which Ritt. is, and which could be supported such passages as 'digressus Narnia xercitus' (H. 3. 78, 1), etc.

rebus adversis, abl. abs.

ceterum, apparently adversative (as 6, 3, etc.), contrasting his flight with evious resistance.

ssem. The Romans had such rious provincial stations (4. 5, 5). he Danube we have mention of a sis Pannonica,' afterwards called ia' (Or. 3601; Henzen 6868), would be that here meant: there lso a 'classis Moesica' on the Lower be (Or. 3601, 3602).

lientes. On the 'comitatus' of a an prince cp. G. 13, 14. The clients ceived with Vannius, as were those estes (1. 57, 4).

Vangio ac Sido: cp. c. 29, 2. The was still reigning in 822, A.D. 69; rmer had been then succeeded by is, and both these joined Vespasian 5, 4; 21, 3).

tivere. The act. form is mainly c (Plaut., Lucil., Lucr., etc.), but in ug. 43, 1; also 'partitur' is pass. . Or. 56, 188, and the participle is d not unfrequently in Caes., Liv., etc.

egia . . . fide, abl. of quality, as so 'multa caritate et maiore odio' ntrod. i. v. § 29). Nipp. cites as r instances 'apud milites tanta e esse' (Liv. 1. 54, 4); 'credens se invidia fore' (Nep. Eum. 7, 2).

ubiectis, dative (='apud subiec-

ne an servitii ingenio. These are causal ablatives, relating both to 'caritate' and 'odio,' and explaining the change from the one feeling to the other. 'Either from a change in their own disposition, or because such is the nature of the servile condition' (i.e. to welcome new masters and then in turn to hate them worse than old ones). This explanation (that of Orelli) seems better than to take 'servitii' (with Burnouf and others) to mean 'despotism.'

dominationis. Nipp. follows the old edd. in retaining the Med. 'dominationes'; but although two kingdoms are spoken of, the case is hardly parallel to 3. 26, 3, and most modern edd. have followed Ern. in reading the gen. sing. as above, on the analogy of 3. 55, 1 (where see note), and 6. 45, 6.

9. **At in Britannia**, etc. The narrative is here carried back to the date of the appointment of Ostorius, who is known to have been the immediate successor of Plautius Silvanus (Agr. 14, 1), and must therefore have been sent out when that officer returned for his ovation in 800, A.D. 47 (see note on 13. 32, 3).

P. Ostorium. P. Ostorius Scapula is mentioned (Dig. 38. 4, 1) as having been consul (suffectus) with Vellius (probably Suillius) Rufus (on whom see 11. 1, 1) under Claudius, in some year which the date of his appointment to Britain would show to have been not later than 799, A.D. 46.

11. **exercitu ignoto et coepta hieme**, 'before he knew his army, and when winter had already begun.' On the active use of 'coeptus' cp. 1. 65, 3, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 42 b.

12. **gnarus**, etc. Nipp. compares the sentiment in H. 2. 20, 3; Agr. 18, 4.

gigni, citas cohortes rapit, et caesis qui restiterant, disiectos co sectatus, ne rursus conglobarentur infensaque et infida pax nc duci, non militi requiem permitteret, detrahere arma suspect † cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibe

1. **rapit**, 'hurries' (by forced marches): cp. 1. 56, 1, and note.

caesis qui restiterant. Med. has here 'restiterunt,' which Walther thinks can be taken aoristically; but here and in 13. 54, 7 Tacitus appears to repeat the expression in H. 2. 23, 5; and uses the pluperf. in similar expressions in 1. 38, 4; Agr. 36, 2.

4. **cunctaque castris Antonam et Sabrinam**, etc. In the great conflict of opinion as to the restoration of this passage, it seems best to print the corrupt Med. text as above. The attempts of older edd. (most of whom read, with some inferior MSS., 'cinctosque') will be found discussed by Ern., Walth., and Rup. Most later edd. have completed the construction by arbitrarily inserting a preposition, as 'inter' (Hein., etc.), 'usque' (Ritt.), or 'contra' (Sillig), after 'Antonam,' or (better) 'ad' before that name (Bipont. ed.), which itself has generally been altered to 'Avonam,' or some similar form, on the supposition that the Worcestershire Avon is meant, and that at its confluence with the Severn a camp was formed to check the most persistent enemy, the Silures (c. 32, 4, etc.). No trace of a camp has been found in this position, but it is said (Scarth, Rom. Brit. 41) that remains of several camps are found, both along the Avon and on the Cotswold hills above the Severn valley. If, however, a series of forts were here meant, we should certainly expect 'castellis,' not 'castris,' to be used. Mommsen (Hist. v. 162, 1; E. T. i. 178, 1) thinks that the text (read 'ad . . . ntonam') contains a name that cannot be restored, but that the Tern is the stream designated, and that the point seized at or near its confluence with the Severn was Viroconium (Wroxeter), a post which was certainly occupied not much later than this date (see Introd. p. 140, 4), but more probably not till the Ordovices had become prominent enemies (c. 32, 2). Mr. F. Haverfield (Journal of Philology, xvii. 268), combining Mommsen's view with another reading discussed below, suggests that 'castris ad Trisantonam' should be read, and that from this name that of the Tern could possibly be derived. It is not obvic how any camp could concern the Ic (see below) unless it was near enough seem to menace them as well as th who might invade them; and therefore adopting any such views as those giv above, we should have to suppose tl their resistance was provoked only their disarmament. Such a reference 'quod . . . abnuere' to the more rem clause only is certainly not free fr awkwardness; and this consideration l given rise to an opposite view, which tains 'Antonam' as a possible name f the Nen, and supposes a line of forts have been drawn along the Severn (wi which the Avon is reckoned) and t river, so as completely to cut off subdued from the unsubdued count. But the identification of 'Antona' wi the Nen is wholly arbitrary, and the of 'castris' as a discrete plural v doubtful; nor can we suppose that Romans would have undertaken so p- digious a work as the construction o line of forts for some 150 miles from Severn to the Wash, or that, if they l done so, it would have been thus curso mentioned. An extremely tempting em- dation is that apparently suggested e Ritt. 1864) by Heraeus, and since strony supported by Mr. H. Bradley (Acade, April 28 and May 19, 1883), which - serts no prep., and with no further cha e in the Med. text than the alteratior f one letter and the division between o words, reads for 'castris Antonam' s Trisantonam.' A British river Τρισαν is given in Ptol. 2. 3, 4, and though it so named by him (flowing to the south coast) cannot on any probable sup- sition be taken to be here meant, e name may, like other river names, re t itself elsewhere, and is in fact traceae, with a natural phonetic decay, in e Tarannon of Montgomeryshire. In is place Mr. Bradley argues that we disc er in 'Trisantona' the ancient name of e Trent, which appears certainly t e called 'Trannonus' (or some similar r- ing) in the ninth century by Nennius ee Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 77), who describe as belonging to a river so named a al phenomenon which cannot be any cer

:at. quod primi Iceni abnuere, valida gens nec proeliis con- i, quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant. hisque auc- ibus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere, saeptum esti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret. ea muni- nta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales bias ducebat, perrumpere adgreditur et distributis cohortibus mas quoque peditum ad munia accingit. tunc dato signo fringunt aggerem suisque claustris impeditos turbant. atque conscientia rebellionis et obsaeptis effugiis multa et clara faci-

. the well-known 'eagre' of the it. There is certainly no improba- y in the supposition that a line drawn the Bristol Channel to the Humber, coinciding mainly with that of the rn, Avon, and Trent, may have been is time the limit of more or less com- conquest, and that the Foss Way, what behind it, may have been, first constructed, a line of com- ication along the virtual frontier; with this reading the supposition of camp or fortress formed entirely dis- ars, and we are only told that rius took measures to disarm sus- ed tribes, and generally to put pres- upon ('cohibere') the Iceni and rs along the inner side of this limit, the invader might find no support in Roman territory. The suggestion the text contains the name 'Trisan- n' is certainly one of very high ability; but an objection lies in the hat the whole passage, so read, will in only an account of means taken eep down disaffection within the nce, and that the main object, that eventing the hostile tribes outside again concentrating within it ('ne s conglobarentur'), is left altogether iced. These words seem to show the construction of a camp at some rite point of invasion was under- , and that 'castris' is an integral of the text. If the Ordovices be supposed to have been already inent enemies, the site of Viroco- is more probable than any other e Severn; but it does not seem he text can be restored with cer- .

Iceni: cp. 14. 31, foll. This people in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge- and their name is now read as by Müller in Ptol. 2. 3, 21, where it has been corrupted into Σιμενοί by repeating σ from the end of the preceding οὖς, and changing κ to μ. Their town Οὔεντα, the 'Venta Icenorum' of the Itinerary, is Norwich or Caistor. The correct form of the name is seen from coins to be 'Eceni' (probably 'swords- men'), and it is thought that their full name may have been 'Ecenimagni,' which may have been corrupted in Caes. B. G. 5. 21, 1 to 'Cenimagni' (Rhys, Celt. Brit. p. 28, 283, etc.). A form of the name more resembling that here given is traced in the words Ickworth, Icknield, etc. On their prince Andedrigus see Introd. p. 138, 2.

abnuere, 'rebel against': cp. 1. 2, 2, etc.

contusi, 'crushed': cp. 4. 46, 1, and note.

2. **accesserant**, so used with simple accus. in 2. 58, 1; cp. other analogous instances in Introd. i. v. § 12 c.

4. **agresti aggere**. The Iceni appear to have protected themselves on the west by very strong embankments, some of which, especially the 'Devil's Dyke,' crossing the road from Cambridge to Newmarket, are still traceable; but the expression here used would rather repre- sent a mere agricultural landmark. There are no real grounds for fixing on any particular locality, as Burrough Hill, near Daventry (Scarth, Rom. Brit. p. 41), as the site of this battle.

6. **adgreditur**, so with simple inf. in 3. 53, 5, etc.

7. **peditum**, dependent on 'munia,' but placed before it to emphasize the unusual tactic (Nipp.).

9. **effugiis**, so in pl. in 3. 42, 4; 15. 63, 5; 16. 15, 3: cp. 'diffugia' (H. 1. 39, 3).

facinora, 'bold deeds': cp. 'prae- clarum facinus' (H. 3. 23, 3), etc.

nora fecere, qua pugna filius legati M. Ostorius servati ci decus meruit.

1 **32.** Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter
2 pacem dubitabant; et ductus in Decangos exercitus. vast

1. **M. Ostorius**: cp. 14. 48, 1; 16. 14–15. He is shown by the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2042) to have been cos. suff. in 812, A.D. 59.

servati civis decus: cp. 3. 21, 3; 15. 12, 5, and notes.

3. **compositi**, 'were quieted': so in c. 40, 1; 55, 3, etc.

qui . . . dubitabant. Besides those who had actually risen with the Iceni (c. 31, 4), others had been expected to do so. Their pacification appears to precede and to be distinguished from the expedition against the people mentioned below, who therefore need not, as has been supposed (see Evans, Coins of Ancient Britons, p. 147; Suppt. p. 492), be taken to have been associated with the Iceni. They may have been marked for chastisement as perhaps one among the previous invaders from beyond the pale (c. 31, 1); and the movement was also evidently an attempt at the conquest of a fresh region (cp. 'ne nova moliretur,' etc., § 3).

4. **in Decangos.** The Med. text 'inde cangos' can hardly be right as it stands; as the mere accus. of motion to a place could not well serve to denote a hostile attack: but in view of the great uncertainty respecting the name, it seems best to make only such change as the sense requires. Besides that given above, the most probable alternative reading (a less violent change than the 'in Ceangos' of Andresen and Halm) would appear to be 'inde in (cp. c. 33, 1) Cangos'; the supposition being in either alternative that Tacitus had given (in a slightly inaccurate form) the name appearing in abbreviation on several pigs of lead (C. I. L. vii. 1204–1206; Eph. Epig. vii. 1121), and usually read as 'Ceangi,' but possibly as 'Deceangi' (see below). The localities where these pigs have been found are in Cheshire and Staffordshire, and the people from whom they came are taken to have lived in the lead-producing district of Flintshire, and probably on both sides of the Dee. The alternative view (see Evans, Suppt. 492), that they lived in the Mendip district, rests partly on the supposition, which does not seem necessary (see note above), that they were closely associated with the Iceni, which would have suggested that th may have been among the western s jects of Andedrigus (see Introd. p. 138, partly on a doubt whether the mines Flintshire were worked as early as date (A.D. 74, 76) found on some of pigs above mentioned. But there appe to be no evidence against the supposit that they may have been worked Romans soon after the military occu tion of Deva (see Introd. p. 141) ma the district a safe field for their ent prise; and the locality in which the p have been found is strongly in favour this and against the idea that they ca from as great a distance as the Mendi also the march of Ostorius is describ as bringing him to the neighbourhood the Irish Channel (§ 3), and would se to have passed near enough to the fron of the Brigantes to make their disaffect liable to threaten his communicati. Some evidence is also afforded by tra of the name in the district (see belo. The correct form of the name is howe matter of much controversy. It is gi on the pigs as 'DECEA,' 'DECEAN' and (but see below) 'DECEANG; and Hübner treats the first two letters a preposition, and the name of the peo as 'Ceangi.' In no case, however, is indication given by dots or spaces th these letters are not part of the na; although on the other hand the letter is not so careful as to warrant the c clusion that, where no division is in cated, none can have been intend. The analogy of other such inscriptions also doubtful; for we have on the hand the form 'de Britan.' on the Men pigs (see Introd. p. 137, 5), and on other such forms as 'Brig.' and 'L' (C. I. L. vii. 1207, 1208, 1215), ta to be abbreviations of adjectival na ('Briganticum,' 'Lutudense'). Thus evidence of the inscriptions, while lea the question open between 'de Cea and 'Deceang' appears really somew in favour of the latter; and for corro rating evidence we are referred on the side to the name Γαγγανῶν (for wh Müller, with some MSS., reads Καια νῶν) ἄκρον, given by Ptolemy (2. 3, to the extreme point of Carnarvonsh; also to the 'Ceganges' of Geog. Ra

i, praedae passim actae, non ausis aciem hostibus, vel si ex ulto carpere agmen temptarent, punito dolo. iamque ventum d procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat, cum ortae d Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem, destinationis certum, nova moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis. et Brigantes quidem, cis qui arma coeptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, edere: Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur,

). 342, and the 'Concangiis' or 'Ce-iis' of the 'Notitia,' p. 113 (see ler on Ptol. ad loc.); on the other, e Welsh name 'Tegeingl,' still given he district between the Dee and yd (Rhys, p. 287), and to the similar x in the 'Decanti' of Degannwy, Llandudno (Id. 228, 287). Also, in pigs (C. I. L. vii. 1204; Eph. Epig. 121), in which the nearest approach e full name yet found occurs (see e), the last letter has been a subject ecent controversy, and is read by essor Rhys and others as 'L.' From ll more recent examination, kindly nunicated to me by Mr. Haverfield, ould appear that in his opinion the nces are too few, the surface of both rough, and the occurrence of acci-l dots and hollows on them too non, to warrant such a conclusion; if unmistakable instances, or other nce, should hereafter indicate any name for the district as 'Deceang-or 'Deceanglion,' it would no doubt dditionally confirmed by the modern eingl' (always supposing that name of immemorial antiquity in the ct, and not otherwise explicable), would be more difficult to identify the form here given in Med. In ase, however, it seems on the whole (see above) that the locality of this lition of Ostorius was somewhere in rection of North Wales.

carpere, 'to harass': so 'equitatu isso, qui novissimum agmen car-' (Caes. B. C. 1. 78, 5), and often in 'Temptarent' is subjunct. of action ntly repeated (Introd. i. v. § 52).

Hiberniam. What Tacitus knew s island is to be seen from Agr. 24. the same name in Caesar (B. G. 5. and Pliny (N. H. 4. 16, 30, 103). orms 'Iuverna' (Mel. 3. 6, 53; Juv.) and Ἰουερνία (Ptol. 2. 2) connect ough an intermediate 'Iverna,' with dest and probably most correct form e'; under which it gives its name to the νῆσοι Ἰερνίδες of the Orphic poems (1164), and is mentioned in the 'de Mundo,' c. 3 (ascribed to Aristotle), and by Strabo (2. 5, 8, 115), who places it on the north of Britain, though its position had already been correctly given by Caesar.

aspectat, so used apparently only here and in Verg. Aen. 1, 420. The similar use of 'aspicere' (Agr. 24, 1; G. 5, 1) is less rare.

4. **Brigantas.** This tribe, one of the most extensive and powerful in Britain, held the main part of the country from the Trent and Humber to the Tyne, and perhaps to the Caledonian forest (Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 39). The name is thought to mean 'the freemen,' in contrast with other tribes subdued by them (Rhys, 279). The victory gained at this time over them ('caeruleos scuta Brigantas') is probably alluded to by Seneca (Lud. 12, 13–17); and subsequent troubles with them are mentioned in c. 40, 3, which Nipp. seems wrong in identifying with those spoken of here. For later notices of them see note on c. 40, 6.

destinationis certum, 'stedfast in his purpose' (explained by 'ne . . . firmatis'): cp. 15. 51, 3; H. 2. 47, 6; 78, 8; and for the sense and construction of 'certus' cp. c. 66, 4; 4. 34, 2, and note.

6. **arma coeptabant.** Dr. notes the fondness of Tacitus for this and similar expressions, as 'coeptare seditionem' (1. 38, 1; 45, 2), 'rebellionem' (3. 40, 1), 'defectionem' (4. 24, 2), etc.: cp. 'arma incipere' (4. 46, 4), 'coepta arma' (H. 4. 61, 1).

in reliquos. Nipp. here takes the prep. in a distributive sense, as in 1. 55, 2 (where see note); 78, 1; 6. 22, 2; c. 35, 4. In many other passages such a construction has nearly the force of a simple dative (Introd. i. v. § 60 b).

7. **Silurum.** This people, with the kindred tribe of the Demetae west of them, held a territory nearly corresponding to South Wales, Monmouthshire, and

quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. i quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranoru manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles (inbuendis sociis ad officia legum.

33. Itum inde in Siluras, super propriam ferociam Carata

Herefordshire, and probably extending also to the Severn and Teme. Ptol. (2. 3, 24) mentions their town Βούλλαιον, apparently Burium (Usk). On the theory of Tacitus respecting their Iberian origin see Agr. 2, 11. Professor Rhys (pp. 80, 215) classes them as Goidelic Celts who had absorbed a considerable earlier Non-Celtic population.

atrocitate, 'severity': cp. 'atrocitas poenae' (Liv. 8. 8, 1).

1. **quin**, with adversative force (nearly = 'sed'), as in 6. 6, 3; 38, 1; 11. 22, 4, etc. See Dr., Synt. und Stil, § 186. For 'bellum exercerent' cp. 6. 31, 2.

castrisque legionum, etc. Mommsen (Hist. v. 162, 1; E. T. i. 178, 1) notes from this passage, and from c. 38, 3, that the permanent occupation of Isca Silurum ('Castra legionis,' Caerleon) as the head-quarters of the Second legion, dates from this period. Others think that this legion was for some time stationed at Glevum, and moved on later.

id quo promptius veniret, 'to reach this end the more readily': Pluygers has not been generally followed in reading 'eveniret' (as in 14. 43, 3; Liv. 8. 1, 2). The words of Tacitus, as they stand, have been thought to show that he believed the colony to have been near the seat of war. It is, however, evident that he knew the position of the Silures (Agr. 11. 2); and he must have approximately, though perhaps not accurately (see on 14. 32, 2), known that of Camulodunum, which must have been prominently noticed in his account of the first invasion under Claudius (see Introd. p. 137). His words may have been intended to mean no more than this, that before the head-quarters of a legion could be pushed so far forward to the west, a permanent base of operations and military centre of the whole province had to be secured in the east. The natural base of support for an advanced post in South Wales would seem to be Glevum (Gloucester); which is called 'Colonia Glev[ensis]' in an inscription (C. I. L. vii. 54), and may have been colonised, as it certainly seems to have been occupied (see Introd. p. 138) at an early date. Whether its colonisation took place the same date with that of Camulodunu and may possibly have been confus with it, is perhaps an open question.

2. **Camulodunum**. On this town a its colony see Introd. pp. 129, 142, a the description of its condition and disas in 14. 31, 5. The opinion of Dr. Lath (in D. of Geog. s.v. 'Colonia') that t Roman colony was at Colchester, l that Camulodunum was at Maldon, a pears to ignore the fact that the expr sions of Tacitus here and in 14. 31, and also the inscription below cit clearly identify the two, and could r be reconciled with the supposition tl they were thus wholly distinct, and so fifteen miles or more apart. In answ to the view which, admitting the ident of Camulodunum and the Colonia, wo place both at Maldon (see Introd. p. 12 it is sufficient to point to the very ext sive remains at Colchester, and the sence of any such clear traces of Rom occupation at the other place. The fo 'Camalodunum,' found in Plin. N. H. 75, 77, 187, is supported by an inscr tion (Or. 208, Wilm. 1815) 'cens r civium Romanorum coloniae victrice s quae est Britannia Camaloduni'; but l the coins of Cunobelinus have the fo 'Camul,' sometimes in full 'Camulodu' and the name of the Celtic war-god a r whom it is taken to be called (Rhys, 2) is always written 'Camulos' (Inscr. 1960, 1977, 1978). In Ptolemy, 2 22, the name, very variously read MSS., is now given by Müller as Καμ λόδουνον, and that of the people as Τρι αντες. The same author gives anot town of similar name among the Briga s (§ 17).

valida . . . manu, abl. of quality.

4. **inbuendis**, etc., dat. of purp (Introd. i. v. § 21 b): the constructio varied as in c. 29, 2. 'Inbuere' is stantly used of instruction or habituat so here of familiarising the subjects wh the due performance of legal duties.

5. **Carataci**. This prince, one o sons of Cunobelinus, had no doubt already mentioned by Tacitus, as he Dio (60. 20, 1), in his account of the

ous confisos, quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, eteros Britannorum imperatores praemineret. sed tum astu rum fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum in ovicas, additisque qui pacem nostram metuebant, novissimum ım experitur, sumpto ad proelium loco, ut aditus, abscessus, cta nobis inportuna et suis in melius essent, hinc montibus

ion (see Introd. p. 133). The name s eight times in Med. (in these ers and in H. 3. 45) and is always ded to be in this form (the 'carattaci' 35, 7, and 'carataratacus' of c. 36, ng evidently clerical errors). The form occurs in an inscription ('Sex. nio Carataco') in Grut. 902, 5, and earest to the Celtic root 'carat' eloved'), whence 'Caradog,' 'Car-,' 'McCarthy': see Rhys, 280. The aning form 'Caractacus' was adopted an inferior MS. in nearly all the edd. and has unfortunately become ar. In Dio (l. l.) the name is read ταράτακος, in a fragment (see on c. , Καρτάκης, in Zonaras (11, 7, p. 566), e. Coins inscribed 'CARA' have been (Evans, Suppt. 552) near Guildford, is hardly likely that they can have issued by this prince. Dr. Evans sts that he may have had an uncle of me name.

ambigua, 'battles of doubtful : the term is thus opposed to pera' in 11. 15, 1, and might here lerstood of the firmness in adversity had inspired confidence in him; obably the word is understood in a able sense, of battles which were cisive defeats. Cp. the description ninius (2. 83, 3), 'proeliis ambiguus, non victus.'

mperatores; so used of barbarians 10, 1, etc.: on the accus. with ninere' cp. c. 12, 1.

ı locorum fraude. Ritt. brackets tter words as a gloss to explain ; but such an explanation of a l term is hardly superfluous. 'In-in military strength, he gains an age by stratagem, by turning to t the intricacies of the country'; vantage being that of changing the war and forcing the Roman army ace its steps under great difficulty. , as Gerber and Greef (Lex.), take with 'transfert' as equivalent to , callide transfert.' 'Fraus loci,' corum' is a poetical expression Aen. 9, 397; Ov. Tr. 4. 2, 23), imitated by Curtius (5. 17, 1) and Florus (1. 16, 7). Cp. the description of Tacfarinas (3. 74, 1).

4. **Ordovicas.** The Med. 'ordolucas' is thus corrected from Agr. 18, 2, 3, and Ptol. 2. 3, 18; the latter of whom gives as their towns Μεδιολάνιον and Βραννογένιον, which have not been satisfactorily identified. They occupied at this time the chief part of central and north Wales, and their name is thought to mean 'hammerers,' from their use of the axe-hammer as a weapon (Rhys, p. 300). They rose again at a later date, and sustained a crushing defeat from Agricola (Agr. 18).

pacem nostram: cp. c. 29, 2; here used of the general order and submission established in subject states, the 'pax Romana' of Seneca (de Prov. 4, 14), Pliny (N. H. 27, 1, 3), etc., to which Tacitus makes Calgacus bitterly allude (Agr. 30, 5), 'ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'

novissimum casum experitur, 'tries the last extremity of chance,' i. e. the issue of a decisive battle on which the last chance is staked. Cp. the boast of Otho (H. 2. 48, 4), 'remisisse reipublicae novissimum casum,' and the use of 'novissima' in 6. 50, 8, etc.

5. **abscessus**, 'exits' (so 'abitus' 14. 37, 3); elsewhere in the sense of departure (c. 49, 2; 15. 17, 1) or absence (4. 57, 2; 6. 38, 2). The word is rare.

6. **inportuna**: cp. c. 12, 5. 'In melius esse' is an extension of the use of 'in' to express result (Introd. i. v. § 60 b).

hinc montibus arduis. The site of the battle is described too vaguely to be identified; but various localities have been imagined, as Coxall Knoll, on the Teme, near Leintwardine (see Merivale, ch. 51). In reading 'hinc' for Med. 'tunc' Halm is followed by most edd.; the construction being taken as abl. abs. with the idea of a participle of 'sum' supplied (Introd. i. v. § 31 b). Bezzenb. would alter 'tunc' to 'cincto,' Ritt. supposes a lacuna. We should expect the following clause to run 'illinc . . . saxis praestructis,' but the construction is varied.

arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli sax praestruit. et praefluebat amnis vado incerto, catervaeque arm torum pro munimentis constiterant.

34. Ad hoc gentium ductores circumire, hortari, firmare anim minuendo metu, accendenda spe aliisque belli incitamenti enimvero Caratacus huc illuc volitans illum diem, illam acie testabatur aut reciperandae libertatis aut servitutis aetern initium fore: vocabatque nomina maiorum, qui dictatore Caesarem pepulissent, quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tribu intemerata coniugum et liberorum corpora retinerent. haec atq talia dicenti adstrepere vulgus, gentili quisque religione obstrin, non telis, non vulneribus cessuros.

35. Obstupefecit ea alacritas ducem Romanum; simul obiects amnis, additum vallum, inminentia iuga, nihil nisi atrox et p- pugnatoribus frequens terrebat. sed miles proelium posce, cuncta virtute expugnabilia clamitare; praefectique *et* tribu

1. **si qua**, probably best taken (with Nipp.) as nom. pl., as also in H. 3. 52, 1 ('si qua Appennini iuga clementius adirentur'). 'Clementer' is used of gentle rising ground also in 13. 38, 5; G. 1, 3. 'Praestruere' is used elsewhere (chiefly in Ovid) in the sense of 'to block up.'

2. **praefluebat**, 'flowed in front': cp. 2. 63, 1, etc., where the verb has rather the force of 'praeterfluere.'

vado incerto, 'of shifting depth': cp. the opposition of 'incerta' and 'solida' (1. 70, 3).

catervaeque armatorum. The Med. 'catervaque maiorum' has been generally treated as corrupt; for 'maiorum' cannot by itself mean 'seniorum.' Freinsheim's conjecture 'armatorum,' suggested by Agr. 37, 3, has been generally accepted, and most edd. follow Lips. in reading 'catervae'; though the sing., retained by Walth. and Ritt., can be used with a plural verb.

3. **pro munimentis**, either 'along the entrenchments,' as in 2. 13, 4, etc.; or (less probably) = 'ante munimenta,' as in 2. 80, 5, etc.

4. **Ad hoc**: cp. c. 20, 2, and note.

5. **minuendo metu**, a rare use of gerundive construction with a masc. sing. nom.; see note on 6. 23, 4. Here it is suited to the feminine clause which follows.

6. **enimvero**, here a strengthened 'vero,' marking the transition from wit is said of others to what is said of e principal person. Cp. c. 64, 6; 2. 6, and notes.

huc illuc volitans: cp. 'tota vi- tantem acie' (of Inguiomerus) 2. 21,

9. **pepulissent**, used rhetorically. e judgment of Tacitus himself, in Agr. 3, 2, is 'quamquam prospera pugna terr it incolas et litore potitus sit, potest v ri ostendisse (Britanniam) posteris non a- didisse.'

10. **intemerata.** On this poe al word cp. 1. 42, 3, and note.

11. **adstrepere**: cp. 1. 18, 1, and e.

obstringi, middle, for 'obstrin re se'; 'each swore by the gods of his tribe.' On the ellipse of 'se' before s- suros,' see Introd. i. v. § 8.

14. **nihil nisi atrox** = 'quod nihi isi atrox erat' ('the fact that the wole aspect was defiant'), a substantival c ise like 'nihil occultum' (3. 9, 3), 'hil arduum fatis' (H. 2. 82, 5): see In d. i. v. § 55 b. The sing. 'terrebat' is s ed to the last subject only, as also 'a tu- lerat' (1. 10, 1), 'movebat' (2. 71, 4 tc

15. **frequens**, 'crowded with'; so ed with abl. in Liv. and later authors, al by Tacitus in H. 1. 67, 4; Dial. 6, 1; c with genit. (4. 65, 1).

16. **expugnabilia.** This rare wor cp H. 3. 78, 4) appears to be taken on Livy (33. 17, 8) and Statius. 'In ne trabilis,' below, appears also to ori at

ia disserentes ardorem exercitus intendebant. tum Ostorius cumspectis quae inpenetrabilia quaeque pervia, ducit infensos nemque haud difficulter evadit. ubi ventum ad aggerem, dum ssilibus certabatur, plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes ebantur: postquam facta testudine rudes et informes saxorum ıpages distractae parque comminus acies, decedere barbari in a montium. sed eo quoque inrupere ferentarius gravisque es, illi telis adsultantes, hi conferto gradu, turbatis contra tannorum ordinibus, apud quos nulla loricarum galearumve mina; et si auxiliaribus resisterent, gladiis ac pilis legionario- ı, si huc verterent, spathis et hastis auxiliarium sternebantur. a ea victoria fuit, captaque uxor et filia Carataci fratresque in itionem accepti.

36. Ipse, ut ferme intuta sunt adversa, cum fidem Cartiman-

Livy, but to have become far more mon.

aefecti. The commanders of liary cohorts and 'alae,' so coupled the tribunes of the legions in 4. 73, c.

intendebant = 'augebant': cp. 2. , and note.

infensos, 'filled with ardour.'

evadit, 'passes through;' so used accus. in 1. 51, 8; 5. 10, 4, etc.; also 'viam,' 'ripam' (Verg. Aen. 2, 731; 5), with 'vada' and 'arma' (Ov. M. 3, Cp. 'evecta insulas' (c. 36, 2, and .

i ventum, etc. The apodosis is ed into two parts, introduced by ı' and 'postquam.' On the use of cp. c. 32, 4. 'Pleraeque' = 'plu- ,' as in 3. 1, 2, etc.

facta testudine. Orelli seems gly to understand this not of the πισμός frequently so called, but of a ouse (as in Caes. B. G. 5. 42, 5, etc.); s would seem to imply that they had ıit while such a 'vinea' was being ucted (which is most unlikely); also ι testudine' is used of the locked s in Liv. 34. 39, 6. The soldiers get close up to the walls in this er, and then dislodge the stones had been rudely piled together, ius form a breach by which numbers break into the enclosed space.

decedere, 'leave their position': so incia decedere' (2. 70, 3), etc. The tion 'recedere' (Acid.) is needless.

erentarius. Soldiers under such a are mentioned once by Sallust (Cat. 60, 2), never by Caesar or Livy. Varro (L. L. 7, 57) speaks of them as 'equites . . . qui ea modo habebant arma quae ferrentur, ut iaculum.' Vegetius (l. 20) speaks of foot soldiers so termed 'apud veteres,' who were light armed, and stationed, with the slingers, in the wings, and who opened the battle by skirmishing. The word is used in a figure by Plautus, and would thus seem to be an archaism in Sallust, and adopted from him by Tacitus. The term answers to 'auxiliarium' below, as 'gravis miles' to 'legionariorum.'

8. **conferto gradu**, 'in close order,' a new phrase; the part. being elsewhere used of persons or masses of persons. The idea in 'conlato gradu' (2. 20, 6, etc.) is different.

9. **nulla . . . tegmina.** Compare the description of the absence of defensive armour among the Germans in 2. 14, 4. Dio (62. 5, 3) makes Boudicca boast that the Briton's shield was his sole protection.

11. **spathis**: cp. Veg. 2. 15 'gravis armatura . . . habebant . . . gladios maiores, quos spathas vocant.' The word, here first thus used, survives in the Italian 'spada': σπάθη has sometimes a similar sense.

14. **intuta sunt adversa**, 'adversity finds no safety.'

Cartimanduae. The Med. form of the name here and in c. 40 is twice 'Cartimandus,' once 'Cartimannus'; in H. 3. 45, twice 'Cartimandua,' once 'Cartismandua.' Most edd. follow Puteol. in reading it uniformly as 'Cartimandua,' but Lips. and some others have uniformly read 'Cartismandua,' and Ritt. reads

duae reginae Brigantum petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditı est, nono post anno, quam bellum in Britannia coeptum. unc fama eius evecta insulas et proximas provincias pervagata p Italiam quoque celebrabatur, avebantque visere, quis ille tot p annos opes nostras sprevisset. ne Romae quidem ignobi Carataci nomen erat; et Caesar dum suum decus extollit, addic gloriam victo. vocatus quippe ut ad insigne spectaculum populu stetere in armis praetoriae cohortes campo qui castra praeiac tunc incedentibus regiis clientelis phalerae, torques quaeque bel externis quaesiverat traducta, mox fratres et coniunx et fil, postremo ipse ostentatus. ceterorum preces degeneres fuere metu: at non Caratacus aut vultu demisso aut verbis misericc diam requirens, ubi tribunali adstitit, in hunc modum locutus e.

'Cartimandus' here and 'Cartimandua' in H. 3. 45, thus treating the variation in the two distinct works as due to the historian. The etymology does not appear to be known; but the second part of the name is traced in others, as 'Mandubratios,' etc. (Rhys, p. 281).

2. **nono post anno.** Dating from 796, A. D. 43, which year is probably reckoned inclusively, the capture of Caratacus would have taken place in 804, A. D. 51, which is also the date of the inscription on the triumphal arch (see Introd. p. 140, 9).

unde, i.e. from this prolonged resistance.

3. **evecta insulas.** This construction (cp. 14. 52, 2), similar to that with 'evadit' (c. 35, 3), 'egredi' (1. 30, 2), and many other verbs (Introd. i. v. § 12 c), is found also (as a probable reading) in Prop. 4. 3, 21 ('evecta est pagina gyros') and Curt. 9. 9 ('evectus os amnis'). Nipp. and Ritt. follow Heins. in reading 'insulam,' thinking that a British chief would usually be no better known in Hibernia than in Gaul; but Tacitus may easily have conceived these islands as a group by themselves, mixing more freely with each other than with the continent.

4. **quis ille**, brachylogical, for 'quis ille esset qui': cp. 11. 7, 1, and note.

6. **dum . . . extollit**, 'in seeking to extol': cp. 'dum vetera extollimus' (2. 88, 4).

8. **in armis**, 'in full accoutrement,' not 'togati': cp. 3. 4, 2 (and note); 16. 27, 1.

campo. On the simple abl., see Introd. i. v. § 25.

castra, the praetorian camp (4. 2, . 'Praeiaceo' is elsewhere found (onlyı the participle) in Pl. mai., once with c. (4. 12, 24, 75), once absol. (3. 4, 5; . The accus. is analogous to that wh 'adiaceo' (Liv. 7. 12, 6, etc.) and to t noted above with 'evecta.'

9. **clientelis**, abst. for concr. as in 37, 1; 14. 61, 3. The 'clientes' o a British prince appear to have resemld those of Gauls or Germans (c. 30, 3, e).

phalerae, torques. Ritt. reads 'n torquibus,' as nearest to the M. 'torqb,' and also 'falerae,' the Med. fn here and in H. 1. 57, 5; though 'p lerae' is in Med. H. 2. 89, 3, and e MSS. of G. 15, 3. 'Phalerae' are pl s or bosses of chased metal worn on e breast (see Juv. 16, 60 and Mayor ad lc): both decorations are often spoken cas worn by Roman soldiers; and 'torqs' are especially a Celtic ornament.

bellis externis, 'wars with his vn countrymen,' 'externi' from the Rom point of view.

10. **traducta**, 'were led in processa' (as in a triumph).

11. **degeneres**: cp. c. 19, 1, and te.

12. **at non.** The negation belongs ly to 'aut' . . . 'aut'; the expression lng equivalent to 'at Caratacus neque . . neque,' and this form used to give grte rhetorical emphasis to the negation. p. 'at non . . . Phoenissa' (Verg. Ae 4 523).

13. **in hunc modum.** The spee is no doubt, merely a composition; nd though Latin is used on British ns probably few barbarians spoke it ik

37. 'Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum sperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potius in hanc urbem m captus venissem, neque dedignatus esses, claris maioribus um, pluribus gentibus imperitantem foedere *in* pacem accipere. esens sors mea ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica est. habui os viros, arma opes: quid mirum, si haec invitus amisi? nam os omnibus imperitare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem ipiant? si statim deditus traherer, neque mea fortuna neque gloria inclaruisset; et supplicium mei oblivio sequeretur: at ncolumem servaveris, aeternum exemplar clementiae ero.' ad Caesar veniam ipsique et coniugi et fratribus tribuit. atque vinclis absoluti Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu spicuam, isdem quibus principem laudibus gratibusque venerati

inius (2. 10, 3). Zonaras (see on , 1), apparently following Dio (Fr. p. 191 Dind.), makes Caratacus say, seeing the splendour of the city, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι, τῶν ιδίων ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε.

fortuna, 'rank,' as in c. 19, 2, etc.

dedignatus esses. This poetical (Verg., Ov.) is used in prose by us (by Tacitus only in the Annals).

pluribus gentibus. The sovereign- herited from his father Cunobelinus extended over many tribes (Introd. 9); and even after this was broken e had been accepted by the Silures Ordovices as their leader. The in- n of 'in' (Halm and Dr. after .) receives support from an erasure e 'pacem' in Med. (which Ritt. fills y 'pacto'). The construction would resemble that in 2. 34, 8; 45, 2. Med. text (retained by other edd.) a construction of accus. and infin., ound elsewhere with 'dedignor,' but orted by analogies (Introd. i. v. .

informis, 'degrading': cp. 'in- m exitum' (6. 49, 1).

equos viros arma. The reminis- of Sall. Jug. 51, 1 ('arma tela equi , of Liv. 23. 24, 9 ('arma viros '), and 30. 11, 4 ('equos arma tela') iceable.

sequitur, 'does it follow?' The ion of an interrogative particle adds y to the question: cp. 2. 15, 4 (and ; 13. 21, 8. Such alterations as that am' to 'num' (Lips.), or to 'non' k.), the latter of which Madvig (Adv. ,1) inclines to support, are needless.

8. **si statim deditus traherer**, 'were I being dragged here as one surrendered at once' (without a struggle). So Halm and Nipp., after Bekk. Most others retain the Med. 'traderer,' which would be somewhat a weak repetition of the idea of 'deditus,' though with a distinction of time between the prior surrender in Britain and subsequent delivery to Claudius. With either reading, the main stress is laid on 'statim.'

9. **inclaruisset**: cp. Agr. 42, 5. The verb appears to be first used by Pl. mai.

supplicium mei. On the substitution of this genit. for the adjectival possessive pronoun see Introd. i. v. § 33 a. Nipp. gives here many examples to show how Tacitus goes beyond other authors in this usage. Here the pron. refers also to 'oblivio,' which requires its use.

sequeretur. The distinction in mood between this verb and 'ero' appears to imply confidence that his life would be spared.

10. **ad ea**, 'in reply to this'; so c. 46, 3; 1. 26, 2, etc.

11. **ipsique**, etc. His daughter (c. 35, 7) must be assumed to be included. The coordination 'que—et' (cp. 1. 4, 1; H. 4. 2, 4, etc.) is noted by Dr. (Synt. and Stil, § 123, 2) as used by Liv., not by Cic. or Caes.

12. **absoluti.** Nipp. reads 'exsoluti,' after Lips. (cp. 13. 36, 5; H. 3. 12, 4), Ritt. brackets 'ab'; but 'bello absolvere' (for 'solvere') is used in 4. 23, 1.

suggestu = 'tribunali': cp. 1. 44, 4, and note.

13. **gratibus**, ἅπ. εἰρ.; only the nom. and acc. 'grates' being elsewhere found.

sunt. novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam sign Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis impe sociam ferebat.

38. Vocati posthac patres multa et magnifica super captivita Carataci disseruere, neque minus id clarum quam quod Syphace P. Scipio, Persen L. Paulus, et si qui alii vinctos reges popu Romano ostendere. censentur Ostorio triumphi insignia, prospe ad id rebus eius, mox ambiguis, sive amoto Carataco, qua debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit, sive host miseratione tanti regis acrius ad ultionem exarsere. praefectu castrorum et legionarias cohortes exstruendis apud Siluras pra-sidiis relictas circumfundunt. ac ni cito nuntiis ex castel proximis subventum foret copiarum obsidio, occidione obc-buissent: praefectus tamen et octo centuriones ac promptissim

1. **signis Romanis praesidere**, i. e. to sit on the tribunal of the 'imperator,' surrounded by the standards. Compare the complaint made of Plancina (2. 55, 5; 3. 33, 3).

2. **parti a maioribus suis.** She was the first emperor's wife who was herself a descendant of emperors, the great-grand-daughter (by blood) of Augustus, and grand-daughter (by adoption) of Tiberius.

3. **ferebat**, 'was displaying': cp. 1. 2, 1 ('consulem se ferens'); 2. 43, 6; 15. 35, 2, etc.

5. **neque minus id clarum**, sc. 'esse.' Livy (30. 45, 5) refers to Polybius as stating that Syphax, king of Numidia, was led in triumph by Scipio Africanus in 553, B.C. 201, but himself believes that he died at Tibur before the return of Scipio. Aemilius Paulus in 587, B.C. 167, 'Persen cum tribus filiis ante currum duxit' (Liv. Epit. 45). 'Quod' (sc. 'ostendit') 'the fact that he showed.'

6. **si qui alii.** Jugurtha had been led in triumph by Marius.

7. **censentur**; so in pass. 2. 83, 4: the act. is used with accus. of neuter pronoun in Cic., with accus. of noun in Caes. (B. G. 7. 77, 2), Sall. (H. 3. 61, 17 D, 82 K, 152 G), Liv. (10. 12, 3), and especially often in Tacitus (3. 57, 2; 65, 2, etc.), and with similar dat. of the person honoured (c. 53, 2; 3. 72, 5; 13. 8, 1).

8. **ad id**: cp. 11. 3.

10. **praefectum castrorum**: see 1. 20, 1, and note.

11. **extruendis praesidiis**, dat. of purpose (Introd. i. v. § 22 b). The works were no doubt those alluded to in c. 3[illegible] (see note).

12. **circumfundunt**, so used in 13. [illegible] 2, etc., and (without accus.) in 3. 46[illegible]. The more classical usage of the pas[illegible] with dative is also found, as in c. 27, etc.

ni cito nuntiis . . . subvent[illegible] foret. Bekker's correction 'ex' for M[illegible] 'et' has been generally adopted; but [illegible] passage is still obscure, and might m[illegible] either that, by means of messengers [illegible] help was despatched from the nea[illegible] forts, or that, by messengers from [illegible] nearest forts to headquarters, help [illegible] thence procured. In either case the [illegible] cise use of 'nuntiis' (to which 13. 9, [illegible] hardly parallel) causes great diffic[illegible], and those who take the former inter[illegible] tation would prefer to bracket 'nun[illegible]' as a gloss (Jacob), while those who [illegible] the latter would insert 'missis' or [illegible] missis' (Nipp., Wurm.). The latter in[illegible] pretation is in itself more probable, as [illegible] 'castella' were probably held by s[illegible] bodies only, and it would appear [illegible] c. 39, 1 that Ostorius and the main [illegible] reached the spot.

13. **obsidio, occidione**: so Halm [illegible] Med. 'obsidione,' which most recent [illegible] (after Bezzenb.) alter to 'obsidioni.' [illegible] older edd. followed Rhen. in rea[illegible] 'copiae tum occidione occubuissent,' w[illegible] Madvig (Adv. iii. 231) would amen[illegible] altering 'tum' to 'Rom.' ('Roman[illegible]). 'Obcubuissent' could hardly stand [illegible] without 'occidione,' when the context [illegible] that, notwithstanding the arrival of [illegible] a large number were killed.

sque e manipulis cecidere. nec multo post pabulantis nostros ssasque ad subsidium turmas profligant.

39. Tum Ostorius cohortes expeditas opposuit; nec ideo am sistebat, ni legiones proelium excepissent: earum robore uata pugna, dein nobis pro meliore fuit. effugere hostes ui damno, quia inclinabat dies. crebra hinc proelia, et saepius nodum latrocinii per saltus per paludes, ut cuique sors aut us, temere proviso, ob iram ob praedam, iussu et aliquando aris ducibus, ac praecipua Silurum pervicacia. quos accendebat gata imperatoris Romani vox, ut quondam Sugambri excisi in Gallias traiecti forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus ex- uendum. igitur duas auxiliares cohortes avaritia praefectorum utius populantes intercepere; spoliaque et captivos largiendo ras quoque nationes ad defectionem trahebant, cum taedio arum fessus Ostorius concessit vita, laetis hostibus, tamquam

e manipulis: so most edd., after for Med. 'manipulus'; 'manipu- ' and 'manipularium' have been also

stros: so most edd. after Puteol. ie Med. 'nos ipsos.' Nipp. follows s in reading, with inferior MSS., ros ipsos,' 'our foragers by them- ,' i.e. separate from the 'turmae'; the context would make 'ipsos' y superfluous. Ritt., who reads ipsos,' notes also the existence of n Med. after 'missasque,' and thinks another word, such as 'adcurrentes,' have dropped out before 'ad.'

opposuit: so most edd., after Lips. Med. 'exposuit,' which might easily error of assimilation after 'expe- '

sistebat, ni: cp. Introd. i. v. § 50 b. **pro meliore fuit,** 'was equivalent uccess': cp. 'pro sepulchris' 4. 38, d note there); also 'pro firmato magistratus eius ius' (Liv. 4. 7, 3), ther places from Plaut., Sall., Liv. cited by Nipp. and Dr.; in which n expression is nearly equivalent to ple adj., subst., or adv.

7 **in modum latrocinii,** 'in brigand uerilla) fashion': so 'latrocinii ' (Liv. 3. 61, 13; 8. 34, 10), a latrocinio magis quam proelio s' (Sall. Jug. 97, 5).

cuique sors aut virtus. Nipp. refer these words to the previous ; but 'sors' appears naturally to answer to 'temere,' 'virtus' to 'proviso.' The latter word is nowhere else used in the sense of 're ante provisa,' but may have been formed on the analogy of the Ciceronian 'improviso.' Nipp. follows Lips. in reading 'provisu,' for which word cp. c. 6, 3; 12, 2; 1. 27, 2, etc.

9. **pervicacia,** 'stubbornness': cp. 4. 29, 5, etc.

10. **imperatoris,** used here of the legatus, Ostorius.

excisi aut. Either this (Faern.) or 'excissi aut' (suggested by Halm: cp. 2. 25, 4, etc.), appears to be the true reading of the Med. 'excisia ut.' Most older edd. read 'ut . . . excisi, ut . . . traiecti,' others, after Lips., 'excisi et.' On the removal of the Sugambri see 2. 26, 3, and note. For 'Sygambri' (Med. here), the form of the name there given in the first Med. MS. is read. By 'Gallias,' the Gallic provinces are meant, out of which the 'Germaniae' were formed; the left bank of the Rhine being still called 'Gallica ripa' (1. 57, 3).

12. **avaritia,** 'through the cupidity,' causal abl.

14. **ceteras.** Nipp. points out that several were already with them; so that this must mean others who had not hitherto taken part.

taedio curarum: cp. 'fato aut taedio occidit' (H. 5. 10, 2). For 'vita concedere' cp. 1. 3, 3, and note.

15. **tamquam,** 'on the ground that': cp. 3. 72, 4, and note.

ducem haud spernendum etsi non proelium, at certe bellu absumpsisset.

40. At Caesar cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine recto foret, A. Didium suffecit. is propere vectus non tamen integr res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Vales praeerat, auctaque et apud hostes eius rei fama, quo venient ducem exterrerent, atque illo augente audita, ut maior la compositi vel, si duravissent, venia iustior tribueretur. Silures quoque damnum intulerant lateque persultabant, donec adcu Didii pellerentur. sed post captum Caratacum praecipuus scien rei militaris Venutius, e Brigantum civitate, ut supra memora, fidusque diu et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartimandu reginam matrimonio teneret; mox orto discidio et statim be

3. **rectore**, used of a legatus in 2. 4, 4, etc., also of commander of forces, as in H. 1. 87, 3, etc.

4. **A. Didium**, see on c. 15, 1. The date of his appointment is generally taken to be 805, A.D. 52, and he would appear to have held it for rather more than five years (see 14. 29, 1, and note).

vectus, so used of passage by sea in 11. 14, 2.

integras, i.e. in the state in which the death of Ostorius left them.

5. **Manlius Valens**, apparently the same who is mentioned as legatus of a newly raised legion in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 64, 7), also as attaining the consulship in his ninetieth year (849, A.D. 96), which was also the year of his death (Dio, 67. 14, 5). Dio calls him 'C. Valens,' but is corrected by an inscription which Borghesi (Œuvres, vi. 159) shows is to be read 'C. Antistio Vetere, T. Manlio Valente cos.'

6. **auctaque et**, etc. If 'audita' is taken as abl. abs. (with 'fama'), it would signify the report which reached Rome, and some such word as 'Romae' (which Ritt. inserts) or 'in urbe,' to answer to 'apud hostes,' seems required; also the accumulation of ablatives absolute is very awkward. By reading 'est' for 'et' (with Nipp. and Dr.), the latter difficulty is avoided, but the former remains; and it seems best either to read 'aeque' for 'atque' (with Heins.), or to suppose (with Jacob) that 'et' and 'atque' answer to each other, as perhaps in Dial. 14, 3 ('et sermo . . . atque id ipsum delectat'), and Suet. Cl. 21 ('et tophina ac lignea'), and that 'illo augente' answers to 'apud hostes'; the sense being as if the words ran thus 'auctaque . . . fama et ad hostes, et mox ab illo dum auget aud,' i.e. it was magnified both in the ener's quarters, and also through his own ex-geration (in his despatches) of the n's which reached him (on his arrival).

8. **compositi**, nom. pl.; the partic.e being equivalent to an abstract n n (Introd. i. v. § 55 b, 1); 'that their pi-fication might be the greater credit': ‹. 'servatus gloria maior ero' (Ov. Her. 76). The next clause puts the o r alternative, 'if they held out in resist e (cp. 2. 76, 4; 4. 18, 2), there might be e more excuse.' Nipp. and Dr. fo w Lips. in reading 'compositis,' to be t n as dat. (='compositis rebus'), from w h 'res' is supplied as subject of 'dura s-sent.' It would seem however e er with that reading to take 'compos' (with 'iis' supplied) as a concise abl. s. (='si compositi essent').

9. **persultabant**: cp. 11. 9, 1.

11. **Venutius**: see H. 3. 45, 1. e restoration of 'e Brigantum' for the d. 'euigantum' is made certain from e mention of Cartimandua (c. 36, 1), d from the Histories (l. l.). No er source gives any clue to the me n which had already been made of hi in the Annals; but we infer that he was e of those princes who had made terms th the Romans in the campaigns of Pla s.

13. **discidio**, 'a divorce' (2. 86, 2 1. 30, 5, etc.). In the Histories (l. l.) is stated that the wealth and prosp ty which flowed in to her from her se ce to the Romans in the betrayal of Ca a-cus, led her to reject Venutius, a to take in his stead his 'armiger,' Velloc s,

ım adversus nos hostilia induerat. sed primo tantum inter ɔs certabatur, callidisque Cartimandua artibus fratrem ac proquos Venutii intercepit. inde accensi hostes, stimulante ominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis entus regnum eius invadunt. quod nobis praevisum, et missae ilio cohortes acre proelium fecere, cuius initio ambiguo finis ior fuit. neque dispari eventu pugnatum a legione, cui Caesius sica praeerat; nam Didius, senectute gravis et multa copia ıorum, per ministros agere et arcere hostem satis habebat. c, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus plures per annos ta, coniunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent: temporum ordinem redeo.

41. Ti. Claudio quintum Servio Cornelio Orfito consulibus

; to make herself in fact sole ruler; that the nation took the side of the ed husband, and that she was reduced xtremum discrimen.'

hostilia induerat: cp. 'hostiles ıus induisse' (H. 4. 57, 3); also 1. (and note), and c. 13, 1.

ne feminae imperio subderentur. seems inconsistent with what is else- e said of British institutions in this ct, and though probably a slip of nent, may embody a more correct (see 14. 35, 1, and note). Dr. would 'feminae' to mean 'the woman' individual Cartimandua); Nipp. lays on the idea of subjection against will, as implied in 'subderentur;' thinks that a woman's rule, if not ary to their institutions, would yet ignominious in contrast to that of a ıguished soldier like Venutius.

ta armis iuventus. 'Armis' is of respect, and 'lecta' has the force praestans' or 'insignis': cp. 'tot ı armatorum lecta equis virisque' 3. 55, 2). 'Iuventus' is in apposi- o 'hostes,' which is the proper sub- f 'invadunt,' but 'iuventus' is used collective noun with plural verb in 21. 7, 7: see Madv. 215 a; Roby ; Nipp. here.

praevisum. This verb is used for idere' in the sense of 'to anticipate' . 55, 1; H. 4. 15, 4; 5. 12, 2.

initio ambiguo, etc. In the His- nothing is said of the employment egion, and the auxiliary forces are l, after sundry doubtful battles, to accomplished no more than the of Cartimandua herself, leaving Venutius master of the situation ('regnum Venutio, nobis bellum relictum'). The Brigantes were still in arms under him in 822, A.D. 69, and, notwithstanding their partial reduction by Cerialis in the time of Vespasian (Agr. 17, 2), were still hardly subdued, and appear to have destroyed the Ninth legion (see Introd. p. 131, 3), in the time of Hadrian (see Juv. 14, 196, and Mayor ad loc.).

8. **nam,** explaining the absence of Didius himself.

multa copia honorum, abl. of quality (Introd. i. v. § 29), not dependent on 'gravis.'

10. **duobus.** Med. here inserts 'ostrio (Ostorio) didioque,' which all edd. (after Freinsh.) omit or bracket as a gloss.

plures per annos, during eleven years, 800–811, A.D. 47–58 (see 14. 29, 1).

11. **haud perinde,** 'not as much as they should': cp. 2. 88, 4, and note. Med. has here 'proinde,' but those who (as Nipp.), follow the MSS. where 'proinde ac' or 'quam' are read (see c. 60, 3; 13. 21, 3, and notes), have here accepted the emendation of Put., and have altered similar passages in the first Med. (4. 17, 1; 6. 7, 4).

13. **Servio Cornelio Orfito.** This person is mentioned again in 16. 12, 3, and appears to have perished in the last years of Nero (H. 4. 42, 1). The name is written in full as here in some inscriptions (Or. 714, 725 = C. I. L. vi. 1. 353, 1984), and as 'Orphitus' in the Antian Kalendar (Henzen 6445). Nipp. follows Ritt. in bracketing 'Orfito' here on the ground that it is not the habit of Tacitus to give three names: cp. c. 7, 4, and note.

virilis toga Neroni maturata, quo capessendae rei publicae habil videretur. et Caesar adulationibus senatus libens cessit, ut vice simo aetatis anno consulatum Nero iniret atque interim designat proconsulare imperium extra urbem haberet ac princeps iuventut appellaretur. additum nomine eius donativum militi, congiariu

1. **maturata,** 'was hastened.' He had only just completed his thirteenth year (see c. 25, 3); and there appears to be no known instance previously (nor even afterwards, except those of Commodus and Caracalla), in which the toga virilis was assumed before the completion of the fourteenth year. See the full collection of facts on the subject in Marquardt, Privatl. 128 foll.

capessendae rei publicae. This phrase is used of imperial functions in 11. 24, 1; but probably here, as in 16. 28, 8, of political life, and with reference to the quasi-magistracy on which Nero at once entered (cp. 'capessere magistratus' in 13. 29, 3; Agr. 6, 1).

habilis, with gerundive dat., as with gerund in Plin. N. H. 34. 15, 43, 149: cp. the use with 'inhabilis' (3. 43, 3); 'idoneus' (1. 23, 5); 'aptus' (3. 31, 6).

2. **vicensimo aetatis anno.** The same privilege, with similar exemption from passing through the lower magistracies, and also the title of 'principes iuventutis,' had been granted to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the grandsons and adopted sons of Augustus (see 1. 3, 4). In the case of other members of the imperial house, or those connected with it by marriage, it had been thought sufficient privilege to permit them to become quaestors five years before the legal age, and to pass on to the praetorship and consulship at a corresponding period (see 3. 29, 1, and note; Momms. Staatsr. i. p. 576). Tiberius and his brother Drusus had thus become consuls in their twenty-ninth or thirtieth year, Germanicus and Drusus the son of Tiberius at about their twenty-seventh. The cases of Galba and Vitellius show that ordinary citizens of distinguished or favoured families might become consuls in their thirty-fifth, or even thirty-third year, which Mommsen (i. p. 574) takes to be the 'aetas legitima' at this period.

3. **interim.** This is probably taken closely with 'designatus,' and does not imply that he was to lay down his proconsular power on becoming consul.

4. **proconsulare imperium ext urbem.** On this power, as given others than the princeps, see Introd. i. p. 82. The limitation 'extra urbe also expressed in the subsequent gift the same power to M. Aurelius (Vit. 6, distinguishes it from that of the prince himself, which was valid even within t pomerium (Introd. i. vi. p. 69). Momms remarks (Staatsr. ii. 788, 1) that t power, as lying outside the ordina course of magistracies, would have 'aetas legitima,' and could be entered at once. It is never recorded on inscri tions of this period, whether as held the princeps or by others.

princeps iuventutis. On this tit see 1. 3, 4, and note. It is given him (as well as that of 'cos. design.') medals (Eckh. vi. 261; Cohen, i. p 284–286) and inscriptions (Or. 726, etc In that on the triumphal arch of Claudi belonging to this year (see on c. 38, he is also recorded as member of all t four great priestly colleges (Wilm. 8 E = C. I. L. vi. 1. 921): another (C. I. vi. 1. 1984) shows him to have been a chosen in this year as one of the 'soda Augustales' (see 1. 54, 1). Also t Arvales offered on June 28 (probably this year) prayers and vows on his beh (Henzen 7419 = C. I. L. vi. 1. 2034).

5. **additum.** The datives 'mil and 'plebei' do not depend on this: 14. 3, 7.

donativum . . . congiarium. T first of these is always specially used f largess to soldiers (c. 69, 3; 14. 11, and often in Hist.). The word does occur in the earlier books of the Anna but such gifts, which may probably h been called by that name, were made Augustus and Tiberius, and it is used f those of Gaius by Suet. (Cal. 46). 'congiaria' to the people see 3. 29, 13. 31, 2, and notes, and the list of s in Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 138. 'nomine eius,' it is meant that the g were really from Claudius (cp. 2. 42, who had given a 'congiarium' in his o name after his triumph (Dio, 60. 25, Suet. states (Ner. 7) that Nero him

bei. et ludicro circensium, quod adquirendis vulgi studiis batur, Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti t: spectaret populus hunc decore imperatorio, illum puerili itu, ac perinde fortunam utriusque praesumeret. simul qui urionum tribunorumque sortem Britannici miserabantur, oti fictis causis et alii per speciem honoris; etiam libertorum uis incorrupta fide, depellitur tali occasione. obvii inter se o Britannicum nomine, ille Domitium salutavere. quod ut ordiae initium Agrippina multo questu ad maritum defert: ni quippe adoptionem, quaeque censuerint patres, iusserit ulus, intra penates abrogari: ac nisi pravitas tam infensa entium arceatur, eruptura in publicam perniciem. commus his quasi criminibus optimum quemque educatorem

nced these gifts, as well as a public e ('decursio'), attested also by coins n. vi. 271; Cohen, i. 284–286).
ludicro circensium. These games d be extraordinary ('votivi'). On gerundive dative of purpose cp. d. i. v. 22 b.
triumphali. The Med. text 'triualium' is retained in the older edd., by Rup., Walth., Ritt., and Jacob, would mean such a dress as 'triums' (persons who had triumphed or received 'triumphalia ornamenta') entitled to wear. The correction nphali' (adopted by Or., Halm, , Dr.) is supported by 1. 15, 4, and doubt right; for the 'vestis phalis' was not confined to 'triums,' but was worn by the chief magis- of the Republic on certain solemn ons, and after their example by the eps (13. 8, 1); whence it is called be- habitus imperatorius,' and was no assumed by Nero as a mark of his rium proconsulare' (see Momms. r. i. 417; ii. 1142, 1149); though within the city would seem to have hardly warranted in his case.
spectaret, expressing the thought grippina and her party ('let the e see'). The omission both of the f speaking and of an indication of eaker may be somewhat paralleled 10, 4, etc., and explained as an at rhetorical effect. Those who it too harsh read 'ut' after 'sunt' Bezzenb.) or in place of 'sunt' Rup.).
perinde, 'correspondingly': cp. 'ut viseret agros cultaque ab incultis notaret et perinde dominos laudaret castigaretque' (Liv. 27. 8, 18); 'Mithridates ingenti corpore, perinde armatus' (Sall. H. 2. 47 D, 56 K, 3. 34 G). In a similar passage in H. 2. 97, 4, Med. has 'proinde.'

6. **et alii**, i.e. 'the majority on false charges, and some on pretence of promotion': cp. c. 56, 4; 1. 63, 7 (and note). The officers spoken of would belong to the praetorian cohorts.

7. **tali occasione**, 'by taking such opportunity as the following.' That the words have this reference is shown by the concluding sentence ('commotus his,' etc.).

8. **Nero Britannicum**, etc. 'Nero saluted Britannicus by name, the latter saluted him as Domitius' (ignoring the adoption). Suet. speaks (Ner. 7) as if it had been a slip of the tongue ('quod se post adoptionem Ahenobarbum ex consuetudine salutasset'); but even a boy of ten years old could hardly have forgotten a change of name of a full year's standing; and certainly four years later Britannicus had a lively sense of his position (13. 15, 3).

10. **quae iusserit populus.** The people were supposed by a fiction to have voted the 'lex curiata' (c. 26, 1), which had been preceded by a decree of the senate (c. 25, 3).

12. **eruptura**, 'there would be an outbreak': a general subject is supplied from 'pravitas tam infensa docentium.'

13. **his quasi criminibus**, 'these hinted charges,' thus inferred from the conduct of Britannicus.

filii exilio aut morte adficit datosque a noverca custodiae ei inponit.

42. Nondum tamen summa moliri Agrippina audebat, praetoriarum cohortium cura exsolverentur Lusius Geta Rufrius Crispinus, quos Messalinae memores et liberis ei devinctos credebat. igitur distrahi cohortes ambitu duorum, si ab uno regerentur, intentiorem fore disciplinam adseverar uxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afraniu, egregiae militaris famae, gnarum tamen cuius sponte pra-ficeretur. suum quoque fastigium Agrippina extollere altiu carpento Capitolium ingredi, qui honos sacerdotibus et sac

1. **exilio aut morte.** Recent edd. read 'aut' (with Petersen) for Med. 'ac,' with a force as in 3. 24, 2; 6. 9, 1 ('some with exile, some with death'). Dio states (60. 32, 5) that Sosibius (see 11. 1, 2) suffered the latter penalty, and adds, *κἀκ τούτου παραδοῦσα αὐτὸν οἷς ἤθελεν, ἐκάκου ὅσον ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὔτε τῷ πατρὶ συνεῖναι οὔτε ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προϊέναι εἴα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδέσμῳ τρόπον τινὰ φυλακῇ εἶχεν.* For her former treatment of him see c. 26, 2.

4. **cura,** so used of this command in 13. 20, 2, and of military command generally in 2. 78, 1, etc.: cp. 'curabat' in 1. 31, 2. On Lusius Geta see 11. 31, 1, on Rufrius Crispinus 11. 1, 3. Med. has here 'Rufius,' but in a majority of places (13. 45, 4; 15. 71, 8; 16. 17, 1) 'Rufrius.' In Suet. Ner. 35, both forms occur in leading MSS.; and both are recognised as Roman names in inscriptions.

6. **ambitu,** 'rivalry in courting the soldiers.' On the usual partition of this command between two praefects see 1. 24, 3, and note; and for other instances, 14. 51, 5; H. 1. 46, 1; 2. 92, 1, and the particulars given in Momms. Staatsr. ii. 867, 2; Hirschfeld, Unters. 219, foll.

8. **uxore,** perhaps used (as Pfitzn. suggests) with some bitterness, as the matter was so wholly beyond her sphere.

Burrum Afranium. The cognomen (read incorrectly in most of the old edd. as 'Burrhus,' after some of the inferior MSS.) is an old synonym for 'Rufus' (Fest.); and either 'Burrus' or 'Purrus' is the form used by Ennius for 'Pyrrhus' (Cic. Or. 48, 160). This officer held the command till his death (14. 51, 1). Nothing is known of his previous service, but he appears to have suffered the loss or mutilation of a hand (13. 14, 5). On the question of his identity w the person mentioned in Jos. Ant. 20, 9, as a former instructor of Nero, s Introd. p. 50, 3.

9. **gnarum tamen,** etc., i. e. know that he was Agrippina's nominee, acknowledging the obligation. On genit. with 'sponte' cp. 2. 59, 3, note.

10. **fastigium,** 'dignity'; so 'mulie fastigium' (1. 14, 3); also 2. 84, 2; 4. 7, etc., Liv. 2. 27, 6, etc.

11. **carpento,** etc. We find from (60. 33, 2) that she procured a de from the senate *καρπεντίῳ ἐν ταῖς π γύρεσι χρῆσθαι.* A similar privilege, tended from that of vestals (see next n), had been given to Messalina (Id. 60. 2), who was drawn in such a carriag the triumph of Claudius (Suet. Cl.), and, as a posthumous honour, to effigies of the elder Agrippina and tonia (Suet. Cal. 15; Cl. 11). The ho is commemorated in medals of Agripp from which the form of the 'carpent', a two-wheeled carriage with an ca-mented cover, is known to us (see Ir-quardt, Privatl. 735). A similar privi, in the case of men, was allowed on to magistrates and priests, and to then on solemn occasions only (see Mom. Staatsr. i. 394, foll.).

sacerdotibus. This right does ot appear to have extended to all pri s: cp. lex Iul. municip. 62 'quibus d us virgines Vestales, regem sacrorum, fl nes plostreis in urbe sacrorum public m P. R. causa vehi oportebit' (see also iv. 1. 21, 4). The pontifex appears al to have thus gone in procession: cp. 'm Capitolium Scandet cum tacita vi ne pontifex' (Hor. Od. 3. 30, 8). The ri-vileges of the vestals formed in ny

quitus concessus venerationem augebat feminae, quam imatore genitam, sororem eius qui rerum potitus sit et coniugem natrem fuisse, unicum ad hunc diem exemplum est. inter e praecipuus propugnator eius Vitellius, validissima gratia, te extrema (adeo incertae sunt potentium res) accusatione ipitur, deferente Iunio Lupo senatore. is crimina maiestatis upidinem imperii obiectabat; praebuissetque aures Caesar, nisi ippinae minis magis quam precibus mutatus esset, ut accuri aqua atque igni interdiceret. hactenus Vitellius voluerat.

3. Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. insessum diris avibus itolium, crebris terrae motibus prorutae domus, ac dum latius

s (such as the use of a lictor, etc.) nodel for those granted to the wives others of emperors (see 4. 16, 6, etc.). oris, used of objects of worship, ially images, such as the Palladium e temple of Vesta (Liv. Epit. 19), ably also of the Penates of Rome on 15. 41, 2). So Varro (L. L. v. explains the Via Sacra to be 'qua quotquot mensibus feruntur in n.'

imperatore. Her father Germaniad received this title (cp. 1. 58, 9, note). She was also sister of Gaius, of Claudius, and mother of Nero. cient times a distinction of similar cter was recorded of the Lacedaean Lampido (Plat. Alcib. 1. 124 A) f the Pisistratid Archedike (Thuc. 6.).

Vitellius: see on 11. 2, 4, etc.

adeo incertae, etc. On the use of theses in Tacitus see Introd. i. v. Nipp. notes that they precede the to which they relate, as in 1. 39, 7; ; 4. 55, 6; 14. 59, 4, etc., as also in and other authors.

corripitur: 'is brought to trial': 28, 4, etc.

iestatis. This law has been for time practically dormant (see 14. and note).

ut accusatori, etc. Nipp. notes ony of contrast, as in 11. 2, 4. On r punishments of accusers cp. 4. 31. 5; 6. 7, 1, etc.

qua atque igni interdiceret. This ice (cp. 3. 23, 2, etc.) was one of im' involving loss of property, but evere than 'deportatio in insulam,' owing some choice of residence.

tenus, 'this and no more' (im; that had he chosen to press for the penalty of death, it would have been inflicted): cp. such uses of the word in 14. 3, 2; 51, 3; 15. 60, 4; etc., also 'hactenus meminerint ut querantur' (Pl. Ep. 7. 31, 6), 'utimam hactenus' (Suet. Dom. 16).

10. **prodigia.** In the earlier Books of the Annals no such portents are noticed, even where recognition of them might have been expected (compare 1. 76, 1, with Dio, 57. 14, 7); but from this point the mention of such is not unfrequent: see Introd. i. 12, n. 14: 22, n. 1. In most cases (c. 64, 1; 14. 32, 1; 15. 7, 3; 47, 1) the supposed ominous reference is shown, or is obvious in itself; here none is indicated, and the famine which might have been supposed to be foreshadowed is itself viewed as another portent. Tacitus may have supposed that they found their fulfilment in the Eastern troubles (c. 44, foll.), or in the danger threatening the imperial house through the adoption of Nero. Pliny mentions another prodigy in this year (N. H. 2. 31, 99): 'trinos soles . . . nostra aetas vidit, divo Claudio principe, consulatu eius, Cornelio Orfito collega.'

diris avibus, 'birds of ill omen'; so 'dirasque diem foedasse volucres' (Luc. 1, 558): cp. 'importunaeque volucres' (Verg. G. 1, 470). The sight of an owl in daytime was especially ominous: cp. 'tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo' (Ov. M. 15, 791). Other birds of ill omen are mentioned in Hor. Od. 3. 27, 1, foll.

11. **terrae motibus**: earthquakes are mentioned also in 758, 768, and 812, A.D. 5, 15, 59 (Dio, 55. 22, 5; 57. 14, 7; Eus. Chron.).

dum latius metuitur, 'as the panic spread': cp. 'altius metuens' (4. 41, 1).

metuitur, trepidatione vulgi invalidus quisque obtriti; frugu quoque egestas et orta ex eo fames in prodigium accipiebatı nec occulti tantum questus, sed iura reddentem Claudium circur vasere clamoribus turbidis, pulsumque in extremam fori parte vi urguebant, donec militum globo infensos perrupit. quindeci dierum alimenta urbi, non amplius, superfuisse constitit, magnaq deum benignitate et modestia hiemis rebus extremis subventuı at hercule olim Italia legionibus longinquas in provincias coı meatus portabat, nec nunc infecunditate laboratur; sed Africa potius et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita popı Romani permissa est.

44. Eodem anno bellum inter Armenios Hiberosque exortu Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motu causa fuit. genti Parthorum Vologeses imperitabat, mater

1. **obtriti.** The plural is thus used after 'quisque' in 1. 44, 3; 14. 18, 2; H. 4. 25, 5; 27, 4. The crowded state of the streets at all times, and the liability to a crush on occasion of any obstruction, are noted in Sen. Clem. 1. 6, 1.

2. **in prodigium.** The prep. expresses the direction which the interpretation took: cp. 1. 14, 3, and note.

3. **questus,** sc. 'fuere.'

iura reddentem. On the judicial functions personally exercised by the princeps see Introd. i. vi. p. 74; on the character of Claudius in respect of his discharge of them see Introd. p. 37.

circumvasere, a rare verb, found here alone in Tacitus, but also in Liv. and Pl. mai.: the subject is supplied from the context. Suetonius (Cl. 18) adds some details to the account of this tumult, and also mentions the measures taken by Claudius to relieve the dearth, and privileges given to private ship-owners. Formerly, the popular cry for bread had expressed itself by clamour at theatres and other public gatherings (see 6. 13, 1, etc.).

5. **globo,** often so used of soldiers massed together to force a way: cp. 2. 11, 4, and note.

quindecim dierum. On the still greater scarcity of corn at the death of Gaius, and the measures of relief taken by Claudius, see Introd. pp. 24, 25; and on other famines during this period see Friedl. i. 29, foll.

7. **modestia,** here alone thus used. Columella speaks (2. 9) of the 'clementia' of winter, Pliny (N. H. 6. 20, 23, 71) of 'aquarum modestia': so we have 'saev annonae' (2. 87, 1), 'segnitia maris' (3. 42, 3), etc.

8. **at hercule,** emphasizing a contr as in 1. 3, 5, etc.

legionibus, a generally adopted c rection of Ern. for Med. 'regionibus.'

9. **infecunditate,** a word found a in Sall. H. 3. 1 D, 90 K, 5 G., alsc Col. and Pl. mai. Italy is held by P y (N. H. 37. 13, 77, 201) to have e greatest natural advantages of any cou y in the world; and the decay of its prod e is ascribed by Varro (R. R. 2, 3) to e preference by the peasantry of an idle e in Rome, by Pliny (N. H. 18. 6, 7,) to the 'latifundia' and the vicious sys n of slave labour, which was also sprea g in the provinces, by Horace (Od. 2. 1) and others (e.g. Quint. Decl. 13) to e land swallowed up by parks and vil s, by Lucan (7, 399, foll.) to the gen l demoralisation consequent on the il wars. Cp. Introd. i. vii. pp. 86, ; Schiller, p. 492, foll.

Africam . . . et Aegyptum. n the corn supply from these and o r sources see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 3, foll., Friedl. i. 29, Mayor on Juv. 8, 7. Josephus (B. I. 2. 16, 4) makes H d Agrippa say that Rome was supporte y Egypt for four months in the year, an y Africa for eight; but the latter esti te may probably be exaggerated.

10. **exercemus:** cp. 11. 7, 4, and e.

navibusque, etc. Compare the st g expressions of Tiberius in 3. 54, 6.

14. **Vologeses.** It has been tho ht

;ine ex paelice Graeca, concessu fratrum regnum adeptus; ›eros Pharasmanes vetusta possessione, Armenios frater eius hridates optinebat opibus nostris. erat Pharasmani filius ıine Radamistus, decora proceritate, vi corporis insignis et ·ias artes edoctus, claraque inter accolas fama. is modicum ›eriae regnum senecta patris detineri ferocius crebriusque abat, quam ut cupidinem occultaret. igitur Pharasmanes :nem potentiae promptum et studio popularium accinctum, ;entibus iam annis suis metuens, aliam ad spem trahere et ıeniam ostentare, pulsis Parthis datam Mithridati a semet norando: sed vim differendam et potiorem dolum, quo utum opprimerent. ita Radamistus simulata adversus patrem ordia tamquam novercae odiis impar pergit ad patruum, taque ab eo comitate in speciem liberum cultus primores

Nipp.'s note) that Tacitus is here ating the accession of this king, and t did not take place till the following but Prof. Gardner has shown (see on c. 14, 8) that the evidence derived coinage does not necessitate any such On the other hand, the later date by some to his accession is fully stent with the time at which he first lly intervenes (c. 50, 1).

fratrum, Tiridates (c. 50, 1) and us (15. 2, 1).

Pharasmanes . . . Mithridates: r. 8, 1, and notes.

erat . . . filius, 'there was a son.' illustrates this force of 'erat' from , 1; 13. 45, 1; 14. 40, 1; also yatae sunt fratres quidam Tlepole- t Hiero' (Cic. Verr. 4. 13, 30).

patrias artes, 'the accomplishments countrymen,' riding, archery, etc. 5): 'clara fama,' abl. of quality.

dicum . . . detineri. The ana- s expression, 'quod inmensam pe- n longa senecta detineret' (14. 65, ggests that 'detineri' here means being kept from him.' 'Modicum' a mere epithet, but adds the thought he kingdom thus kept from its heir was small and worthless, when eir would have energy to extend it. eems better than to take the word Prof. Holbrooke) to mean that it was ıall to be divided, or to take 'mo- detineri' (with Orelli and Dr.) only ın 'was restricted from expansion.'

erocius, 'too boldly': cp. 'linguae s' (H. 1. 35, 2).

8. **potentiae promptum**, 'ready to grasp power' (cp. 1. 48, 3; 4. 46, 4; 11. 32, 1; 15. 45, 4): so Orelli and Ritt., after Lips., for the old reading 'promptae' (Med. 'pmte'), which they regard as an error of assimilation, but which Halm and Dr. retain, and which could be taken as a kind of genit. of quality describing his circumstances (Introd. i. v. § 34), 'one who had power ready to his hand,' by reason of his popularity. But the following clause 'et . . . accinctum' appears, from the conjunction introducing it, to introduce a new ground of fear rather than (as would thus be the case) to explain the words above, and we should certainly expect some allusion to his 'cupido' as well as to his facilities. Pfitzn. takes the Med. text less well to mean that his father's old age had brought power close to his hand. Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 551) would read (with Freinsh.) 'inpotentiae promptae' (cp. his suggestion on 4. 43, 4), thinking that the first syllable of the former word was overlooked after 'iuvenem'; and Nipp. (after Faern.) departs further from Med. in reading 'properum' (cp. 4. 59, 5; 11. 26, 4; 14. 7, 2).

accinctum, 'armed': cp. c. 25, 2; 11. 28, 1 (and notes); also 'eloquentiam, qua accinctus' (Dial. 5, 5).

9. **vergentibus**: cp. 2. 43, 1, and note.

10. **a semet**, see 6. 32, 5; 33, 1.

14. **in speciem liberum cultus**, 'treated as a son.' 'In' expresses result (Introd. i. v. 60 b), and 'species' does not imply hypocritical pretence; the sense being

Armeniorum ad res novas inlicit, ignaro et ornante insup Mithridate.

45. Reconciliationis specie adsumpta regressusque ad patre quae fraude confici potuerint, prompta nuntiat, cetera arm exsequenda. interim Pharasmanes belli causas confingit: pro lianti sibi adversus regem Albanorum et Romanos auxilio voca fratrem adversatum, eamque iniuriam excidio ipsius ultum iturum simul magnas copias filio tradidit. ille inruptione subita territ exutumque campis Mithridaten compulit in castellum Gorne tutum loco ac praesidio militum, quis Caelius Pollio praefect centurio Casperius praeerant. nihil tam ignarum barbaris qua machinamenta et astus oppugnationum: at nobis ea pars militi maxime gnara est. ita Radamistus frustra vel cum dam temptatis munitionibus obsidium incipit; et cum vis neglegeret avaritiam praefecti emercatur, obtestante Casperio ne socius re

merely 'ita ut e liberis eius videretur': cp. 'puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi' (Liv. 1. 39, 4). He was already, or became, son-in-law of Mithridates as well as nephew (c. 46, 1).

1. **ornante**, a correction of Lips. for Med. 'orante': cp. 'ornat Phraaten' (6. 32, 1). Nipp. notes that these words refer to the time while he was sowing sedition, the former words ('multa . . . cultus') to his treatment on his first arrival.

6. **regem Albanorum.** On this people see 2. 68, 1, and note. The war here alluded to is unknown: in 6. 33, 2 they are spoken of as allied with Pharasmanes.

7. **ultum iturum.** For this phrase cp. 4. 73, 6, and note, and similar phrases in 4. 1, 2; 66, 2, etc.

9. **exutumque campis**, 'driven from the open country': cp. 'hostem exuere sedibus' (13. 39, 3), and many other metaphorical uses of the verb (see note on 1. 69, 2). The alteration to 'castris' (Haase) is needless.

Gorneas. This place was probably one of the strong fortresses, the γαζοφυλάκια of the kingdom, spoken of in Strab. 11. 14, 6, 529. Kiepert (cited in Momms. Hist. v. 381; E. T. ii. 48) notes that its site is identified by the name (Garhni), still given to some ruins nearly east of Erivan.

10. **militum**, sc. 'Romanorum.' That Mithridates had been aided by Roman troops in reducing rebel strongholds, has been mentioned in 11. 9, 1. 'Praefectus' probably stands for 'praefectus cohor' (as in c. 39, 5).

11. **Casperius**, mentioned again a centurion in 15. 5, 2, and thought Nipp. to be probably the Casperius Ni of H. 3. 73, 3.

praeerant. Most other edd. ret the Med. 'praeerat'; but this ha seems to be one of the cases in whi singular verb can stand.

ignarum . . . gnara = 'ignotum . . nota' (cp. 2. 13, 1; 1. 5, 4, and not). Several edd. (Haase, Ritt., Nipp., Ja) bracket 'at . . . est' as an interpolat. Besides being a somewhat superfl remark in the mouth of a Roman, clause is awkwardly worded, as 'ea militiae' does not in strict sense ref 'astus oppugnationum,' but to an imp knowledge of the corresponding ta of defence. On the other hand, the cl cannot be a gloss, but is either gen or a deliberate forgery; and Doed. be right in thinking that to explain failure with so great disparity of num not only the incapacity of the besie but the notable skill of the besieged quires mention. The defence of juxtaposition of 'ignarum' and 'gn given by Joh. Müller (Beitr. 4, 11, f), seems hardly needed.

14. **obsidium**, 'a blockade.'

neglegeretur, 'was despised': the similar use of 'spernere' in c. 6. 42, 2.

15. **emercatur**: cp. c. 14, 1, note.

Armenia donum populi Romani scelere et pecunia verterentur. :remo quia multitudinem hostium Pollio, iussa patris Rada- :us obtendebant, pactus indutias abscedit, ut, nisi Pharas- em bello absterruisset, Ummidium Quadratum praesidem ae doceret quo in statu Armenia foret.

6. Digressu centurionis velut custode exsolutus praefectus ari Mithridaten ad sanciendum foedus, coniunctionem fratrum riorem aetate Pharasmanen et cetera necessitudinum nomina ens, quod filiam eius in matrimonio haberet, quod ipse amisto socer esset : non abnuere pacem Hiberos, quamquam mpore validiores ; et satis cognitam Armeniorum perfidiam, aliud subsidii quam castellum commeatu egenum : ne dubia

verterentur: so most edd. after Med. has 'pecuniā uterentur,' pro- a corruption of 'pecunia ūterentur'; der texts read 'venderentur' (with r MSS.), 'averterentur,' and 'muta- .' The verb would be used for erentur,' as in 2. 42, 4 (where see and the term would apply not y to Armenia, but to the Roman ity as exercised in giving that king- o Mithridates.

obtendebant: cp. 11. 17, 4, etc.

cedit, sc. 'Casperius.'

bsterruisset, with simple abl., as r. S. 2. 5, 83.

midium Quadratum. Med. has 'tūmidiū' (usually read as 'T. um,' but Ritt. thinks the 't' re- from the end of the preceding and in other places (13. 8, 2; 9, 26, 4) reads the name with one In Jos. Ant. 20. 6, 2; B. I. 2. 12, as been read as Νουμίδιος. His full nd offices are given in an inscrip- r. 3128, Wilm. 1139), 'C. Ummidio er(entina tribu) Durmio Quadrato, v vir s. f., leg. Ti. Caesaris Aug. Lusit., leg. D. Claudi in Illyrico, et Neronis Caesaris Aug. in Syria, Cypri, q(uaestori) divi Aug. et Ti. s Aug., aed. cur., pr(aetori) ae- x vir stlit. iud., curat. tabular. r., praef. frumenti dandi ex S. C.' scription shows that his quaestor- longs to the last year of Augustus st of Tiberius (767, A.D. 14); his ship was in 771, A.D. 18 (C. I. L. 496, Henzen 7419 d γ), his tenure tania in 790, A.D. 37 (Or. 3665); probably cos. suff. under Gaius, y under Claudius, and succeeded Cassius (c. 11, 4) in Syria, which he held till his death in 813, A.D. 60 (14. 26, 4). Some further particulars about him are noted by Nipp. and in Lehmann (pp. 248, 249). For further account of him as governor of Syria see c. 54, 5, etc.

praesidem. It is noted by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 240, 3) that the use of this term for the legatus of a province begins after the first century, being found in Tacitus (cp. 6. 41, 1), Pliny (Pan. 70), and often in Suet., after whose date it appears on inscriptions, etc., and becomes the regular term: cp. Macer (Dig. 1. 18, 1), 'praesidis nomen generale est, eoque et proconsules et legati Caesaris, et omnes provincias regentes, licet senatores sint, praesides appellantur.'

7. **coniunctionem fratrum**, 'the tie of brotherhood,' i. e. that brothers should agree, and the younger should give way to the elder. The other 'titles of connection' ('necessitudinum nomina') are explained in the context.

11. **in tempore**, 'at present.' The phrase seems to be nowhere else so used (cp. c. 50, 4, etc.). Nipp. compares the use of 'in loco' in 1. 63, 7.

perfidiam, the treason incited by Radamistus (c. 44, 5).

12. **commeatu.** The Med. 'commeatū' has been sometimes read as 'commeatuum' (which would give a bad homoeoteleuton), and may possibly be a corruption of 'commeatus,' but an abl. with 'egenus' is found in 15. 12, 1.

ne dubia tentare . . . mallet: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Sirker, for Med. 'ne dubitare . . . malle.' Ritt. prefers 'tenere' to 'tentare'; most other edd. follow Ryck. in reading 'dubitaret' (after

tentare armis quam incruentas condiciones mallet. cunctante d ea Mithridate et suspectis praefecti consiliis, quod paelic regiam polluerat inque omnem libidinem venalis habebat, Casperius interim ad Pharasmanen pervadit, utque Hib obsidio decedant expostulat. ille propalam incerta et saep molliora respondens, secretis nuntiis monet Radamistum obpug- tionem quoquo modo celerare. augetur flagitii merces, et Po occulta corruptione inpellit milites, ut pacem flagitarent se praesidium omissuros minitarentur. qua necessitate Mithrid diem locumque foederi accepit castelloque egreditur.

47. Ac primo Radamistus in amplexus eius effusus simu obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellare; adicit ius iurand non ferro, non veneno vim adlaturum. simul in lucum pro quum trahit, provisum illic sacrificii paratum dictitans, ut testibus pax firmaretur. mos est regibus, quotiens in societa coëant, implicare dextras pollicesque inter se vincire nod praestringere: mox ubi sanguis in artus *se* extremos suffud

G.), omitting 'quam,' retaining 'malle,' and taking 'armis' as an abl. of comparison, defended (hardly appositely) from Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 79 ('nullos his mallem ludos spectasse'), and supposing that a copyist ignorant of the construction had confused it by inserting 'quam.'

1. **incruentas**: cp. 'pacem incruentam' (2. 46, 2); 'res incruentas' (13. 37, 6), etc.

3. **in omnem libidinem venalis**, 'one who could be bought over to any wickedness.' 'Libido' has this general sense in 13. 31, 5, as also 'licentia' in 15. 20, 3. The force of 'in' is similar in 1. 28, 7; 4. 51, 3, etc.

5. **et saepius molliora**, 'and usually pacific': cp. 'ac saepius' (c. 7, 6).

6. **monet . . . celerare**: cp. 11. 1, 2, and note. For the use of 'celerare' cp. 2. 5, 2, and note.

9. **omissuros**: so all recent edd., after Freinsh., on the analogy of 4. 51, 3; 14. 33, 4. Med. has 'ammis.' (at the end of a line); most older edd. follow G. in reading 'praesidio abituros.'

qua necessitate, causal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 30).

11. **effusus**, 'rushing into his embrace.' 'Effundi' is used in a middle or reflexive sense of giving way to a feeling (1. 11, 5; 54, 3; 4. 8, 3; H. 2. 80, 3), and 'effusus' of the feeling thus indulged in, as 'effusae clementiae' (6. 30, 3), plexu effusissimo' (Petron. 139).

14. **sacrificii paratum**: so mos dern edd., after Pflugk; Ritt. prefers paratum' (cp. 2. 69, 3; H. 3. 56, 1) 'paratus' is used for it in 13. 17, 'occulti paratus sacri' Liv. 10, 4 The Med. text 'sacrificium imper might be taken to mean 'that the fice which had been ordered was made ready,' but would hardly su description of the rite contemp Other emendations are cited by and Ritt.

15. **mos est**, etc. Another Arm prince is described by Val. Max. extr. 3) as thus ratifying an allia similar practice is noted among (Hdt. 1. 74, 6) and Scythians (Id. 1; Lucian, Tox. 37), and has be served among savage races in n times. A wild tale was current that t tilinarians sealed their compact by ing human blood in wine (Sall. Cat.

in societatem coëant, 'm form alliance': so 'in amicitiam c (Verg. Aen. 7, 546); 'coëant in dextrae' (Id. 11, 292); 'ad nulli facinoris societatem coibant' (Sue 32). The subjunctive here is action often repeated (Introd. i. v.

17. **se extremos suffuderit.** and Halm follow Jac. Gron. in ir

ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. id foedus num habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum. sed tunc qui ncla admovebat, decidisse simulans genua Mithridatis invadit nque prosternit; simulque concursu plurium iniciuntur catenae. ompede, quod dedecorum barbaris, trahebatur; mox quia is duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat. et contra qui tantam fortunae commutationem miserarentur; aque cum parvis liberis coniunx cuncta lamentatione com- t. diversis et contectis vehiculis abduntur, dum Pharasmanis exquirerentur. illi cupido regni fratre et filia potior animus- celeribus paratus; visui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret. adamistus, quasi iuris iurandi memor, non ferrum, non ium in sororem et patruum expromit, sed proiectos in m et veste multa gravique opertos necat. filii quoque idatis, quod caedibus parentum inlacrimaverant, trucidati

At Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten et regnum terfectoribus optineri, vocat consilium, docet acta et an

here it may most easily have out; Ritt. inserts it after 'ex- Most others (after Heins.) cor- Med. text by omitting 'in'; d 'se effuderit' (after G.). The resses the collection of blood in mities thus tied.

anum, 'mystical': so 'arcana . 18, 3), 'arcanus terror' (Id. 40, ase reads 'aeternum.'

idisse. The omission of 'se' mon in Tacitus, and the meaning sted by the distinctive 'ipsum' , that the alternative explana- Walther and Orelli ('decidisse) seems very improbable.

cursu plurium, abl. abs. = concurrentibus.'

pede: so all edd. for Med. es,' after Lips., who notes that a n appears to be drawn between ' (on the hands) and the still dignity of being dragged along kles on the feet; also that the of 'custodia militaris' made em less disgraceful to a Roman rbarian.

quia, etc. With this text is supplied again as subject of at.' Nipp. and others read 'mox- er G.). On the harsh rule of es cp. 11. 9, 3.

6. **intentabat**, used with similar zeugma in 3. 36, 1.

7. **contra**: so most edd. (with G.). Med. has 'e contra,' whence Baiter reads 'e contrario' (cp. H. 1. 88, 4), and notes other omissions of final syllables in this MS.

11. **visui tamen consuluit**, 'he spared his eyes the sight' of a brother's execution: cp. 'aspectui pepercit' (15. 61, 7), 'Nero subtraxit oculos' (Agr. 45, 2), and the use of 'consulere alicui' (='parcere') in 3. 16, 5; 46, 4; 11. 36, 3, etc.

ne='ita ut non': cp. 11. 15, 1.

13. **sororem**, the wife of Mithridates (see c. 46, 1).

proiectos in humum, 'thrown down to the ground': the idea seems really not distinguishable from that where the locative 'humi' is used, as in H. 2. 64, 2 ('proiectum humi iugulavit').

17. **Quadratus**: see c. 45, 6. This whole narrative shows that the legatus of Syria was the superior officer of all commanders of troops in Cappadocia and other eastern provinces: see Marqu. Staatsv. i. 209.

cognoscens, aoristic present: cp. 'praemonenti' 11. 35, 3 (and note).

18. **consilium**. The persons usually thus consulted by a governor were all

ulcisceretur consultat. paucis decus publicum curae, plures tu disserunt: omne scelus externum cum laetitia habendum; semi etiam odiorum iacienda, ut saepe principes Romani eande Armeniam specie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis pra buerint: poteretur Radamistus male partis, dum invisus, infam quando id magis ex usu quam si cum gloria adeptus foret. i hanc sententiam itum. ne tamen adnuisse facinori viderentur t diversa Caesar iuberet, missi ad Pharasmanen nuntii, ut abscede t a finibus Armeniis filiumque abstraheret.

49. Erat Cappadociae procurator Iulius Paelignus, igna a animi et deridiculo corporis iuxta despiciendus, sed Clau o

senators present, and sometimes others with them (see Sall. Jug. 62, 4; 104, 1).

1. **tuta disserunt**, 'advocate a safe course' (to let things alone): cp. 'bona libertatis . . . disserere' (1. 4, 2).

2. **cum laetitia habendum**, 'must be received with joy': cp. 'civiliter habuit' (4. 21, 2); 'nec cum . . . odio . . . nomen . . . habebatur' (15. 28, 2, where see note). Nipp. adds 'gravius aequo habuere' (Sall. Cat. 51, 11), 'aegre habuit' (Liv. 5. 5, 7). On the general sentiment cp. G. 33, 2.

3. **ut saepe**, etc., 'as Roman princes have often thrown Armenia before the barbarians for a bone of contention under colour of a gift'; i.e. had set up some prince (see 2. 3, 4; 4, 1; 56, 3; 6. 32, 5; 11. 8, 1) who, as their nominee, would be unpopular, and could never be leader of a powerful and united nation. Armenia is called 'donum populi Romani' (c. 45, 5), and, in a certain sense, is said to belong to the empire (13. 34, 4).

5. **dum invisus.** 'Dum' has the force of 'dummodo,' and 'esset' is supplied (Introd. i. v. § 39); the ellipse being, as Dr. points out, made less harsh by the following 'foret.' This seems better than to suppose (with Jacob) that 'poteretur' is repeated.

6. **ex usu**, 'in accordance with our interest': cp. 'ex suo usu' (6. 42, 3); also 4. 5, 6; 11. 8, 5, and notes (so in Cic., Ter., Pl. mai.).

adeptus. Nipp. alters this to 'depulsus,' with the meaning that it was better that he should reign hated and dishonoured than become a hero with his people through being expelled by the Romans. The rhetorical contrast is better; but there seems to be no need for so violent a change.

7. **itum.** The phraseology of the Ro- man senate (3. 23, 2, etc.) is here app d to a 'consilium' (§ 1) of officers.

adnuisse, with dative, as in 15, 2; H. 2. 4, 3; also 'adnuite legis' (Sall. H. 1. 41, 25 D, 45 K, p. 141.), 'adnue coeptis' (Verg. G. 1, 40).

et diversa Caesar iuberet. his sentence is logically subordinate, d might have been expected to be in bl. abs. ('while Caesar ordered them to ct otherwise'); so 'neque enim hic . . certa dominorum domus et ceteri s i' ('while the rest are slaves'), H. 1. 1 1. In the nearly parallel passage in 1. 7 1, where 'idque' has the force of 'et n d,' the second clause gives the conseque of the first. See Joh. Müller, Beit 4. p. 19.

9. **Armeniis.** Ritt. considers th an error of assimilation ('Armenius not being used adjectively in Tacitus), nd reads 'Armeniae.'

10. **Cappadociae procurator.** his province had been organised unde Ti- berius (2. 56, 4, and note), and was eld by procurators till the time of Vesp an. who gave it a legionary force a. a legatus of consular rank (Suet. Ves 8 Its tenure by Corbulo was an excep nal arrangement (see 13. 8, 2, and note

Paelignus: so all recent ed fo Med. 'Pelignus,' after an emendati o Halm on Cic. Vat. 15, 36.

ignavia: so most recent ed fo Med. 'ignavi,' which the old edd. ain The loss of 'a' before 'animi' ex tremely probable; the suppositi o Ritt., that the termination has een assimilated to that of 'animi,' an tha 'ignavus' should be read, hardly l s so The ablative would be causal.

11. **deridiculo**, 'absurdity,' i.e. fo

ıuam familiaris, cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum s otium oblectaret. is Paelignus auxiliis provincialium contis tamquam reciperaturus Armeniam, dum socios magis m hostes praedatur, abscessu suorum et incursantibus barbaris ːsidii egens ad Radamistum venit; donisque eius evictus ultro um insigne sumere cohortatur sumentique adest auctor et lles. quod ubi turpi fama divulgatum, ne ceteri quoque ex .igno coniectarentur, Helvidius Priscus legatus cum legione itur, rebus turbidis pro tempore ut consuleret. igitur propere

so used substantively, with nearly ır meaning, in 3. 57, 3; 6. 2, 2, and ıutus.

conversatione scurrarum: so all edd., after Lips., for the Med. ıtis olim c̄ūsationes ('conversa-s') curaret.' The emendation is med by the description in Suet.) of the former life of Claudius (see l. p. 20). 'Conversatio,' in the of 'intercourse,' occurs in G. 40, 4, 9, 6, and in other writers of the l.

otium oblectaret. The expression s in Dial. 10, 3, and the epithet ' may be illustrated from 13. 42, 4. ons and such persons were a constant ct to the imperial household (see l. i. p. 134); and another instance h a person attaining a considerable on is that of Vatinius (see 15. 34,

Paelignus. The repetition of me is perhaps a gloss (cp. 4. 10, 2, ote), but may be supposed (with) to be for contemptuous emphasis, ause Claudius was the immediately ding subject.

iliis provincialium. Nipp. points out that these were the bodied militia of the province; the rtes alaeque' of 13. 8, 2 having been ently stationed there later. Such lar levies in other provinces are oned in H. 1. 68, 2; 2. 58, 2; 3. 5, appadocia would thus appear to been at this time an 'inermis pro-c' (as were most of those under ators), depending for military sup-when needed, upon Syria (see below,).

amquam, with future participle, , as in 6. 36, 1 (where see note).

bscessu, causal abl., as also in 6. The departing force was probably the cohort under Pollio, of which no more is heard.

5. **ultro**, i. e. not only does not prevent him, but even, etc.

6. **regium insigne**, the tiara and diadem: see 2. 56, 3.

cohortatur, with inf. (see Introd. i. v. § 43), as apparently elsewhere only in Bell. Al. 21, 1 ('cohortando suos . . . contendere'). The same construction is used with 'dehortor' (3. 16, 5), and oftener with 'hortor' (see 11. 16, 3, and note).

auctor, 'authoriser.' The addition 'ac satelles' appears to be, as Prof. Holbrooke notes, a stroke of irony.

7. **turpi fama.** The dishonour attaching to the fact reported is here transferred to the report itself; cp. 'moesta fama' (H. 2. 46, 1), 'atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe fama' (Id. 1. 51, 8).

ne ceteri, etc., 'lest all Romans should be judged from the standard of Paelignus.' Cp. the use of 'coniectare' in 1. 32, 7 ('militares animos ultius coniectantibus'), and the phrases 'ex rumore,' 'ex vero statuere' (3. 69, 3; 4. 43, 4).

8. **Helvidius Priscus.** This cannot be the famous person of that name, who had not yet been quaestor (see on 16. 28, 2), as the 'legati legionum' were senators of praetorian rank or in a position to become so (see Introd. i. vii. p. 105). Another of the name is mentioned five years later as trib. pleb. (13. 28, 5); the name of an unknown 'C. Helvidius Priscus' occurs in an inscription perhaps of about this date (Henzen 6432); and one 'Helvidia Priscilla' was wife of a procurator of this time (Hirschf. Unters. p. 300).

9. **mittitur**, sc. 'a Quadrato': the Syrian were the only legions in the East.

pro tempore, 'according to occasion': cp. 3. 1, 4, and note.

montem Taurum transgressus moderatione plura quam vi co- posuerat, cum rediret in Suriam iubetur, ne initium belli advers Parthos existeret.

50. Nam Vologeses casum invadendae Armeniae obveni ratus, quam a maioribus suis possessam externus rex flagi optineret, contrahit copias fratremque Tiridaten deducere regnum parat, ne qua pars domus sine imperio ageret. ince Parthorum sine acie pulsi Hiberi, urbesque Armeniorum Artax a

1. **Taurum.** His route from Syria through Commagene to Cappadocia would pass over part of this chain.

2. **rediret.** Halm retains the Med. text (cp. 13. 15, 3; H. 2. 46, 2); most others read, with inferior MSS., 'redire.'

4. **Nam Vologeses.** This Parthian intervention would not seem to have taken place before 806, A.D. 53; as the renewed Parthian occupation of Armenia, after the ensuing winter and the events of c. 51, is not reported in Rome till after the death of Claudius (13. 6, 1).

casum, 'opportunity,' as in c. 28, 1, etc.

5. **a maioribus suis.** In recent times Vonones (2. 4, 3) and Arsaces son of Artabanus (6. 31, 2) had been at least nominal kings of Armenia, and Parthians had ruled it during the captivity of Mithridates (see on 11. 8, 1); but the expression here points rather to the Arsacid kings of the second and first century B. C. (see Dict. of Biog. i. p. 361), who claimed to be of the same stock as the Parthian royal race.

7. **ne qua pars domus,** etc., 'that no member of his family might be without a dominion.' The other brother, Pacorus, held Media (15. 2, 1).

incessu, 'invasion': cp. 4. 24, 2.

8. **Artaxata et Tigranocerta.** On the former city, see 2. 56, 3, and note. Tigranocerta was founded by Tigranes I, with a population swept together from desolated Greek cities and from an invasion of Cappadocia (Strab. 11. 14, 15, 532; 12. 2, 9, 539). It was soon afterwards nearly destroyed by Lucullus (Strab. l. l. Plut. Luc. 29, 511), and had not recovered in Strabo's time. It was evidently on the extreme southern frontier of Armenia (Plin. N. H. 6. 9, 10, 27), and is even spoken of as in Mesopotamia (Strab. 12. 539); and Lucullus, marching from Pontus, is stated to have crossed both the Euphrates and Tigris to reach it (Plut. Luc. 24). Its site is however a vexed question, and many of the statements of ancient authors are not easy to reconc. Tacitus, who may probably be followg Corbulo, gives one very definite st- ment, that it was thirty-seven miles fn Nisibis (15. 5, 2), and places it on e Nicephorius, described by him as a - siderable stream (15. 4, 3), and givey Pliny (N. H. 6. 27, 31, 129) as a c tributary of the upper Tigris; but ll the principal branches of that river w into it from the north and at considerly greater distance from Nisibis than at specified. Again, the statement of St (11. 12, 4, 522; 16. 1, 23, 747) that it lay at the foot of Mt. Masius, in a sinar position to that of Nisibis, is inconsisnt with Pliny's statement (6. 9, 10, 26) at it was 'in excelso.' Egli (see pp. 3- 306), supposing that the city was buit o command the Bitlis pass, places at Sert, on the Bitlis-Su. In this view as also in those which place it at Diarbir, or other sites in that region, the ta furnished by Tacitus and Strabo re wholly departed from. Others (see he dissertations of Mommsen and Kiep in Hermes ix. 1875, pp. 129–149) had pl ed it at Tell-Abad or some other ce within the basin of the Tigris or he northern side of Masius; where the is- tance from Nisibis answers fairly to at given above, but the streams seem oo inconsiderable to suit the descriptio of the Nicephorius. More recently, o- fessor Sachau, travelling in the coun in 1879, 1880 (see the summary of his treatise given by Mr. Tozer in 'Transac- tions of the Cambridge Philological Society,' ii. p. 237), found considerble remains at Tell-Ermen, a little S. of Mardin, just thirty-seven miles om Nisibis, and on a river. This site wld agree with all that is said by Strabo nd Tacitus, but would wholly depart om Pliny's connection of the Nicephorius ith the Tigris (see note on 15. 4, 3), and om his description of the position as a

'igranocerta iugum accepere. deinde atrox hiems seu parum /isi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes perpellunt Vologesen ttere praesentia. vacuamque rursus Armeniam Radamistus sit, truculentior quam antea, tamquam adversus defectores et empore rebellaturos. atque illi, quamvis servitio sueti, entiam abrumpunt armisque regiam circumveniunt.

1. Nec aliud Radamisto subsidium fuit quam pernicitas orum, quis seque et coniugem abstulit. sed coniunx gravida iam utcumque fugam ob metum hostilem et mariti caritatem ravit; post festinatione continua, ubi quati uterus et era vibrantur, orare ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis eretur. ille primo amplecti adlevare adhortari, modo virtutem irans, modo timore aeger, ne quis relicta poteretur. postremo ntia amoris et facinorum non rudis destringit acinacen vulne-

t (see above). The Tell Ermen site w adopted by Kiepert in his maps hat appended to Momms. Hist. v.).

atrox hiems, that of the year ving the invasion (§ 1).

tabes, 'pestilence,' as in H. 5. 3, .

pellunt, an old correction for ellunt': cp. 'perpulit' (for 'per-) 11. 29, 2 (and note).

omittere praesentia, 'to abandon on the spot': cp. 1. 30, 5, and

defectores: cp. 11. 8, 5, and

n tempore rebellaturos. Med. bellaturos'; but subsequent edd. generally followed Rhen. in suppos-at 're' has been lost after 'tempore.' ilar correction should probably be in the passage of Sallust (H. 1. 18 K, 19 G), which is here evidently ed ('ferocia regis Mithridatis in re bellaturi'). For 'in tempore' fit time') cp. 1. 19, 2, and note.

patientiam abrumpunt. This s used poetically of breaking a tie fas omne abrumpit' Verg. Aen. 3, o of breaking faith (H. 4. 60, 4), here of breaking off a habit: cp. tis voluptatibus' (H. 4. 64, 5), npi dissimulationem' (11. 26, 1), n . . . abrumpunt' (15. 2, 2).

iam, at Artaxata, on the Araxes 4).

eque et: cp. 1. 4, 1, and note. ife spoken of may be the daughter hridates (c. 46, 1) or another.

abstulit, so used by poets of flight in the air or other rapid motion: cp. 'auferebantur' (4. 73, 3), 'e conspectu terrae ablati' (Liv. 29. 27, 6), etc.

9. **utcumque**, with 'toleravit' ('endured somehow'): cp. 2. 14, 4. The expression here closely resembles Curt. 8. 2, 34 ('arduum . . . iter primo utcumque tolerabant'); and both appear to have followed Livy 29. 15, 1 ('quae . . . utcumque tolerata essent').

10. **ubi quati**, etc. Heins. considers that the last syllable of 'quatitur' has here been lost, which is not in itself improbable; but such use of the historical inf. is Tacitean (Introd. i. v. § 46 c), though the following finite verb is usually in the imperf. (as in 11. 37, 3, etc.). On the anastrophe of 'ubi' cp. 4. 10, 2, and parallel cases given in Introd. i. v. § 78, and by Nipp. here.

12. **adlevare**, probably to be referred to the suppliant attitude suggested by 'orare' (cp. c. 19, 1); the supposition being that she had dismounted and thrown herself before him in entreaty.

13. **violentia**, causal abl., coordinated for variety with an adj., as elsewhere with a participle: cp. 2. 1, 2; 22, 2; 4. 72, 1, etc.

14. **facinorum**, probably here taken in a somewhat neutral sense ('acts of violence'): cp. c. 31, 7; 3. 21, 1, etc.

acinacen. This Persian name for the short sabre used by them and other nations (cp. 'Medus acinaces' Hor. Od. 1. 27, 5) is often used by Hdt. Curtius (7. 4, 19; 8. 3, 4) gives a Latin accus.

ratamque ripam ad Araxis trahit, flumini tradit, ut corpus etia auferretur: ipse praeceps Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervad interim Zenobiam (id mulieri nomen) placida in eluvie spirant ac vitae manifestam advertere pastores, et dignitate formae ha degenerem reputantes obligant vulnus, agrestia medicami adhibent cognitoque nomine et casu in urbem Artaxata ferun unde publica cura deducta ad Tiridaten comiterque excepta cu regio habita est.

52. Fausto Sulla Salvio Othone consulibus Furius Scribo-anus in exilium agitur, quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos sc-

'acinacem,' which the older edd. read here (after G.).

1. **ripam ad Araxis.** On the anastrophe cp. 3. 72, 2, etc. The Araxes (Erasch), a southern tributary of the Cyrus (Kur), passes under the walls of Artaxata (13. 39, 8).

etiam, with 'corpus,' 'that even her dead body might be rescued from the enemy.'

2. **Hiberos ad patrium regnum pervadit.** Many alterations have been proposed (see Halm, Comm. Crit.) to amend the construction; and there is much to be said for the view of Ritt. and Heräus, that 'Hiberos' is a gloss; the country being sufficiently indicated by 'ad patrium regnum.' The passages cited in support of such an apposition from 4. 67, 1 ('Capreas se in insulam abdidit'), and H. 4. 32, 2 ('adlatis Geldubam in castra nuntiis'), are not strictly parallel, for in neither of them is there any ambiguity; whereas 'Hiberos pervadit' would naturally mean that he passed through the Hiberians, and imply that the 'patrium regnum' lay beyond them.

3. **in eluvie**: so Halm, after Madv. (Adv. Crit. ii. p. 551), for Med. 'inluvie,' for which J. F. Gron. had read 'eluvie' (without 'in'): cp. 'eluvie maris' in 13. 57, 2, and 'in proxima eluvie' (so read after Gron. for MSS. 'alluvie'), in Liv. 1. 4, 5, for the dead water or overflow by the river's side, as also in Curt. 5. 4, 26. 'Inluvies' is elsewhere used four times by Tacitus, always in the sense of 'squalor' (e.g. 1. 24, 4).

4. **manifestam,** with genit., as in 2. 85, 3, where see note.

advertere = 'animadvertere,' as in 2. 32, 5; 4. 54, 2, etc.

dignitate, abl. expressing the reason for their supposition.

5. **degenerem,** 'of low birth,' as i 62, 2; 6. 42, 4, etc.

7. **Tiridaten.** It is implied that had recovered Armenia. The events this chapter appear to be those spoke in 13. 6, 1, and cannot in that case he taken place before 807, A.D. 54. See c. 50, 1.

cultu regio habita, 'was trea in the style of a queen': cp. 'eodem ceteros cultu' (H. 1. 88, 2).

9. **Fausto Sulla Salvio Otho** The former, fully called Faustus C nelius Sulla Felix in a military dipl (C. I. L. iii. 2. p. 844), and apparentl the Acta Arvalium (C. I. L. vi. 1. 20), where the name is now mutilated, son of one of the same name (cos. suf 784, A.D. 31), and was husband of tonia, daughter of Claudius (Suet. Cl.). He is mentioned again in 13. 23, 1; 1; and was put to death by Nero in A.D. 62 (14. 57, 6). The other cons is L. Salvius Otho Titianus, the brothe of the emperor Otho, and is often mentio in the Histories. He also was an A from 810 to 822, A.D. 57–69 (C. I. L 1. 2038–2051), and was proconsul of Asia, with Agricola as his quaestor (6, 2), in 816–817, A.D. 63–64 (see N here and Andresen on Agr. l. l.). S was still in office, after Otho had succeeded by L. Salvidienus Rufus vianus (C. I. L. iii. l. l.). Barea Sor appears also to have been cos. suff. du part of this year (c. 53, 2).

Furius Scribonianus. On his father see below, on his grandfathe 2. 52, 5, and note.

10. **quasi finem principis . . . scr retur.** On this offence see 3. 22, 2, note; on the use of 'finem' for 'mor cp. 1. 4, 2; 6. 25, 1, etc.; on the u 'quasi' ('on the ground that'), and

etur. adnectebatur crimini Vibia mater eius, ut casus prioris m relegata erat) inpatiens. pater Scriboniani Camillus arma Delmatiam moverat; idque ad clementiam trahebat Caesar, od stirpem hostilem iterum conservaret. neque tamen exuli ga posthac vita fuit: morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus et, ut quisque credidit, vulgavere. de mathematicis Italia lendis factum senatus consultum atrox et inritum. laudati inc oratione principis qui ob angustias familiares ordine atorio sponte cederent, motique qui remanendo inpudentiam pertati adicerent.

53. Inter quae refert ad patres de poena feminarum quae vis coniungerentur; statuiturque, ut ignaro domino ad id lapsae in servitute, sin consensisset, pro libertis haberentur.

lar use of 'ut' below, see Introd. i. 67.

Vibia; so apparently to be read for . 'uiuia,' as 'Vibius' for 'uiuius' in 28, 3: other MSS. and old edd. read ia' or 'Vinia.' Pliny records (Ep. 5, 9) the indignant reply of Arria to for surviving her husband, but does give her name. He adds that she d herself by giving information.

pater Scriboniani Camillus. He consul in 785, A.D. 32 (see 6. 1, 1, note). On his conspiracy see Introd. r. His full name and that of his son the same, but are here varied to d repetition, as in other instances: ntrod. i. v. § 86.

Delmatiam. On this province see 5, and note.

clementiam trahebat, 'was ng to the credit of his clemency': iere' has the force of 'interpretari,' 1. 62, 3 (where see note), etc.

iterum. He might have put him eath for his father's crime, as had done to the children of Seianus (5. ; he might again put him to death for his own offence.

morte fortuita, etc. Here, as in , 1, an anacoluthon results from the ipt to combine in one sentence two ict assertions; (1) that the cause of eath was uncertain; (2) that the re- of it spread by people were deter- d by their prepossessions. We should expected the first part to end with such words as 'parum constitit.' other instances of defects arising effort at brevity see Introd. i. v.

6. **de mathematicis**, etc. For other such decrees see 2. 32, 5, and note, Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 93, 2.

7. **atrox et inritum**, 'severe and yet futile': for the sense of 'atrox' cp. 5. 3, 4; 6. 2, 1, etc.; for the use of 'et' with the force of 'et tamen' cp. 1. 13, 2, and note.

8. **ob angustias**, i. e. from no longer possessing the senatorial census: see 1. 75, 5, and note.

9. **motique.** A similar expulsion of those who neglected to take the hint to retire voluntarily had taken place four years previously (see 11. 25, 5, and note), and perhaps another in the year before that (Dio, 60. 29, 1). It is not necessary to suppose that the censorship of Claudius was still in force (see on 11. 13, 1), as such power of revising the list of senators rested at all times with the princeps: see 2. 48, 3; Introd. i. vi. pp. 71, 72.

11. **feminarum**, etc. The case is that of free women who entered into concubinage with the slave of another person. The decree appears to have received some modification from Vespasian, to whom Suetonius (who describes it very inaccurately) erroneously assigns it (Vesp. 11), and was afterwards relaxed by Hadrian, but is always called 'senatus consultum Claudianum,' and was well known to jurists under that title (see Gaius 1. 84–91; Ulp. Fr. xi. 11; Paul Rec. Sent. ii. 21), till its abolition by Justinian (Codex vii. 24).

13. **in servitute**, i. e. should become the slaves of that slave's master: 'haberentur' is here supplied in the sense of 'tenerentur'. According to Gaius (1.

Pallanti, quem repertorem eius relationis ediderat Caesa praetoria insignia et centiens quinquagiens sestertium censu consul designatus Barea Soranus. additum a Scipione Co nelio grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiae ortu veterrimam nobilitatem usui publico postponeret seque inte ministros principis haberi sineret. adseveravit Claudius con tentum honore Pallantem intra priorem paupertatem subsister et fixum est aere publico senatus consultum, quo libertin

§ 160), this ensued only when the connection took place 'invito et denuntiante domino,' and what ensued when he was merely ignorant is not stated.

pro libertis haberentur, 'should be treated as his freedwomen' (and subjected to the disabilities of such): for the two senses of 'haberentur' cp. those of 'habebat' in 2. 44, 3. Gaius (i. 84) represents this case somewhat differently, 'poterat ipsa ex pactione libera permanere, sed servum procreare,' and adds that, according to the ordinance of Hadrian, if the mother remained free, the child was to be free.

1. **repertorem**: cp. 'novi iuris repertor' (2. 30, 3).

2. **praetoria insignia.** On the gift of such senatorial distinctions to persons who could not become senators see on 11. 38, 5. That the freedmen of Claudius were allowed to be present with him in the senate is seen from Dio, 60. 16, 3.

centiens quinquagiens. This appears to be the largest of such money gifts on record. For others see 11. 4, 5; 16. 33, 4; H. 4. 42, 5.

3. **Barea Soranus.** An inscription giving one of this family as cos. suff. in 779, A.D. 26 (Grut. 235, 10), would show that their gentile name was Marcius. It is strange that such a decree should have been proposed by one bearing the character ascribed to him in 16. 21, 1; 23, 1. The elder Pliny, in an allusion to the decree (N. H. 35. 18, 58, 201), describes it as passed 'iubente Agrippina'; and it must be supposed that she put pressure on Barea, who as cos. design. had to speak first (cp. 3. 22, 6, and note). Other instances of such subserviency of senators to freedmen are given in Friedl. i. 88.

Scipione Cornelio: see 11. 2, 5, etc.

4. **regibus Arcadiae ortus.** 'Pallas' was his mere slave name in the household of Antonia (see on 11. 29, 1): on his freedom he had probably taken the nar 'M. Antonius Pallas,' found as a fami name in an inscription probably belon ing to the second century (Wilm. 136 Scipio here imagines for him a desce from Pallas, the mythical ancestor Evander and eponymus of the origir Pallanteum on the Palatine Hill (Ve Aen. 8, 54; Paus. 8. 3, 1; 43, 5). (the fondness for such mythical pedigr see Friedl. i. 214, foll.

6. **contentum honore.** Pliny d scribes to Montanus (Ep. 7. 29) the em tions with which he had read that inscr tion on the tomb of Pallas within the fi milestone on the via Tiburtina: 'H senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga p tronos ornamenta praetoria decrevit sestertium centies quinquagies, cuius h nore contentus fuit.'

8. **aere publico**: cp. 11. 14, 5. H the words of Pliny (see next note) expli the phrase.

senatus consultum. In anot letter (8. 6), Pliny says that the sight f the inscription cited above had given h the curiosity to inspect the dec which he quotes at length with a bi running commentary. It appears to h accumulated compliments upon him, have urged that he should be presse wear the golden ring, to have expres thanks to Caesar for having mentio his name and allowed them to tes their gratitude, 'ut Pallas, cui se om pro virili obligatos fatentur, singul fidei, singularis industriae fructum mer sime ferat'; adding that they could not wish to show their feeling by augmen his means, and only forbore to press portion of the decree (notwithstand his reluctance) in deference to the pressed wish of Caesar, recording t desire to vote the sum; and enacting t in order with the utmost publicity to up to public example the 'spectatis fides atque innocentia' of Pallas, decree should be engraved on bronze

ertii ter miliens possessor antiquae parsimoniae laudibus ıulabatur.

ı4. At non frater eius, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione bat, iam pridem Iudaeae inpositus et cuncta malefacta sibi une ratus tanta potentia subnixo. sane praebuerant Iudaei ciem motus orta seditione, postquam * * * cognita caede haud obtemperatum esset, manebat metus ne quis prinım eadem imperitaret. atque interim Felix intempestivis ediis delicta accendebat, aemulo ad deterrima Ventidio

p 'ad statuam loricatam Divi Iulii' he Forum Iulii): The date of the ch of Caesar on which the decree is nded is given as 10 Kal. Feb. . 23).

ter miliens, 300 million HS., valent to about 2½ millions sterling ır money; a sum to which the gift osed would have been a trifling adn. Narcissus is stated (Dio, 60. 34, have had even as much as 400 on HS., the largest on record of all great fortunes of the age: see Marlt, Staatsv. ii. 56; Friedl. i. 83, etc. he expression 'antiquae parsimoniae' . 52, 2, and note.

Felix. He also, like his brother, the name Antonius: see H. 5. 9, 5, an inscription (C. I. L. v. 1. 34= en 5404) 'pronepoti Antoni Feli- According to Suidas and Zon. 6. 15, was also called 'Claudius,' which ssible, as in the case of Callistus on 11. 29, 1). Suetonius mentions Cl. 28) among the most influential nen 'quem cohortibus et alis proıeque Iudaeae praeposuit, trium reım maritum.' Of these wives, one Drusilla, daughter of Herod Agrippa os. Ant. 20. 7, 2: cp. Acts 24, 4); er, a granddaughter of Antonius and atra, was also called Drusilla, unacitus (H. 5. 9, 5) has confused her the above; the third is unknown. s what is said of him in the Acts, ve in Josephus (Ant. 20. 6 and 7; . 12) a full account of the events ıentioned by Tacitus, but with imıt differences (see below).

i moderatione, ironical. In H. 5, Tacitus says of him 'per n saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium ingenio exercuit.'

am pridem. This expression with the view that he was conrary with, not successor to, Cumanus (see below), whose appointment dates from 801, A.D. 48 (Jos. Ant. 20. 5, 2).

5. **inpune** (sc. 'futura'), used as predicate: cp. 1. 72, 3, and note.

tanta potentia, that of his brother Pallas.

6. **postquam.** The occasion was evidently that of the command of Gaius to erect his effigy in the temple (see Introd. pp. 8, 18). Tacitus had no doubt given an account of it in its proper place, and would here have alluded to it in a few words which have dropped out, and which may have been similar to those in H. 5. 9, 4; whence Haase would supply 'postquam a C. Caesare iussi erant effigiem eius in templo locare, et quamquam' (see next note).

7. **haud obtemperatum esset.** The subjunct. would evidently depend on some such word as 'quamquam' ('though, on news of his death, the command was not executed'); to the word following which it is very possible that a scribe skipped from 'postquam.' Ritt. less well places the lacuna between 'Iudaei' and 'speciem,' and then reads (after 'seditione') 'post quam cum cognita,' etc. It is very possible that another lacuna followed, as it is strange to find the intermediate rule of Agrippa, and the procuratorships of Fadus and Alexander, altogether ignored.

9. **remediis**, apparently penal measures of some kind.

delicta accendebat. Jacob appears rightly to take this in a pregnant sense, 'iras accendebat et delicta augebat.' Cp. 'accendebat haec' (1. 67, 7), 'incendebat haec' 1. 23, 1.

Ventidio Cumano. The latter name is inserted from the margin of Med.; the text having a lacuna after 'Ventidio.' Josephus places the appointment of Cumanus in 801, A.D. 48, makes him sole governor, and ascribes to his rule the

Cumano, cui pars provinciae habebatur, ita divisis, ut hu Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae parerent, discordes olim tum contemptu regentium minus coercitis odiis. igitur rapta inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias et a quando proeliis congredi, spoliaque et praedas ad procurator referre. hique primo laetari, mox gliscente pernicie cum arr militum interiecissent, caesi milites; arsissetque bello provinc ni Quadratus Suriae rector subvenisset. nec diu adversus I daeos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum quin cap poenas luerent; Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adfereba

troubles set down by Tacitus to the joint government. He makes Felix not sent out until Cumanus was recalled and banished in 805, A.D. 52 (20. 7, 1), and relates no actions by him as governor till the time of Nero. Dean Milman, and other writers on Jewish history, have generally followed the authority of Josephus, who should certainly have been the better informed as to events which took place when he was fifteen years old and living at Jerusalem. His account is further confirmed by the fact that we have no record at other times of any such division of this province between two Roman governors, but always of a single procurator, residing at Caesarea, and governing all parts of Palestine not under native princes. On the other hand, it is difficult to suppose Tacitus wholly misinformed on such a point as that of the conduct of Quadratus towards these two persons. It is not perhaps impossible to reconcile the accounts by supposing Felix to have held at this time some subordinate position in Samaria; but there is no evidence for such a supposition.

1. **cui . . . habebatur.** On this dat. see Introd. i. v. § 18; on the sense of 'haberi' ('to be governed') cp. 1. 1, 1, and note.

ita divisis, sc. 'provincialibus,' supplied from the sense. Nipp. thinks this inadmissible, and reads 'divisae,' after J. F. Gron.

2. **Galilaeorum . . . Samaritae.** Tacitus need not be taken to say that these were the only districts under each procurator, but may have only intended to mention the part where they came into collision. If Felix had Samaria, it would be natural to suppose that he had also Judaea, and that Cumanus had other northern and eastern districts with Galilee. Josephus, who makes no mention of any distinct governorship of Galilee, most distinctly relates action taken by Cuma as governor of Judaea (Ant. 20. 5, 3) of Samaria (Id. 20. 6, 1).

discordes olim. It may be assu that Galilaean Jews had the national f ing against Samaritans.

3. **raptare,** so used in 4. 23, 1: 'rapi' (13. 6, 1).

4. **immittere latronum globos,** peated from 2. 64, 6. Josephus (l.) makes this a retaliating act of the Gi laeans and other Jews for the molestat by the Samaritans of those going up f Galilee to Jerusalem to festivals, which justice had been refused by Cu nus. Suidas, who confuses Galilae with Christians, says of Claudius στα σάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Χριστια ἄρχοντα ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῖς Κλαύδιον Φῆ κελεύσας αὐτῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους.

componere = 'struere': cp. 13. 47 H. 4. 14, 2; 5. 22, 1, etc.

6. **arma militum.** Josephus (20. 6, 1) speaks of Cumanus as leading out cohorts of foot and an 'ala' of h against the Jews.

8. **adversus Iudaeos** = 'de Iud This prep. sometimes has the sens 'towards' or 'in respect of': cp. ' adversum imperia aures' (1. 65, 4), cessitudo adversum nepotem' (3. 2 'adversus praesentem formidinam litus' (15. 63, 1), and several instances more or less approaching t meaning cited here by Nipp. Jose states (20. 6, 2) that Quadratus hear case at Samaria, and ordered the taken by Cumanus to be crucified that after another investigation he Lydda, he executed four leaders o Jews, and sent the high priest an captain of the temple in bonds to R after which he entered Jerusalem found it quiet.

10. **cunctationem adferebant,**

a Claudius causis rebellionis auditis ius statuendi etiam de ›curatoribus dederat. sed Quadratus Felicem inter iudices entavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deterentur; damnatusque flagitiorum quae duo deliquerant Cunus, et quies provinciae reddita.

;5. Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus tarum cognomentum, saepe et alias commotae, tunc Troxo-'e duce montes asperos castris cepere atque inde decursu litora aut urbes vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque mercatores et navicularios audebant. obsessaque civitas emuriensis, et missi e Suria in subsidium equites cum prae-:o Curtio Severo turbantur, quod duri circum loci peditibus-: ad pugnam idonei equestre proelium haud patiebantur. ı rex eius orae Antiochus blandimentis adversum plebem,

embarrassed him.' Joh. Müller (see p.'s note) points out that 'quia' does explain why Quadratus was embar-ed, but why he had to deal with these ›ns also; thus it has the force of ppe.'

ius . . . **dederat**. Irrespectively of special commission, the legatus of ı appears to have had some authority these procurators; but L. Vitellius, ı he superseded Pilate and sent him ome (Jos. Ant. 18. 4, 2), had a posi-above that of an ordinary legatus 2, 5).

damnatus . . . Cumanus. Josephus 6, 2, 3) makes Quadratus send Cu-ıs, and a tribune named Celer, as as certain Samaritans, to be tried at e, where they would have been itted through the influence of the men, had not the young prince ppa induced Agrippina to put pres-upon Claudius, whereby the Samari-were put to death, Cumanus was hed, and Celer sent back to be ıted at Jerusalem. For the accus. 'delinquere' cp. 6. 9, 1; 13. 31, 5; , 7.

Clitarum: see 6. 41, 1, and note. plain from the narrative there and that they belonged to the moun-us districts and not to the plain; so 'agrestium' must be taken to mean l tribes': the same persons appear meant who are called 'Eleuthero-s' in Cic. Att. 5. 20, 5, etc.

oxobore: so Med. here, but at ıd of the chapter 'Troxoboro,' which Heins. thinks the correct form. Other variations are found in inferior MSS. and old edd.

8. **castris**, abl.; the phrase being a novelty for 'castra in montibus ponere.'

9. **cultoribus**. The datives have the same force as the accus. with prep. in the following clause; the change being merely for variety (Introd. i. v. § 91, 4): cp. 'fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus' (4. 2, 1), 'memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur' (4. 9, 2), and many other instances in Dr., Synt. und Stil, § 105.

plerumque, 'often': cp. 14. 53, 5, and note.

10. **civitas Anemuriensis**. The town Anemurium on the coast is mentioned in Plin. N. H. 5. 27, 22, 93, and the promontory of the same name in Strab. 14. 5, 3, 669; both are represented by the cape and castle Anamur, the most southerly point of Asia Minor, opposite Cyprus.

11. **e Suria**. Cilicia was perhaps no longer part of that province (see on 13. 8, 4), but had probably to depend on it for troops (see 6. 41, 1).

12. **duri . . . loci**, explained by 'montes asperos' above: 'durus' is so used of rough ground generally; cp. 'duris . . . rubetis' (Ov. M. 1, 105), etc.

14. **Antiochus**. Antiochus Epiphanes IV, restored by Gaius to Commagene, once the kingdom of his father (see on 2. 42, 7), and further enriched with this portion of Cilicia (Dio, 59. 8, 2), was afterwards deposed by him and restored

fraude in ducem cum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Troxobo paucisque primoribus interfectis ceteros clementia composuit.

56. Sub idem tempus inter lacum Fucinum amnemque Liri perrupto monte, quo magnificentia operis a pluribus viseret lacu in ipso navale proelium adornatur, ut quondam August structo trans Tiberim stagno, sed levibus navigiis et minore cop

by Claudius (Id. 60. 8, 1). He is afterwards mentioned as rendering service to Rome in the East (13. 7, 1; 37, 2; 14. 26, 3), and to Vespasian in the civil war and against the Jews (H. 2. 81, 1; 5. 1, 4), and is there called richest of all the dependent kings. In 825, A.D. 72, he was deposed on a charge of disaffection, and spent the rest of his life at Rome (Jos. B. I. 7. 7, 1), and his kingdom from that time became permanently a province. We have on coins his portrait and those of his wife Iotape and his sons Epiphanes and Callinicus: see Visc. Ic. Gr. pl. 48, 4–7.

2. **composuit**, as in c. 40, 2, etc.

3. **inter lacum Fucinum**, etc. This lake (Celano) had no visible or sufficient natural outlet, and its sudden changes of level (see Strab. 5. 3, 13, 240) caused much loss to agriculturists. An emissary to connect it with the Liris by piercing the intervening height (Monte Salviano) had been contemplated by the dictator Caesar (Suet. Jul. 44), but never executed. Claudius undertook it with a view to increase the area of cultivable land, and to make the river more navigable (Dio, 60. 11, 5). The work was one of vast expense and difficulty (Pl. N. H. 36. 15, 24, 124), and employed 30,000 men for eleven years (Suet. Cl. 20); the length being apparently about three English miles and the material hard limestone rock. A drawing and description of its 'emissarium' is given in Dict. of Ant. s. v. Nero appears to have allowed it to become blocked (Plin. l. l.); it was restored by Hadrian (Vit. 22), but appears to have become useless in Dio's time (μάτην δὲ δὴ ἐδαπανήθη). In modern times it has been taken up by a French company in 1865, and completed by Prince Torlonia in 1874, and is said to have brought 40,000 acres of land into cultivation and to have made a pestilential district healthy. It is plain that the two opening ceremonies described here and in c. 57 must be separated by an interval of time. Nipp. thinks that the eleven years of Suet. (794–805, A.D. 41–52) are reckoned to the final completion, and that the ceremony he vaguely dated ('sub idem tempus': c 11. 8, 1) belongs to an earlier year.

4. **quo . . . viseretur**, explanatory the following sentence.

5. **adornatur**; cp. 'adornavit naves' 47, 5). Jacob seems rightly to note th the word so used implies some mo important or showy preparation th would be expressed by 'instruere.'

6. **trans Tiberim**; so Halm, Nip Dr., Ritt., for Med. 'cis,' which Nip thinks may be 'ās,' which again m represent 'trans' (the 'tr' being lost the ending of 'structo'). The correcti is confirmed by the account in Mon. An iv. 43; 'navalis proeli spectaclum popu de[*di tr*]ans Tiberim in quo loco nu nemus est Caesarum.' Orelli and Jac read 'circa' (after C. T. Zumpt), whi is used by Suet. in relating the eve (Aug. 43) in words otherwise nea identical with the 'Monumentum.' Ot suggestions are 'uls' and 'secus' (Momms. on Mon. Anc.).

levibus navigiis. In Mon. Anc. is stated that 'triginta rostratae na triremes a[*ut birem*]es, plures aut minores inter se conflixerunt. Q[*uil in*] classibus pugnaverunt praeter remi millia ho[*minum tr*]ia circiter.' Tri mes could only be classed with 'le navigia' in comparison with the 'quad remes' of Claudius.

minore copia. It is stated by D (60. 33, 3), that on this occasion t fleets contended, called Sicilian and Rh dian, each of fifty ships; whence Or follows Lips. in here inserting 'c' bef 'triremes.' Suet. states (Cl. 21) that ea squadron consisted of twelve trirem which might possibly be reconciled w Dio by supposing (with Ritt.) that fleet was made up to 100 by smaller sh which could be brought there and moved. It seems hardly possible suppose that all the ships were trirem and quadriremes, which would proba have had to be built on the spot would be of no use afterwards; but number of men given, as compared w

lerat. Claudius triremes quadriremesque et undeviginti homi- n milia armavit, cincto ratibus ambitu, ne vaga effugia forent, amen spatium amplexus ad vim remigii, gubernantium artes, etus navium et proelio solita. in ratibus praetoriarum cohor- n manipuli turmaeque adstiterant, antepositis propugnaculis, ex catapultae ballistaeque tenderentur. reliqua lacus classiarii is navibus obtinebant. ripas et colles montiumque edita in lum theatri multitudo innumera complevit, proximis e munici- et alii urbe ex ipsa, visendi cupidine aut officio in principem. insigni paludamento neque procul Agrippina chlamyde au- praesedere. pugnatum quamquam inter sontes fortium

n the seafight of Augustus, presup- a very large fleet of some kind. he use of 'copia' cp. 2. 52, 4, and

ratibus. A continuous platform of is intended, such as would prevent escaping at uncertain points ('vaga a'), and leave them no landing but that at which they embarked.

ad, 'suitable for': cp. 'pontibus trem ad pugnam' (c. 57, 2); 'ad andas . . . turmas' (13. 38, 5). The resembles that in which the idea h a participle as 'spectans' is sup- : cp. 11. 23, 3, and note. Nipp. ares also the use of 'adversus' in 12, 2.

inteposititis: cp. 1. 50, 6. These ugnacula' ('outworks') are thus bed by Dio: τεῖχός τε περὶ αὐτὴν λίμνην) ξύλινον κατεσκεύασε καὶ πηξε. These precautions were con- l needful in the presence of 19,000 men of desperate character ('sontes')

enderentur, 'might be directed,' t any who tried to escape.

qua lacus, etc. It appears that naval gladiators are here called arii' (the usual term for marine s), and are spoken of as 'occupying st of the lake with decked ships' s navibus' = ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις). sor Holbrooke, however, thinks that litional guard is meant consisting s manned by marines, to command ts of the lake where there were no

iontiumque edita. This expres- repeated from 4. 46, 1, and most edd. follow Heräus in inserting Nipp. and some others read 'ac' (before 'montium'), with G. Dio here closely follows Tacitus (πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ἤθροισεν).

9. **et alii**: cp. c. 41, 5, and note.

officio, 'by way of attention': cp. 3. 1, 2; 'per officium' (1. 24, 4). 'Aut' has the force of 'alii' . . . 'alii,' as in 1. 55, 2, etc.

10. **ipse,** etc. According to Dio, Nero was similarly dressed: ὁ δὲ Κλαύδιος ὅ τε Νέρων στρατιωτικῶς ἐστάλησαν, ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα χλαμύδι διαχρύσῳ ἐκοσμεῖτο. The 'chlamys' (cp. Verg. Aen. 4, 137) was a Greek garment, nearly the same with the 'paludamentum' (see Plin. below, and Momms. Staatsr. i. 432, 5), and the epithet given to it by Dio and Tacitus is to be explained by Pliny, who, speaking as an eye-witness (N. H. 33. 3, 19, 63), describes her as 'indutam paludamento aureo textili sine alia materia.' Garments of similar material are recorded as worn by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 19) and by Elagabalus (Vit. 23, 3).

11. **sontes.** Dio says that they were θανάτῳ καταδεδικασμένοι. Such an amount of criminals may probably represent the sweepings of the provinces as well as of Rome and Italy; but even on this supposition the number, as Friedländer remarks (ii. 324), is suggestive of iniquitous condemnations.

fortium virorum animo. Suet. gives a different story; that when Claudius answered their salutation ('have imperator, morituri te salutant') with 'aut non,' they took it as a pardon and refused to fight; that his first thought was to massacre them all, but that afterwards by himself going round, and threatening or encouraging them in an undignified manner, he forced them to fight.

virorum animo, ac post multum vulnerum occidioni exemp sunt.

57. Sed perfecto spectaculo apertum aquarum iter. incur operis manifesta fuit, haud satis depressi ad lacus ima vel medi eoque, tempore interiecto, altius effossi specus, et contrahend rursus multitudini gladiatorum spectaculum editur, indit pontibus pedestrem ad pugnam. quin et convivium effluv lacus adpositum magna formidine cunctos adfecit, quia v aquarum prorumpens proxima trahebat, convulsis ulteriorib aut fragore et sonitu exterritis. simul Agrippina trepidatio principis usa ministrum operis Narcissum incusat cupidinis praedarum. nec ille reticet, inpotentiam muliebrem nimiasq spes eius arguens.

58. D. Iunio Q. Haterio consulibus sedecim annos natus Ne

1. **post multum vulnerum**: on this unusual genit. see Introd. i. v. § 32 a.

4. **haud satis depressi**, 'which had not taken a sufficiently low level': cp. 15. 42, 2; also 'saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso' (Cic. Verr. 5. 27, 68), 'quo depressius aestivos specus foderint' (Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 9, 2). The old edd. had inserted 'et' after 'iter,' and placed a full stop after 'fuit,' so as to take 'depressi' with 'specus.'

ad lacus ima vel media, 'to the lowest, or even the medium depth of the lake': so Pfitzn., Burnouf, Louandre, etc. Most others take 'media' to mean 'the middle' of the lake, making it explanatory of 'ima'; the greatest depth being presumably in the centre. Following this interpretation, Nipp. would seem to be right in bracketing 'vel media' as a gloss.

5. **eoque**, 'and therefore,' the reading of all edd. for Med. 'eo quo.'

specus, 'the tunnel,' apparently pl. for sing., as only one appears to have been made.

6. **inditis pontibus**, pontoons having been placed on the water left in the lake: so 'castella rupibus indita' (4. 46, 5).

7. **quin et.** Two sentences are here combined for conciseness; the sense being as if the participle were a finite verb, followed by the relative pronoun. For 'adpositum' ('laid out near') cp. 'superpositum convivium' (15. 37, 3). 'Effluvium' is used for an 'efflux' in Vell. 2. 120, 4; Pl. N. H. 7. 51, 52, 171.

8. **quia vis aquarum**, etc. The rush of water carried away the wood w nearest to it, giving a shock to the me distant parts, and frightening those n them. The combination of such a w as 'exterrita' with 'proxima' and 'u riora' is rightly explained by Wal., who notes that such terms (like 'omn,' etc.) denote places and all things r people belonging to them. Med. s 'exterriti'; the 's' having been st before 'simul.'

10. **fragore et sonitu.** Dr. notes is and 'auspicium et praesagium' (15. 4 2) as apparently the only instances in e Annals of a coupling of synonyms. n the earlier works several instances e found (Synt. und Stil, § 242).

11. **usa**, 'taking advantage of': p. 'utendum inclinatione' (1. 28, 4), ti necessitate' (16. 11, 1). Accordin to Suet. (33), Claudius himself was 'p e submersus.'

Narcissum. He was obnoxiou to her as having supported a rival (c. 2), and now becomes her pronounced en y (c. 65, 2).

cupidinis, 'of covetousness': he word is so used apparently only here d in 13. 50, 4; 16. 14, 3. Dio (60. 3 6) states a belief that Narcissus had en caused this catastrophe to prevent a u- tiny of the work. The enormous w th that he had accumulated is noted c. 53, 5.

12. **inpotentiam**, 'imperiousn': cp. 1. 4, 5; 4. 57, 4; 5. 1, 5, and n s.

14. **D. Iunio Q. Haterio.** The ull names are given in Phlegon M 7

:aviam Caesaris filiam in matrimonium accepit. utque studiis ıestis *et* eloquentiae gloria enitesceret, causa Iliensium sus-ta, Romanum Troia demissum et Iuliae stirpis auctorem ıeam aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera facunde exsecutus petrat, ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur. eodem :ore Bononiensi coloniae igni haustae subventum centiens :ertii largitione. reddita Rhodiis libertas, adempta saepe

ευόντων Δέκμου Ἰουνίου Σιλανοῦ Τορ-·ου καὶ Κοΐντου Ἁτερίου Ἀντωνίνου. former is one of the great-great-lsons of Augustus (see Introd. i. ix. :39, 144). His death is mentioned . 35, 2, and further alluded to in 16. ; 12. 3. The other, the 'Haterius ninus' of 13. 34, 3, was son of D. rius Agrippa (see 2. 51, 2, and note). suggested by Nipp. that his surname have been taken from Antonia, who probably his great-great-aunt.

lecim. He had really just en-his sixteenth year: see note on c.

Octaviam: see c. 3, 2. As Nero become her adoptive brother, she is l to have been adopted into another y before her marriage (Dio, 60. 33,

et eloquentiae. Most edd. insert onjunction (after G.); but such an leton is not impossible. The next are read in Med. 'gloriae nitesceret,' e the old edd. had 'gloria nites- ; but 'enitescere' is thus used (cp. 7, and note).

:nsium. On the Ilium of Roman see 2. 54, 2, and note.

Romanum, the Roman people: so his,' 'Paenus,' etc., in Livy.

nissum, 'descended'; only here d in prose, from Verg. (G. 3. 35; . 288) and Hor. (Sat. 2. 5, 63).

haud procul, 'not far removed ; here used adjectively, as 'palam' 2, 1) and others (see Introd. i. v.

era: so all edd., after Rhen. for uera' (the common error of omis-f a syllable). There seems no to think it a gloss, with Haase.

ecutus, 'having detailed': cp. ui sententias' 3. 65, 1 (and note). loquence was no doubt that of (see 13. 3, 2).

erpetrat, 'achieves the result': ere with 'ut'; in 14. 11, 2, with

omni publico munere solverentur. Ilium had always been a privileged city. The Romans had stipulated for its freedom in concluding alliance with one of the Seleuci (Suet. Cl. 25), and had added to its territory at the conclusion of the war with Antiochus (Liv. 38. 39, 10); Sulla had given it freedom (App. Mithr. 61) besides restoring it; Julius Caesar had confirmed to it the ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀλειτουργησία once bestowed by Alexander (cp. Strab. 13. 1, 26, 593, and 27, 595), which still continued when Strabo wrote. The words in Suet. Cl. 25 ('tributa in perpetuum remisit') would show that it had again become tributary, or it may have been that its immunity still had some reservations which were now swept away (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 682, 3), perhaps (as Nipp. suggests) the liability to furnish recruits to the army. It is stated at a later time (Dig. 27. 1, 17, 1), that its 'plenissima immunitas' included also 'tutelae excusatio, scilicet eorum pupillorum, qui Ilienses non sint.'

eodem oratore, abl. abs. = 'eodem orante.' These words apply to all the three decrees mentioned, though Suet. (Ner. 7) mentions him only as proposing the two former, that for Rhodes (as also the speech for Ilium) in Greek, and that for Bononia in Latin. Suet. also states that he made these speeches before Claudius as consul, i.e. two years before this date: Lehmann would date the speeches in three successive years (pp. 348, 359, 367).

6. **Bononiensi coloniae.** The Latin colony of Bononia in Cisalpine Gaul (Bologna) was established in 565, B.C. 189 (Liv. 37. 57, 7; Vell. 1. 15, 2). It appears to have then taken that name, as Livy mentions it seven years earlier (33. 37, 3) by its Etruscan name of Felsina.

haustae, so used of destruction by fire in 3. 72, 4 (where see note), etc., and in other metaphorical senses (Introd. i. v. § 74, 7).

7. **reddita Rhodiis libertas**: so

aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant aut domi seditio deliquerant ; tributumque Apamensibus terrae motu convol in quinquennium remissum.

59. At Claudius saevissima quaeque promere adigeba eiusdem Agrippinae artibus, quae Statilium Taurum opi inlustrem hortis eius inhians pervertit accusante Tarqui Prisco. legatus is Tauri Africam imperio proconsulari gentis, postquam revenerant, pauca repetundarum crimi ceterum magicas superstitiones obiectabat. nec ille diut falsum accusatorem, indignas sordes perpessus, vim vitae sı

Halm, Nipp., and Jacob. for Med. 'redditur' (which others retain); the 'r' being supposed to have been repeated from 'Rhodiis.' The Rhodians had gained a privileged position as allies of Rome in the Macedonian and Mithridatic wars ('bellis externis'), but had been deprived of their freedom by Claudius nine years before this date for having crucified Roman citizens (Dio, 60. 24, 4). The island was finally reduced to a province by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 8). For further particulars see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 191, 4, 5. An epigram ascribed to Antiphilus (Anth. Pal. ix. 178) commemorates Nero's patronage on this occasion: Ὡς πάρος Ἀελίου, νῦν Καίσαρος ἁ Ῥόδος εἰμὶ Νᾶσος, ἴσον δ' αὐχῶ φέγγος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. Ἤδη σβεννυμέναν με νέα κατεφώτισεν ἀκτίς, Ἅλιε, καὶ παρὰ σὸν φέγγος ἔλαμψε Νέρων. Πῶς εἴπω; τίνι μᾶλλον ὀφείλομαι; ὃς μὲν ἔδειξεν Ἐξ ἁλός· ὃς δ' ἤδη ῥύσατο δυομέναν. Rhodian coins also exist, with apparently a head of Nero as the Sun (Eckh. ii. 605).

2. **Apamensibus.** Several cities were named after Apama, the wife of Seleucus Nicator. The one here meant is Ἀπαμεία Κίβωτος, in Phrygia, close to Celaenae, on the Marsyas, a branch of the upper Maeander. Its position on the road of traffic gave it commercial importance second only to that of Ephesus (Strab. 12. 8, 15, 577), but it had often suffered from earthquakes (Id. 579). Its site has been identified with that of Denier, near Ishekli. For other instances of such remission of tribute on similar grounds and for similar periods see 2. 47, 1, and note. We may suppose the remission of what was due to the 'aerarium' to have been granted, as on other occasions (c. 63, 3; 4. 13, 1, etc.), through this form of a decree of the senate 'auctore principe.'

4. **At Claudius.** The odious func forced on him is here contrasted with popular part assigned to Nero. On inf. after 'adigo' cp. 4. 29, 3, and no

5. **eiusdem.** The last mention of was in c. 57, 4; but it is here imp that Nero's action (c. 58) was du her.

Statilium Taurum. This pe son of the consul of 769, A.D. 16 (2. 1), was himself consul in 797, A.D. 44 (0, 60. 23, 1; Henzen, Insc. 5214, 6), and is to be distinguished from Sti lius Taurus Corvinus, who was cons in 798, A.D. 45 (Dio, 60. 25, 1), and who spired against Claudius (Suet. Cl. 3, Phleg. de Mir. 6). It has been th that these were brothers, and that tilia Messalina, wife of Nero (see o 68, 5), was their sister. Lehmann 122) makes them cousins and Statili daughter of Statilius Corvinus.

6. **hortis eius inhians:** cp. 11. 1.

Tarquitio Prisco, subsequently self convicted of extortion (14. 4

9. **ceterum,** 'but especially': 'pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus insederunt' (G. 43, 2); a sense akin to that of 'revera autem' (see 10 1, and note).

magicas superstitiones: see 2, and note.

nec ille = 'et ille non': cp. c. 3 2. 40, 6, and note.

10. **indignas sordes.** This rea adopted generally by recent ed founded on that of Heins. ('indign sordes'), for Med. 'indigna so 'sordes' being used for the condit an accused person in 4. 52, 4 (whe note), etc. Other corrections pro are 'indigna sortis,' 'indignas artes, tc.

vim . . . attulit. This cours constantly taken to save confiscat

ılit ante sententiam senatus. Tarquitius tamen curia exıs est, quod patres odio delatoris contra ambitum Agripıe pervicere.

O. Eodem anno saepius audita vox principis, parem vim ım habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicatarum ac si ipse uisset. ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque sulto cautum plenius quam antea et uberius. nam divus ;ustus apud equestres, qui Aegypto praesiderent, lege agi

rty (see 6. 29, 1), which nevertheless ften enforced. In this case we may se that the charge broke down altor, as the accuser was punished.

tamen, notwithstanding the admisf guilt implied in suicide.

ia exactus. On such power of ion by judicial sentence, belonging senate, see 4. 31, 8, and note. itius must have been restored by so as to become proconsul of Bithy4. 46, 1).

pervicere, so with accus. in 14. 14, 'quae evicerant' (c. 60, 5). The ıction is akin to the cognate accus. Madv. 229, Roby, 1094). The n' was no doubt partly or mainly his having accused a person to he had stood in so close a relation 74, 1, and note).

erum . . . a procuratoribus . . . tarum. It should be remembered is the civil jurisdiction in fiscal that is here spoken of. The words ould apply to procurators of all nd grades (see Marquardt, Staatsv. 14, foll.); but the highest class, ho governed the lesser Caesarian es, as they clearly had the criminal, presumed to have had also the isdiction of any provincial goverhose of the second rank, who held Caesarian province a position ng to that of the quaestor under a al proconsul, may probably have l at this time most of the great f extortion and practical independthe legatus which we find them erwards possessing (see 14. 32, 7; 5; 15, 2; Plut. Galb. 4). But lations now made went evidently r a definite jurisdiction not only , but also on procurators of the ık, those charged with the superthe private estates of the princeps ich see Hirschfeld, Unters. 25, ıd with the collection of fiscal dues in senatorial, or indeed in any provinces, or in Italy. The powers of these had been hitherto very limited (see 4. 15, 3, and note); and fiscal or other suits between the princeps and individuals had been on the footing of 'causae privatae' (see 4. 6, 7, and note); the procurator being only a prosecutor, not a judge (Dio, 57. 28, 5).

6. **prolapsus**, sc. 'in eam sententiam': the verb is used of hasty speech or action (1. 31, 3, etc.). Suet. (Cl. 12) represents Claudius as pressing the senate in the matter ('ut rata essent quae procuratores sui in iudicando statuerent, precario exegit').

7. **plenius . . . et uberius**, i.e. by extending the powers of procurators and more fully defining them. Nothing is known as to the terms of this decree; but at a later date the civil jurisdiction of the procurator in cases between the fiscus and private persons was concurrent with, and practically superseded, that of the proconsul; as is seen from the advice of Ulpian (Dig. i. 16, 9), cited on 4. 15, 3.

8. **equestres.** The use of this word as a substantive can be defended from 13. 10, 3, and from analogous uses of other words (Introd. i. v. § 4 a); so that the corrections 'equites illustres' (Schmidt), 'equites R.' (Baiter), appear needless.

qui Aegypto praesiderent. The 'praefectura Aegypti' and 'praefectura praetorio' were the most important offices open to knights (see Introd. i. vii. p. 88). The former corresponded fully to the position of the legatus of an important province, involving command of two legions, and other troops (Id. pp. 99, 104). It is to be observed that even these, the highest of the imperial praefects, are pointedly distinguished here from 'magistratus Romani' properly so called, as consuls, praetors, proconsuls, and only acquire jurisdiction by a special ordinance.

decretaque eorum proinde haberi iusserat, ac si magistra
Romani constituissent; mox alias per provincias et in u
pleraque concessa sunt, quae olim a praetoribus nosceban
Claudius omne ius tradidit, de quo totiens seditione aut ar
certatum, cum Semproniis rogationibus equester ordo in p
sessione iudiciorum locaretur, aut rursum Serviliae leges sen
iudicia redderent, Mariusque et Sulla olim de eo vel praeci
bellarent. sed tunc ordinum diversa studia, et quae evicen

1. **proinde . . . ac si.** This is probably the Med. text (where it is read 'prode'), and is that of the oldest edd., and is retained by Nipp. Halm and most other recent edd. have followed G. in reading 'perinde,' which is so used in c. 12, 2. In this, as in several cases (see 13. 21, 3, and note), it seems best, in spite of the frequent confusion of the two words in their abbreviated forms, to follow the MS., on the supposition that Tacitus intentionally varied his expressions. 'Proinde ac si' is also found in Cic. (Att. 3. 13, 1) and in Caesar (B. C. 3. 1, 5).

2. **alias per provincias**, etc., i.e. to the procurators governing provinces (see note above), and to equestrian praefecti at Rome, as the 'praefectus praetorio,' 'annonae,' 'vigilum.' With 'concessa sunt,' 'equitibus' would be supplied. The 'praefectus urbi,' who was a senator of the highest rank (see 6. 10, 3, etc.), would not here be included, though he also had no position among the magistrates of the Republic.

3. **praetoribus.** From the mention of the provinces as well as Rome, Nipp. rightly concludes that the term is used not only of praetors at Rome, but also of the provincial governors (see 1. 74, 1, and note).

noscebantur = 'cognoscebantur': cp. 6. 9, 7, and other uses of simple verbs for compound (Introd. i. v. § 40).

4. **tradidit**, sc. 'equestribus' or 'procuratoribus.' There is evidently, as Mommsen has noted (Staatsr. ii. 981, 2), a confusion of thought in the whole of this passage. The privilege at issue in the contests of knights and senators under the Republic was that of furnishing the jurors in the criminal 'quaestiones perpetuae'; the question now dealt with is that of the jurisdiction of an individual procurator, usually of equestrian rank, without jurors, in civil actions between the princeps and individuals. On th
controversy, Tacitus can hardly be s
express a sympathy; but we have th
dent animus of a senator as regard
position of individual knights, an
rise of that order, with the decay
senate, under the empire (see Intr.
vii. p. 88).

5. **Semproniis**, pl. for sing.; the
ence being to the law of C. Gracc
632, B.C. 122, not to previous pro
(see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 530, 1).

6. **Serviliae**, also pl. for sing., a
the law of the consul Servilius C
(648, B.C. 106) can here be meant,
by other accounts (see Momms. S
iii. 531, 2) gave a share rather th
full possession of the 'iudicia'
senate; whereas the law of Se
Glaucia, a few years later, virtua
stored this privilege to the knigh
Long, on Cic. Verr. p. 51). Nipp.
that both these laws are here refer
and that some words like 'vel adin
have been lost after 'redderent.'

7. **Marius et Sulla.** It is
exaggeration to describe this ques
one of the chief points at issue
struggle; nor does there appear
any further foundation for it than t
that Sulla, in his dictatorship, r
the 'iudicia' to the senate (cp. 11.
Tacitus omits notice here of othe
especially the 'lex Aurelia' of 68
70 (Vell. 2. 32, 3; Cic. Verr. 2
174, etc.; Momms. l. l. 532), by
jurors were chosen from the sen
knights, and the 'tribuni aerarii,'
the final constitution of the 'iudi
Augustus (Introd. i. vii. p. 87).

8. **sed tunc**, etc., 'but the
then were those of classes, and the
extorted were for the advantage
whole order' (of senators or knig
contrasted with the subsequent asc
of individuals. For the accus. wi
cerant' (which Halm reads after

lice valebant. C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus primi Caesaris ıus potuere condiciones pacis et arbitria belli tractare. Matios hac et Vedios et cetera equitum Romanorum praevalida ina referre nihil attinuerit, cum Claudius libertos, quos rei liari praefecerat, sibique et legibus adaequaverit.

1. Rettulit dein de inmunitate Cois tribuenda, multaque r antiquitate eorum memoravit: Argivos vel Coeum Lato- parentem vetustissimos insulae cultores; mox adventu culapii artem medendi inlatam maximeque inter posteros

59, 4, and note. Most edd. retain [ed. 'vicerant,' and some less well quae' (sc. 'studia') as nom.

C. Oppius et Cornelius Balbus. e latter see 11. 24, 4, and note. He bly became a knight soon after ing the civitas; and it is his position rank, not his subsequent career as r and consular, that is alluded to. in his letters often speaks of him ppius, and gives a joint letter from to him (Att. 9. 7, A), as well as from Balbus separately (Att. 8. 15 7 B; 13 A). From these sources hers we gather that, besides their ance as Caesar's financial agents his absence in Gaul, they were his confidants in his overtures to ius; which, with the influence they must have had after his , will explain the allusion here to ciones pacis,' etc.

Matios . . . Vedios, rhetorical plu- p. 1. 10, 3). C. Matius is also nentioned by Cicero, who preserves -known and excellent letter from d Fam. 11. 28). He is generally to be the same as the 'C. Matius estri ordine, divi Augusti amicus' N. H. 12. 2, 6, 13, and the author 'Cn. Matius') mentioned in Gell. etc. Tacitus appears to do him njustice in thus ranking him with i Pollio (on whom see 1. 10, 4, and

etera, such names as Maecenas, tius Crispus (3. 30, 3), and Seianus.

ihil attinuerit, 'it would be un- ant.'

tos. The context would show ly the lowest rank of procurators ove on § 1) are here meant. Many, t of these, and some even of the procurators under Claudius (as were freedmen; but it must be an ration (cp. Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1022, 2) to speak as if all of them were such (see 13. 1, 3). There is also great exaggeration in saying 'sibique et legibus adaequaverit'; no other jurisdiction being here given to procurators than that in fiscal causes, and this, as can hardly be doubted, and as would appear from Dig. 49. 14, 47, etc. (see Marquardt, i. 414, 415), subject to appeal to the princeps. Tacitus is no doubt thinking with indignation of the independent attitude of procurators towards the proconsul or legatus: see above on § 1, and the advice given by Seneca (Nat. Quaest. 4. Praef. 1) to Lucilius, 'si continere id intra fines suos volueris, nec efficere imperium quod est procuratio.'

rei familiari. It is noted by Hirschfeld (Unters. 4) that this term (cp. 4. 15, 3; 13. 1, 3) and 'res suae' (4. 6, 5: cp. Orat. Claud. ii. 2; Suet. Vit. 2, etc.) appear to be earlier expressions than 'fiscus'; though the latter term is used by Tacitus in speaking of the time of Tiberius (see Introd. p. 28, 4).

6. **Cois.** On the island of Cous see 2. 75, 2, and note; on its temple of Asklepios see 4. 14, 1, and note.

7. **Argivos**, the Epidaurians (Hdt. 5. 99, 4), who were not strictly Argives, but a mixed people, as is stated by Strabo (8. 6, 15, 374) on the authority of Aristotle.

Coeum. The legend that Coeus, one of the Titans (sons of Uranus and Gaea), was father of Leto (Latona) by his sister Phoebe, is given in Hes. Theog. 404–406. The name is here restored by Lips., after Mercer, for Med. 'cum.'

8. **adventu Aesculapii.** The legend of the personal visit of Asklepios to this island is not recorded elsewhere; but the worship here as in other places appears to have been introduced from Epidaurus, its original seat.

9. **posteros**, the Asklepiadae (cp. Plat. Rep. 405 D, etc.), who existed as a caste

eius celebrem fuisse, nomina singulorum referens et quib quisque aetatibus viguissent. quin etiam dixit Xenophonte cuius scientia ipse uteretur, eadem familia ortum, precibusq eius dandum, ut omni tributo vacui in posterum Coi sacra et tantum dei ministram insulam colerent. neque dubiu habetur multa eorundem in populum Romanum merita soci que victorias potuisse tradi: set Claudius, facilitate solita qu uni concesserat, nullis extrinsecus adiumentis velavit.

62. At Byzantii data dicendi copia, cum magnitudin

of physician priests here and at other sanctuaries of the god. Among the physicians of Cos the most famous was the great writer Hippocrates.

1. **nomina . . . referens.** This parenthetical participial clause, depending on so distant a verb as 'memoravit,' has here the unusual adjunct of a dependent sentence in oratio obliqua ('et . . . viguissent'). No strictly parallel instance seems quoted; but the parenthesis *εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν . . . διώκεται* in Thucyd. 1. 136, 6, is nearly similar. In Cic. de Nat. De. 1. 7, 17, 'me intuens' is interposed in the midst of oratio recta, as are similar clauses in Thuc. 1. 87, 2; 137, 7: see Nipp. and Dr.

2. **quin etiam,** etc. After a pedantic recital of the legendary history of the island, Claudius gives here, by the way, the real ground on which he rested the request.

Xenophontem. This physician, credited afterwards with having poisoned his master (c. 67, 2), was honoured by the islanders as their benefactor, and a Coan medal at Paris, with a young beardless head and inscribed ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ, is thought to represent him (Visc. Ic. Gr. Pl. 33, 1). An inscription (C. I. L. vi. 8905) calls him in full 'C. Stertinius Xenophon,' thus identifying him with one of the two Stertinii mentioned as physicians in Plin. N. H. 29. 1, 4, 8; the other being there called Quintus. In the 'Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique,' vol. v. (1881), pp. 468–476 (for suggesting the reference to which I am indebted to Mr. E. L. Hicks), M. Marcel Dubois has collected all the evidence respecting him and the family of the Asclepiadae to which he belonged. It is gathered from various inscriptions that his father was named Heracleitus and his grandfather Xenophon, that another of his brothers, Ti. Claudius Cleonymus, and an uncle, Ti. Claudius Philinus, were also Ro citizens and 'tribuni militum,' that himself had filled a similar post, and t of praef. fabrum, in the British war, had there gained decorations, that he *ἀρχιατρὸς τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*, and been secretary 'ab epistulis Graecis,' filled priestly offices in his native isl which paid honour to his memory as *τῷ τᾶς πατρίδος εὐεργέτᾳ.*

3. **familia,** the Asklepiadae.

5. **ministram.** Prof. Holbrooke n that this is probably a translatio *νεωκόρος* (cp. Acts 19, 35, etc.).

neque dubium habetur: so edd. after Lips. for Med. 'habere' which may have been a false assimila to 'colerent.' Ritt. prefers 'habeba' as expressing the belief of that time.

6. **multa . . . merita.** They had ported Roman interests as early as B.C. 190 (Liv. 37, 16, 2), had res those who would have drawn them t side of Perseus (Polyb. 30. 7, 9), and joined Rome in the great Mithri war (Plut. Luc. 3, 493), and rendere service mentioned in 4. 14, 3.

7. **facilitate solita,** etc. The pr position of the relative is before t words. Claudius, with his usual co ance ('facilitas'; cp. 11. 28, 3), really asked the sacrifice of this po of state revenue to please Xeno alone, and did not even (as might been expected) disguise his real m by bringing forward their service Rome as additional pretexts.

9. **At Byzantii.** The 'at' dra contrast with the previous sentence. had to plead their own cause, and t fore made the most of their servic Rome. Byzantium had undergone vicissitudes of dependence or subje from the time of Darius Hystaspes during the Persian and Peloponn wars. In the time of Demosthenes

rum apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere. orsi oedere quod nobiscum icerant, qua tempestate bellavimus ersus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi abulum inpositum, missas posthac copias in Antiochum, sen, Aristonicum, et piratico bello adiutum Antonium merabant, quaeque Sullae aut Lucullo aut Pompeio obtulist, mox recentia in Caesares merita, quando ea loca insient, quae transmeantibus terra marique ducibus exercitique, simul vehendo commeatu opportuna forent.

e city connected by friendship with ns (de Cor. 254, foll.); afterwards in 220–219 they had been reduced to straits in a war with the Rhodians Prusias of Bithynia (Polyb. 4. 38–52). its vicissitudes under Rome see be-

apud senatum. The city, though 1 'Thraecia urbs' in 2. 54, 2, be-d not to the Caesarian province of ce, but to the then senatorial pro- of Bithynia, as is seen from Pliny's spondence with Trajan (Ep. 43, 44). senate considers such requests from vn provinces, as in 1. 76, 4; or those e right of asylum, etc. (3, 60–63, etc.). ncta repetivere, 'recounted their e history,' i. e. that of their relations Rome: for this use of 'repetere' cp. 2, and note.

a foedere quod . . . icerant. Most adopt this reading (from some in- MSS.) for Med. 'iecerant' (which not be defended from 11. 9, 4; see here): cp. 'icta . . . foedera' (4. 55, Ern. would read 'fecerant' here and nt' in 11. 9, 4. We see hence that tium had originally joined Rome as vitas foederata'; in the time of it is certainly a 'civitas libera' Prov. Cons. 4. 7) and apparently mis,' but had been shamefully plun- by the proconsul L. Piso (Cic. l. l. Pis. 35, 86); the present passage that it was certainly at this time ry, as would also be probable from 4. It is called a free state in Plin. 4. 11, 18, 46, but lost its freedom Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 8).

ut degeneri, 'as one meanly born' . 51, 5, and note). According to Epit. 49) he was 'Andriscus qui-ultimae sortis homo, Persei regis se ferens, et mutato nomine Philippus s.' Further particulars are there of the account circulated by himself respecting his origin. He gained possession of Macedonia for about a year, and defeated the praetor Iuventius, but was conquered and taken prisoner by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 606, B.C. 148 (Id. Epit. 50).

4. **posthac**, to be taken with 'memorabant,' in distinction to 'orsi.' The two first of these wars were prior to, that with Aristonicus subsequent to, the war with the Pseudophilippus (see notes on 3. 62, 1; 4. 55, 2).

5. **Antonium.** The son of the orator and father of the triumvir is meant, who received an 'infinitum imperium' against the pirates in 680, B.C. 74 (Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 3, 8; Vell. 2. 31, 2), but appears to have been wholly unsuccessful. He was spoken of as 'Creticus' (Plut. Ant. 1, 915), apparently in derision, from a defeat, in which he lost his life, three years later (Liv. Ep. 97).

6. **quaeque**, etc. These services would be those rendered in the Mithridatic wars (Cic. de Prov. Cons. l. l.); they may also have assisted Pompeius against the pirates.

7. **recentia**; among these would be their services in the Thracian and Bosporan wars (c. 63, 3).

quando, etc., explaining how their position enabled them to render such important service.

insiderent, best taken from 'insideo,' which probably also takes an accus. in 4. 5, 5.

8. **transmeantibus terra marique**, i. e. not only to those passing by sea from the Aegean to the Euxine, but also to those who travelled by land through Thrace and across the Bosporus to Asia. 'Transmeare' occurs here alone in Tacitus (Dr.), but is found in Varr. and Pl. ma. and afterwards in Appul. etc.

9. **commeatu**, dative; see note on 3. 30, 4.

63. Namque artissimo inter Europam Asiamque divortio By zantium in extremo Europae posuere Graeci, quibus Pythiu Apollinem consulentibus, ubi conderent urbem, redditum or culum est, quaererent sedem caecorum terris adversam. ambage Chalcedonii monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advec praevisa locorum utilitate, peiora legissent. quippe Byzantiu fertili solo, fecundo mari, quia vis piscium inmensa, Pontu erumpens et obliquis subter undas saxis exterrita, omis alterius litoris flexu hos ad portus defertur. unde prim quaestuosi et opulenti; post magnitudine onerum urguen finem aut modum orabant, adnitente principe, qui Thraec

1. **artissimo divortio.** The abl. appears to be local (Introd. i. v. § 25), but might be absolute. Dr. notes that 'divortium' is nowhere else used precisely in this sense. It has the sense of a watershed in Cic. and Liv., and that of a bifurcation of roads in the latter.

2. **Graeci**, probably Megareans; but the authorities on this point are late and conflicting (see Ruperti's note). The date is given in Eus. Chron. as B.C. 657; and the colonists are said to have found on the site an earlier town called Lygos (Pl. N. H. 4. 11, 18, 46).

Pythium Apollinem consulentibus. Tacitus appears here to follow Strab. 7. 6, 2, 320. Herodotus (4. 144, 2) makes the saying a remark of the Persian general Megabazus.

5. **ambage**, 'riddle': cp. 6. 46, 6, etc.

Chalcedonii. The site of this city is occupied by a village, still known by its Greek name, but called Kadikioi by the Turks, near Scutari. It was founded by Megareans (Strabo, l. l.) seventeen years before the colonisation of Byzantium (Hdt. l. l.).

6. **praevisa** = 'prius visa.' The sense differs from that in other passages (cp. c. 40, 6, and note), as it here means what was before their eyes to see, but which they had not noticed.

7. **fertili solo, fecundo mari**, ablatives of quality (Introd. i. v. 29): cp. 'urbem magnifico ornatu' (1. 9, 6).

quia vis piscium, etc. Recent edd. mostly follow Ruperti and Bach in reading 'inmensa' (cp. 'inmensam vim mortalium' 4. 62, 3) for the Med. 'in meta.' Others, with Lips., read 'innumera'; Ritt. reads 'in meatu Ponti.' The words are closely imitated from what appears to be a statement of the sa fact in Sall. H. 3. 41 D, 53 K, 40 G ('q tempestate ex Ponto vis piscium erumpit and it is possible that 'Ponto' should read here, though the accus. can be fended from Verg. Aen. 1. 580 ('eru pere nubem') and Val. Fl. 5, 466 (' bulamque erumpit'), and from analog uses of other verbs (Introd. i. v. § 12 The substance of what is stated appe mainly to follow Arist. H. A. 8. 15 (1 Strab. 7. 6, 2, 320, and Pl. N. H. 9. 20, 50, whence it appears that the ch shoals are those of the πηλαμύς or 'th nus.' The latter adds that the harb of Byzantium (called Κέρας by Stra from the similarity of its ramifications those of a stag's horn) had already in s time the name of 'the Golden Ho' from the wealth thus flowing into which Strabo says was the source, only of the prosperity of the city, but a of considerable revenue to Rome. Otr notices of this trade are collected by P Mayor on Juv. 4, 42.

8. **obliquis saxis.** Strabo and Pl speak of a particular rock as scaring fish away from the Asiatic side by s dazzling white colour. The true ca was probably to be found in the set of current; but in modern times both s of the strait are said to abound in (see Orelli's note).

10. **quaestuosi**, 'rich'; so used of sons in 13. 35, 3: cp. 'gens . . . navi orum spoliis quaestuosa' (Curt. 4. 7, In Cic. and Pl. ma. it has the sens 'covetous.'

11. **'finem aut modum,'** 'remissio abatement.'

Thraecio, etc. The Bosporan is that of which the latter part is rel above (c. 15–21). The addition of 'rec

poranoque bello recens fessos iuvandosque rettulit. ita uta in quinquennium remissa.

4. M. Asinio M'. Acilio consulibus mutationem rerum in erius portendi cognitum est crebris prodigiis. signa ac tena militum igni caelesti arsere. fastigio Capitolii examen im insedit. biformes hominum partus et suis fetum editum, accipitrum ungues inessent. numerabatur inter ostenta inutus omnium magistratuum numerus, quaestore, aedili, uno ac praetore et consule paucos intra menses defunctis.

which cp. c. 18, 2; 2. 21, 1, etc.) is st referring the Thracian war (with i) to that of Poppaeus Sabinus y-seven years before (4. 46, foll.): . appears to be right in taking it of hostilities at the time when Thrace ne a province (cp. H. 1. 11, 3); according to Eus. Chron. took in 799, A.D. 46 (the error that it ot take place till the time of Vespas shown in Marq. Staatsv. i. 157, 6, st on a probably false reading in Vesp. 8, copied in Eutr. 7, 19).

rettulit, 'brought the fact before nate.'

tributa . . . remissa: cp. c. 58, 2, ote.

M. Asinio, M'. Acilio. These names ven in Suet. Cl. 45 as Asinius Mar-, Acilius Aviola: Med. has here linio macilio,' the names being re- from Suet. and other evidence. On rmer see 14. 40, 3. The latter is ht to be the son of the person men- in 3. 41, 2, and is shown by Ephe- oins (Eckh. ii. 519) to have been sul of Asia in 818–819, A.D. 65–66 ead of Poppaea being represented coin, that of Statilia Messalina on r). Nipp. also takes him to be al with the Acilius Aviola men- in Front. Aq. 102, as 'curator m in' 827–850, A.D. 74–97.

rebris prodigiis: see above c. 43, note. Suet. (Cl. 46) and Dio (60. mention some of these, and add especially a comet, which is at- by Pliny (N. H. 2. 25, 23, 92).

a, etc. No locality is men- The 'ignis' may have been ng, or (as Nipp. thinks) the phe- on called St. Elmo's fire. Similar es are noted in 15. 7, 5.

stigio, 'on the pediment.' There no reason to read 'fastigium,' with inasmuch as, though the perf. would appear here to be that of 'insido,' not 'insideo' (see the use of the two verbs in Tacitus, as shown in Gerber and Greef's Lex.), and though the former verb elsewhere (some twenty-five times) takes an accus. in Tacitus (except perhaps in 4. 67, 5), the dative is certainly supported from Vergil (Aen. 6, 708), and perhaps from several other passages.

examen apium. The swarming of bees in any unusual place was generally regarded as a portent by Romans (Cic. de Har. Resp. 12, 25; Liv. 21. 46, 2; 24. 10, 11; 27. 23, 3; Verg. Aen. 7, 64). Pliny thinks (N. H. 11. 17, 18, 55) that the haruspices were wrong in always treating it as a sign of evil, as it had sometimes clearly portended good.

6. **biformes.** This word is an epithet of Ianus (Ov. F. 1, 89), also of Hermaphroditus (Id. M. 4, 387); so that it could be used here either of 'bicipites' (cp. 15. 47, 2) or androgyna (cp. Liv. 31. 12, 6). Nipp. takes it to refer to half-human, half-bestial forms, which is the more common use of the word.

fetum editum. Tacitus can hardly have written so negligently as to add this clause, without any verb of speaking, after several previous sentences of direct narration. It is perhaps possible to suppose, with Madvig (Adv. ii. 552), that the Med. 'ediditum' is a corruption of 'editum esse creditum,' or that some such verb as 'memorabant' (cp. 2. 47, 2) has dropped out before 'numerabatur.'

7. **inessent**, subjunct. as stating matter of report.

8. **aedili**; so read generally for Med. 'aelidi'; such an abl. of 'aedilis' being found in Dig. 18. 6, 13 ('cum aedili . . . actionem'): Ritt. reads the more usual 'aedile,' which he considers, on the authority of Charis. (p. 96. P.), to be the only correct form.

9. **defunctis.** None of these are

sed in praecipuo pavore Agrippina, vocem Claudii, quam temulentus iecerat, fatale sibi ut coniugum flagitia ferret, dein puniret, metuens, agere et celerare statuit, perdita prius Domitia Lepida, muliebribus causis, quia Lepida minore Antonia genita, avunculo Augusto, Agrippinae sobrina prior ac Gnaei mariti eius soror, parem sibi claritudinem credebat. nec forma aetas opes multum distabant; et utraque inpudica, infamis, violenta, haud minus vitiis aemulabantur, quam si qua ex fortuna prospera acceperant. enimvero certamen acerrimum, amita potius an mater apud Neronem praevaleret: nam Lepida blandimentis ac largitionibus iuvenilem animum devinciebat, truci contra ac minaci Agrippina, quae filio dare imperium, tolerare imperitantem nequibat.

65. Ceterum obiecta sunt, quod coniugem principis devotionibus petivisset quodque parum coercitis per Calabriam servorum agminibus pacem Italiae turbaret. ob haec mors

known; the consul must have been a 'suffectus,' as both those given above are known to have been living later.

1. **praecipuo**, 'especial,' as distinct from the general alarm inspired in all by the omens.

2. **iecerat**, 'had let drop': cp. 1. 10, 7, and note. Suet. (Cl. 43) gives this saying in somewhat different words, and adds expressions showing an intention to restore Britannicus to his proper position: see also Dio, 60. 34, 1.

4. **Domitia Lepida**: see 11. 37, 4, and note (here restored from the context for Med. 'domitiale').

minore, apparently an error of the writer for 'maiore': see 4. 44, 3, and note.

5. **avunculo**, 'great uncle,' as in 2. 43, 6, etc. The construction is abl. abs., but is by some taken as in 3. 76, 1. On this and the other relationships here mentioned see Introd. i. ix. pp. 140, 147.

sobrina prior, 'first cousin once removed,' the intermediate grade between 'sobrini' and 'consobrini.' Vertran. would read 'sobrina propior,' which is the term used for this degree of relationship in Dig. 38. 10, 10, 16.

6. **Gnaei.** Ritt. would insert 'Domitii,' but the name can be taken as supplied from 'Domitia.' On Gnaeus Domitius see 4. 75, 2, and note.

7. **aetas.** This point has an important bearing on the question of the age o Domitia's daughter Messalina (see Introd p. 42, 4).

8. **haud minus**, etc., 'they were rival no less in their vices than in their gifts o fortune.'

9. **enimvero**, laying stress on th strongest point of rivalry: see c. 34, 2 etc. Lepida had taken the boy into he house in his infancy when his father die and his mother was in exile (Suet. Ner. 6) and had evidently been in the closest in timacy with him ever since that time (se Introd. p. 49).

12. **dare**, sc. 'quibat,' supplied fron 'nequibat': so 'potest' is supplied fron 'non potest' in 13. 56, 3; 'expertus from 'inexpertus' in H. 1. 8, 2; 'licebit from 'non licebit' in Cic. Ac. Post. 41 126.

14. **obiecta sunt.** The trial appears t have been before Claudius personally who may, as Schiller thinks, have sat a head of the family (cp. 13. 32, 3). Th expression 'mors indicta' points to a autocratic rather than a judicial decre Nero appeared himself as a witne against her (Suet. Ner. 7).

devotionibus: see 2. 69, 5, an note.

15. **parum coercitis**, etc. It woul seem that she had gangs of turbule slaves on her estates in those parts wh caused troubles similar to those describ in 4. 27, 1, foll.

ndicta, multum adversante Narcisso, qui Agrippinam magis nagisque suspectans prompsisse inter proximos ferebatur ceram sibi perniciem, seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero poteretur; erum ita de se meritum Caesarem, ut vitam usui eius inpenleret. convictam Messalinam et Silium; pares iterum accusandi ausas esse, si Nero imperitaret; Britannico successore nullum rincipi metum: at novercae insidiis domum omnem convelli, naiore flagitio quam si inpudicitiam prioris coniugis reticuisset. uamquam ne inpudicitiam quidem nunc abesse Pallante alultero, ne quis ambigat decus pudorem corpus, cuncta regno

2. **suspectans**: cp. 1. 5, 1, and note. **prompsisse**, 'to have stated': cp. . 6, 6; 2. 33, 2; 6. 7, 1; 15. 60, 4, tc.: so in Plaut., Liv., etc.

3. **seu Britannicus**, etc. He had detroyed the mother of the first (11. 29, oll.), and opposed the mother of the econd (c. 2, foll.), and had nothing to ope from either, but owed all to Clauius, and would risk all to frustrate grippinas' plots against him.

5. **pares iterum**, etc. Walther and thers have endeavoured in vain to exact a good meaning from the Med. text; nd the simplest alteration is that of Ialm, here given, who adopts, with Iadvig (Adv. ii. 552), from Ferrarius e reading 'metum' for 'meritum.' The nse is thus taken to be that, if the sucssion is to be secured to Nero ('si ero imperitaret'), he and Agrippina ill be sure to hasten it by the murder of laudius, and there are as good grounds r accusing them as for accusing Messaa and Silius of a similar design. On e other hand, if they were got rid and Britannicus were the recognised ccessor, Claudius (whom it was the escial object of Narcissus to save) had thing to fear, for the boy's youth made his interest and that of his partisans at Claudius should live as long as posle; but Agrippina was bent on upoting the whole family including Claus himself. What is here unsatisfactory the interpretation of 'si Nero imperiret,' which in its only natural meaning if Nero were to become emperor') oils the sense (the chief object of an cusation being to prevent his becoming), and which may probably have been blundering marginal note interpolated o the text. Orelli and others have ne further, and bracketed all the words 'si Nero . . . successore' as two glosses explanatory of 'seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero poteretur,' and explained the sense to be that another such plot as that of Messalina and Silius was on foot, but that Claudius had no fears (did not see his danger). But this view, as well as that of Freinsh., who brackets all the words 'si Nero . . . at,' and of Nipp., who brackets 'pares . . . esse' and 'Britannico successore' (retaining the Med. 'meritum'), appear to overlook the needfulness of some mention of Britannicus in context with 'novercae insidiis,' and also the stress laid on 'principi'; the point being that Narcissus, though he had little to hope from either successor, desired to preserve Britannicus instead of Nero, with a view to the safety of Claudius.

8. **maiore flagitio**, best taken as abl. abs. ('while the outrage was greater than it would have been,' etc.).

reticuisset. The subject of this is Narcissus himself, who had brought the facts to the knowledge of Claudius (11. 29, 2, foll.).

9. **quamquam**, 'however.' Nipp. notes that it is so used at the beginning of a sentence only here and in G. 17. 4; Dial. 28, 3; 33, 5.

Pallante adultero (abl. abs.): see c. 25, 1; 14. 2, 4.

10. **ne quis ambigat**, 'so that none can doubt.' The sentence runs as if 'Agrippinam quoque inpudicam esse' had preceded; and 'eam' is supplied as the subj. of 'habere.' It does not seem necessary to insert 'eam' (with Ritt.), or to read 'haberi' (with Grotius). 'Ambigere' takes an accus. and infin. in 6. 28, 8; H. 4. 49, 2; as do other verbs expressing doubt, in negative sentences (Introd. i. v. § 44).

viliora habere. haec atque talia dictitans amplecti Britannicum, robur aetatis quam maturrimum precari, modo ad deos, modo ad ipsum tendere manus, adolesceret, patris inimicos depelleret, matris etiam interfectores ulcisceretur.

66. In tanta mole curarum valetudine adversa corripitur, refovendisque viribus mollitia caeli et salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit. tum Agrippina, sceleris olim certa et oblatae occasionis propera nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit, ne repentino et praecipiti facinus proderetur; si lentum et tabidum delegisset, ne admotus supremis Claudius et dolo intellecto ad amorem filii rediret. exquisitum aliquid placebat, quod turbaret mentem et mortem differret.

2. **maturrimum.** This superl. adj. is ἅπ. εἰρ. The adv. 'maturrime' (though also rare) is found in Cic., Caes., and Sall.

3. **adolesceret.** The idea of a verb of speech is implied in 'precari,' or in 'tendere manus.'

4. **matris etiam,** etc., i. e. let him, if he will, take vengeance also on Narcissus himself. Compare the similar sentiment expressed afterwards by Agrippina herself (13. 14, 4).

5. **corripitur,** sc. 'Narcissus.' Most of the older edd. follow inferior MSS. in inserting 'Claudius,' which must have been an erroneous gloss, as the death of Claudius took place at Rome in the Palatium. Dio states (60. 34, 4) that Narcissus suffered from gout, and that the springs of Sinuessa were a specific for that complaint: Pliny (N. H. 31. 2, 4, 8) gives them a different virtue ('sterilitatem feminarum et virorum insaniam abolere produntur)'; Strabo (5. 3, 6, 234) only notes them as useful πρὸς νόσους ἐνίας.

7. **Sinuessam,** now Mandragone, on the coast, just north of the mouth of the Vulturnus. The hot springs were at a short distance from the town, at a place called 'Aquae Sinuessanae' (H. 1. 72, 5; Liv. 22. 13, 10, etc.), and still called 'Bagni.'

sceleris certa, 'resolved on poisoning'; for this specific sense of 'scelus' see 1. 5, 1 (and note); for that of 'certus' and its use with similar genit. see 4. 34, 2, and note, and other instances here given by Nipp. In 1. 27, 3, etc. the construction is the same, but the sense different.

oblatae occasionis. For the genit. with 'properus' cp. 4. 59, 5; 11. 26, 4, and notes); for that with 'egens' ('deficient in respect of'), 4. 20, 4, and note. The opportunity seized was that afforded by the removal of the vigilance of Narcissus. The words of Dio would either mean that she or that Claudius had sent him to Sinuessa.

9. **consultavit.** From this verb the idea of 'metuens' is supplied with the following clauses: cp. 1. 47, 2.

repentino et praecipiti, 'sudden and instantaneous' (C. and B.): so 'praeceps et strenuum remedium' (Curt. 3. 14, 2). Such poison is called 'rapidum' in c. 67, 3; 13. 15, 3; 'velocissimum et praesentaneum' in Suet. Ner. 33.

10. **tabidum,** 'causing slow decay' (cp. 'tabida . . . lues' Verg. Aen. 3, 137), the 'venenum lentum atque tabificum' cf. Suet. Tib. 73. A full account of Roman proficiency in poisoning is given by Prof. Mayor on Juv. 1, 70.

admotus supremis, 'when brought near to his end,' i. e. when he felt it approaching. For 'supremis' cp. 3. 49, 1; 6. 50, 3.

11. **ad amorem,** etc. Tacitus does not seem to accept the story given by Suet. (Cl. 43) and Dio (60. 34, 1), that Claudius had already shown signs of returning affection for Britannicus.

12. **turbaret:** cp. 'turbata mens' (13. 3, 6). The purpose was to affect his mind so as to make him unconscious that he was being poisoned. It is noticeable that no clear trace of such a plan appears in the subsequent narrative of his end.

leligitur artifex talium vocabulo Locusta, nuper veneficii damnata et diu inter instrumenta regni habita. eius mulieris ingenio paratum virus, cuius minister e spadonibus fuit Halotus, nferre epulas et explorare gustu solitus.

67. Adeoque cuncta mox pernotuere, ut temporum illorum scriptores prodiderint infusum delectabili cibo boleto venenum, nec vim medicaminis statim intellectam, socordiane an Claudii

1. **vocabulo Locusta.** On the use of vocabulum' for proper names cp. 1. 8, ; 2. 6, 5, etc. The name of this person s written thus in the MSS. of Tacitus nd in the fragment of Turnus, a satirist contemporary with Juvenal (see Mayor on uv. 1, 71); but in Suet. and Juvenal Mayor) it is read 'Lucusta,' and the ame 'Nonia Lucusta' occurs in an incription (I. R. N. 6044). The scholiast n Juv. states that she was a native of Gaul.

2. **diu . . . habita**, 'long retained as ne of the tools of despotism.' She was gain employed to poison Britannicus (13. 5, 4), continued all through the time of Nero (Suet. 33. 47), and was put to death y Galba (Dio, 64. 3, 4).

ingenio, 'inventiveness'; used bitterly of criminal skill in 14. 3, 5; 15. 42, ; H. 3. 38, 1: cp. 'magnitudo sceleris mnia ingenia superat' (Sall. Cat. 51, 8).

3. **Halotus.** This person also survived Nero, and was promoted by Galba to a wealthy procuratorship (Suet. Galb. 15).

4. **explorare gustu**; so used in 13. 6, 2 of the office of 'praegustator,' which is found as a distinct title in inscriptions as early as the time of Augustus C. I. L. vi. 9005; Wilm. 234) and Tierius (Orelli 2993); another taster of laudius is mentioned, named Bucoas (Henzen 6337 = Wilm. 1243); and nother inscription (C. I. L. vi. 9003) hows them to have formed in the time f Claudius a collegium under a prourator. The custom is found in the old Iedo-Persian Empire (Xen. Cyr. 1. 3,), and in other monarchies, such as that f Hiero (Ath. 4. 71, 171 b). Athenaeus . l.) says ἐκάλουν καὶ τοὺς προγεύστας δεάτρους, ὅτι προήσθιον τῶν βασιλέων ρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. Pliny gives an anecdote N. H. 21. 3, 9, 12) of the precautions in is respect taken by Antonius against leopatra.

5. **temporum illorum scriptores**, contemporary writers': cp. 'scriptores . . eorundem temporum' (2. 88, 1). On the chief writers thus referred to, see Introd. i. iii. pp. 10–13. The authorities appear to have told the story with several discrepancies (see Suet. Cl. 44); and it is worthy of note that Josephus (Ant. 20. 8, 1) declines to affirm with certainty that he was poisoned at all, saying only *λόγος ἦν παρά τινων*.

6. **infusum**, sc. 'ab Haloto' (c. 66, 5). Suet. states that some accounts made it the act of Agrippina herself.

delectabili cibo boleto. Med. has 'leto' (the first syllable having been lost in 'cibo'); the older edd. read (after G.) 'boletorum.' Orelli brackets 'boleto,' thinking that here and in 6. 23, 4 (where see note), an explanatory gloss has been added where Tacitus had used only a general descriptive term. Ritt. would bracket 'delectabili cibo' as a gloss, thinking 'delectabilis' (found elsewhere only a few times in later authors) not good Latin. Nipp. follows Wurm. in omitting 'cibo,' as a corruption arising from a repetition of the first syllable of 'boleto,' and takes 'delectabili boleto' to mean an especially choice mushroom, referring to the statement in Dio, 60. 34, 3, that one mushroom only, the best and finest in the dish, was poisoned. That the poison was administered in this way is affirmed by a consensus of authorities: see Suet. Cl. 44; Ner. 33; Dio, l. l.; Plin. N. H. 22. 22, 46, 92; Martial, 1. 21, 4; Juv. 5, 147; 6, 620 (the two latter authors confirming the account in Dio by speaking of a single 'boletus'); and the witticism of Nero, that mushrooms were 'deorum cibus,' is given by Suet. and Dio. Only Tacitus and Suet. (see below on § 3) speak of any further subsequent administration of poison. The mushroom is thought to have been one of a kind common in Italy and known by the names of 'agaricus Caesareus,' 'agaricus aurantiacus,' and 'amanita Caesaris': see Lenz, 'Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer,' p. 753.

7. **intellectam**, sc. 'a consciis.' If

vinolentia; simul soluta alvus subvenisse videbatur. igitur exterrita Agrippina et, quando ultima timebantur, spreta praesentium invidia, provisam iam sibi Xenophontis medici conscientiam adhibet. ille tamquam nisus evomentis adiuvaret, pinnam rapido veneno inlitam faucibus eius demisisse creditur haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum praemio.

68. Vocabatur interim senatus votaque pro incolumitate

however the following words are so read as to make the 'socordia' that of Claudius himself, it is possible, with Merivale, to take these words to mean that its effect was not felt: cp. 'intellecto magis ac magis . . . vulnere' (Stat. Theb. 11, 546).

socordiane, etc. The poison was intended to affect the mind rather than the life (c. 66, 3), but was expected to do this at once. The fact that no effect was perceived might have been due to the dulness of those watching for it, or to his drunkenness, whereby the real condition of the brain could not be known. The reading above is that of some of the oldest edd. and of Halm, Nipp., and Dr., among moderns: Med. has 'socordiane an Claudii ui an uinolentia,' which Pich. defends, but which has been generally taken to contain an error of repetition. Ritt. omits the first 'an' and takes 'ui' to be the corruption of some abbreviation of 'incertum'; while most others follow Rhen. in the somewhat more violent omission of the first 'an' and 'ui'; in both of which readings 'socordia' is taken of the stupefaction of Claudius by surfeit. That excess in eating and drinking was supposed to impede the action of poison appears from Liv. 26. 14, 5. The account in Dio, following one of the versions given by Suet., states that he at once collapsed and was carried off and died the same night, adding that he had been so often carried off intoxicated that no suspicion was excited in the guests.

1. **soluta alvus**, etc. The same result is mentioned in the case of Britannicus (13. 15, 6).

2. **et quando**, etc. Here 'et' couples 'exterrita' to the abl. abs. It would hardly seem that an antithesis is intended between 'ultima' and 'praesentium'; for the former can hardly be taken, with Louandre, etc., in the sense of 'future consequences,' but must rather mean 'the uttermost penalties': cp. 'ultimum supplicium' (3. 49, 4); 'extrema' (5. 5, 2), 'novissima expectabat' (6. 50, 8).

spreta praesentium invidia, 'defying the infamy of the present.' The original plan (see above) appeared to have failed, and in her panic she fell back on that of instantaneous poison; a the exposure to which she thus became more liable (c. 66, 2), however it branded her with infamy, would bring no danger when the end was gained. The prevalence of reports (§ 1), and still more the jest of Nero (see note on § 1), show how little attempt was made at concealment.

3. **provisam . . . conscientiam**, 'the already secured complicity': for 'provisam' cp. 2. 14, 2, etc., for 'conscientia' 2. 40, 3, etc. Xenophon (on whom see c. 61, 2) is not charged by the other accounts with any share in the deed; but the vast fortune amassed by him and his brother (see Plin. N. H. 29. 1, 4, 8) tell against their character, and has been thought to represent in part the wages of this crime.

4. **nisus evomentis**, 'the natural effort to vomit.' That Claudius often availed himself of this resource of Roman gluttony, and was often thus assisted in it is stated in Suet. Cl. 33. The detail of the poisoned feather is given by Tacitus alone: Suet., who notes that all the circumstances were reported with much variation, speaks of those who state that a second dose had to be administered a saying either that it was given in a restorative after the exhaustion of vomiting, or in the form of a clyster.

5. **faucibus** = 'per fauces': on such uses of the local abl. to express direction see Introd. i. v. § 25.

6. **summa scelera**, etc., 'that the first steps in the greatest crimes were attended with danger, the completion with reward,' i.e. that prompt action was the safe course.

rincipis consules et sacerdotes nuncupabant, cum iam exaimis vestibus et fomentis obtegeretur, dum quae forent firıando Neronis imperio componuntur. iam primum Agrippina, elut dolore victa et solacia conquirens, tenere amplexu ritannicum, veram paterni oris effigiem appellare ac variis rtibus demorari, ne cubiculo egrederetur. Antoniam quoque : Octaviam sorores eius attinuit, et cunctos aditus custodiis auserat, crebroque vulgabat ire in melius valetudinem prinpis, quo miles bona in spe ageret tempusque prosperum ex onitis Chaldaeorum adventaret.

69. Tunc medio diei tertium ante Idus Octobris, foribus ılatii repente diductis, comitante Burro Nero egreditur ad

2. **fomentis.** These would be external plications to restore warmth to the dy. Jacob aptly compares 'si condot . . . frigore corpus . . . fomenta paret' or. Sat. 1. 1, 80–82).

dum . . . componuntur, 'while arıgements are being made' (cp. 'comnunt' 3. 40, 3). Orelli, Halm, and Dr. e follow a suggestion of Ern. in read- 'quae forent'; Med. has 're (with added later above) forent' (with dots a later hand under the word); MS. r. has 'quae res forent,' other MSS. and old edd. generally 'res firmando' thout 'forent'). Heins. reads 'quae e'; Ritt. prefers 'e re quae' on grounds euphony; Andresen and Nipp. read liqua firmando.' For the dependence 'dum' on 'cum' Dr. compares 'cum afferrent, dum . . . redderent' (Dial. 1).

. **iam primum,** 'in the first place': 4. 6, 2; 14. 31, 3; Verg. Aen. 8, 190.

. **dolore victa.** Halm here follows ns. in reading 'evicta,' but Nipp. and ers seem to be right in retaining the l. as above. Jacob points out that ictus,' when thus used, means 'pre- ed upon,' 'forced to give way' (c. 25, 1. 57, 5; 4. 57, 5; 11. 37, 4; 15. 64, H. 2. 64, 5), and that the true parallel : is 'victus luctu animus' (3. 3, 2).

onquirens, 'seeking from all quar-'; cp. 15. 56, 2, etc.

attinuit, 'kept under restraint': 3. 3, 3; 14. 25, 2, etc.

litus . . . clauserat. Similar preions were taken by Livia at the death ugustus (1. 5, 6).

ire in melius, 'was progressing favourably': so 'pessum ire' (1. 79, 2); 'in perniciem ire' (5. 11, 3). Suetonius says (Cl. 45) that players were brought into the palace, as if by his command and for his amusement. So Seneca (who says of course nothing of the poison), 'expiravit dum comoedos audit' (Lud. 4, 2).

9. **miles,** the guard outside (c. 69, 1).

tempus prosperum, 'the auspicious moment' of the astrologers. The next sentence shows that this was midday. That Agrippina consulted such persons on her fortunes and those of Nero appears from 6. 22, 6; 14. 9, 5.

11. **medio diei:** cp. 11. 21, 2, and note ('per medium diei'). Suet. (Ner. 8) gives the exact time ('inter horam sextam septimamque'); which Sen. (Lud. 2, 2) makes to be the time of the death; as if supposing that no delay had taken place in the announcement.

tertium ante Idus Octobris (Oct. 13), anastrophe for the usual 'ante tertium diem Id. Oct.' Tacitus commonly omits 'ante' in such expressions, as in 6. 25, 5 (where see note). The same date is given in the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2041); also by Sen. (l. l.), Suet. (Cl. 45), and Dio (60. 34, 3). Claudius was sixty-three years old and two months, and had ruled thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days.

12. **Burro:** see c. 42, 2. The 'praefectus praetorio' was perhaps as a rule present with the cohort on duty at the palace (cp. Dio, 69. 18, 2). On this cohort in attendance on the emperor's person see 1. 7, 7; 11. 37, 3; 13. 2, 5; H. 1. 24, 2; 29, 2.

cohortem, quae more militiae excubiis adest. ibi monent praefecto faustis vocibus exceptus inditur lecticae. dubita visse quosdam ferunt, respectantes rogitantesque ubi Britan nicus esset: mox nullo in diversum auctore quae offerebantu secuti sunt. inlatusque castris Nero et congruentia tempo praefatus, promisso donativo ad exemplum paternae larg tionis, imperator consalutatur. sententiam militum secut patrum consulta, nec dubitatum est apud provincias. cael stesque honores Claudio decernuntur et funeris sollemne peri de ac divo Augusto celebratur, aemulante Agrippina proavia

1. **excubiis**, dat. of purpose; cp. 1. 51, 4; 4. 72, 5, and notes.

monente, aoristic: cp. 'praemonente Narcisso' (11. 35, 3). The praefect tells the soldiers that Claudius is dead, and presents Nero to them.

2. **faustis vocibus**, 'with acclamations' (cp. 5. 4, 3), here read by all edd. after Ern. for Med. 'festis.' They apparently give him the first salute as 'imperator,' which is afterwards more formally ratified by the general body (§ 3), as in the case of Otho (H. 1. 27, 4).

inditur lecticae: cp. 'inditus lecticae' (3. 14, 7). Claudius had been thus carried off after salutation to the camp (Suet. Cl. 10; Jos. Ant. 19. 3, 3), apparently to assume the formal command of the praetorian guard; so also was Otho (H. l. l.); and the practice appears subsequently to have become general (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 791, 6).

4. **nullo in diversum auctore** = 'nemine in diversam sententiam trahente.' Dr. compares 'in utrumque auctores sunt' (Liv. 10. 25, 12).

quae offerebantur, 'the choice presented to them' (that of Nero).

6. **praefatus.** This speech, as well as the others made by Nero (see 13. 3, 2), is stated (Dio, 61. 3, 1) to have been composed by Seneca.

paternae largitionis. Claudius had bought the support of the praetorians by promising them a largess of fifteen sestertia each and had thus, according to Suet. (Cl. 10), originated this mischievous practice ('primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus'), which at last degenerated into a sale by auction of the empire to Didius Julianus by the soldiers in 946, A.D. 193 (Dio, 73. 11, 3).

7. **sententiam militum secuta patrum consulta.** That the salutation of the soldiers and sacramentum taken b them was looked upon even in early tim as sufficient to create an emperor w clearly shown in 822, A.D. 69 (see Intro i. p. 70); and in the case of Claudius (s Introd. p. 36), as here, this had preced any senatus consultum. Still the cons tutional sanction of the senate, even wh only thus ratifying a choice already ma was at least under the earlier empire i portant, both from the titles which it co ferred (Introd. i. p. 68), and as initiati the lex which conferred tribunitian pow and formally defined the legal status each succession (Id. pp. 70, 83: see a the fragments of the 'Lex de impe Vespasiani' in Or. Insc. i. p. 567; Wil. 917; C. I. L. vi. 930). Gaius, who w the first to receive the full imperial pow at once, without any previous share them, is shown by the 'Acta Arvaliu (C. I. L. vi. 2028) to rest his title on 'senatus consultum' ('quod hoc die senatu impera[tor appellatus sit]'); a Claudius was urged by the senate to cept his as from them (Jos. Ant. 19. 3, Nero is stated by Suet. (Ner. 8) to h accepted at once on this day all the ti except that of 'pater patriae,' which m have been assumed soon after, as it pears to be borne universally on coins.

8. **provincias**, 'the provincial armi so 'provinciarum fidem' (13. 21, 7).

caelestesque honores. These the funeral honours are spoken of ag in apparently their proper place (see 2, 6, and note), and would seem to be h mentioned by anticipation, to comp the irony of the passage.

9. **perinde ac divo Augusto.** T funeral of Augustus is briefly touc upon in 1. 8, 7, and fully describe Suet. Aug. 100; Dio, 56. 34–42.

viae magnificentiam. testamentum tamen haud recitatum, antepositus filio privignus iniuria et invidia animos vulgi rbaret.

. **testamentum**, etc. The will of gustus had been read in the senate (1.). Dio states (61. 1, 2) that Nero *τάς διαθήκας τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἠφάνισε καὶ τὴν ὴν πᾶσαν διεδέξατο*, which would sup- t, what Suet. (Cl. 44) more distinctly lies, that the will was in favour of tannicus. Tacitus expressly states the trary, and the fact (which he otherwise lains) that the will was not made lic, would account for the prevalence he opposite view. We are to suppose : Agrippina and Nero held the first ce in it, and that Britannicus and Octavia were only named 'in spem secundam' (cp. 1. 8, 2). Schiller's reasons (p. 86, note) for supposing that Octavia was in the first rank, seem hardly convincing.

2. **antepositus . . . privignus**, participial construction for abstr. noun and genit. (Introd. i. v. § 55, b 1).

iniuria. This word, with the meaning of a 'feeling' or 'sense of wrong,' is coupled with 'odia' in 11. 6, 3; 13. 4, 1: cp. 'sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri' (Verg. Aen. 3, 604).

BOOK XIII.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

. **1–5.** Commencement of the rule of Nero (Oct. 13–Dec. 31).

. Junius Silanus poisoned at the instigation of Agrippina: Narcissus forced to ommit suicide. 2. Burrus and Seneca combine to prevent further murders and to ounteract Agrippina and Pallas. 3. Funeral oration composed by Seneca for Nero: contrast in this respect between him and previous emperors. 4. Nero nnounces to the senate his future policy. 5. Decrees passed in spite of the opposi-on of Agrippina: her arrogance described.

6–9. Outbreak of hostilities with Parthia on account of Armenia.

. News of occupation of Armenia by the Parthians: opinion at Rome respecting Nero's capacity to conduct war. 7, 8. Troops raised in the East: retreat of the arthians, and rejoicings at Rome: Domitius Corbulo appointed to the command. . Hostages given by Vologeses: jealousies between Corbulo and Ummidius, gatus of Syria.

10. Minor events at the end of the year.

A. U. C. 808, A. D. 55. Claudius Nero Caesar Augustus, L. Antistius Vetus, coss.

11–24. Events at Rome.

. Instances of modesty and lenity in Nero. 12. His mother's influence weakened rough his passion for Acte. 13. Agrippina changes her tactics: her disdain of ero's presents. 14. Removal of Pallas from office: Agrippina takes up the use of Britannicus. 15–17. Britannicus poisoned by the agency of Julius Pollio d Locusta: his hurried funeral: feeling of the people and edict of Nero. . Nero rewards his friends, withdraws his mother's bodyguard, and removes her another house. 19–22. Charge of treason preferred against Agrippina through e means of Junia Silana frustrated by her bold reply: the accusers punished. . Burrus and Pallas accused and acquitted. 24. Removal of the guard from the eatres.

U. C. 809, A. D. 56. Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio, coss.

25–30. Events at Rome.

. Nero's nocturnal riots: Montanus compelled to suicide: pantomimists expelled, d guards brought back to the theatres. 26, 27. Discussion on the misconduct freedmen to their patrons. 28. Censure of a tribune, and restrictions imposed tribunes and aediles generally. 29. Changes in the management of the public asury: praefects of praetorian rank appointed. 30. Charges against certain sons: death of Caninius Rebilus and L. Volusius.

A. U. C. 810, A.D. 57. Nero Caesar II, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.

Ch. 31–33. Events at Rome.

31. Amphitheatre erected : 'congiarium' distributed : financial measures : pro cial governors forbidden to give shows. 32. Enactment for protection ag slaves : Pomponia Graecina tried by her husband, Plautius Silvanus, for supersti 33. Impeachment of Celer, Capito, Eprius Marcellus.

A. U. C. 811, A.D. 58. Nero Caesar III, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, coss.

Ch. 34. Liberality of Nero to his colleague, a descendant of the great Corvinus to other impoverished nobles.

Ch. 35–41. Affairs in the East.

35, 36. Severe measures of Corbulo to introduce and maintain discipline : (of Paccius Orfitus. 37, 38. Tiridates harasses Armenia and attempts negoti with Corbulo : a conference proposed but frustrated by suspicion of trea 39. Volandum and two other forts stormed by Corbulo. 40, 41. Tiridates att in vain to delay the advance of Corbulo on Artaxata ; which surrenders to hi is burnt : extravagant honours decreed at Rome.

Ch. 42–52. Events in Rome.

42, 43. Suillius is accused, attacks Seneca, and is condemned. 44. Crime of vius Sagitta. 45, 46. Attachment of Nero to Poppaea Sabina, whose chara described : her husband Otho removed to Lusitania. 47. Cornelius Sulla Nero's displeasure, and is banished to Massilia. 48. Riots at Puteoli pur 49. Paetus Thrasea blamed for speaking in the senate on a very trifling m 50, 51. Complaint made of the extortions of the publicani : bold proposal of measures taken. 52. Sulpicius Camerinus and Pompeius Silvanus trie acquitted.

Ch. 53–57. Events in Germany.

53. Dam of Drusus completed : canal from the Saône to the Moselle pro 54. The Frisii take possession of waste lands : conduct of their embassy in 55, 56. After their expulsion the same lands are invaded by the Ampsivarii treat with the legatus through their chief Boiocalus, but are deserted by th Germans and finally annihilated. 57. Conflict between the Hermundu Chatti for the possession of a salt spring. Destructive fires break out on th of the Ubii.

Ch. 58. Ominous withering and subsequent recovery of the 'Ficus Ruminalis.'

CORNELII TACITI

NNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XIII.

l. PRIMA novo principatu mors Iunii Silani proconsulis Asiae aro Nerone per dolum Agrippinae paratur, non quia ingenii lentia exitium inritaverat, segnis et dominationibus aliis :iditus, adeo ut Gaius Caesar pecudem auream eum appellare itus sit: verum Agrippina fratri eius L. Silano necem molita orem metuebat, crebra vulgi fama anteponendum esse vixdum

Prima ... mors. Similar words are . of the murder of Agrippa Postumus 6, 1). Each was the beginning of t proved to be a bloody rule.

ınii **Silani**, M. Junius Silanus, eldest 'abnepos Augusti,' on whom Introd. i. ix. pp. 139, 144. He had consul in 799, A.D. 46. A frag- t of Dio (61. 6, 5) gives him a bad acter for cupidity in his government sia.

paratur, 'is contrived'; so 'Plauto ri necem' (14. 58, 1): cp. also 3. ı; H. 4. 58, 1, etc.

on quia . . . inritaverat. Nipp. s that generally in such sentences the :. is only used when the fact is taken e true, though denied to have pro- d the result, as 'non quia poeta es' l. 9, 3). The use here is parallel to in 15. 60, 3; H. 3. 4, 3 ('non quia stria Flaviani egebat'), and the MS. of Dial. 37, 7 ('non quia tanti fuit nalos ferre cives'), also to several :s in Livy (7. 30, 13; 8. 19, 3; 10. 2; 33. 27, 6), in which instances the is indeed taken to be untrue, but is osed to be one which might have likely to be true.

exitium, a correction from MS. for Med. 'exitum'; which could indeed mean death (1. 10, 2, etc.), but could hardly thus stand quasi-personified with 'inritare.' We have thus 'inritare proelium' (H. 2. 24, 3), 'bellum' (Sall. H. 1. 16 D, 18 K, 49 G), 'fata' (Sil. 5, 234), etc.

dominationibus = 'principibus,' abstr. for concr. (Introd. i. v. § 1).

4. **pecudem auream**, 'a golden sheep,' alluding to his wealth and stupidity. 'Pecus' is thus used by Cic. (e.g. in Pis. 9, 19), as we use 'beast' or 'brute,' of low intellectual or moral characters. This Silanus must have been younger than Gaius himself; but his character may have been already thus pronounced. The other M. Silanus, the father-in-law of Gaius (see on 6. 20, 1), whom Dio (59. 8, 5) makes to have been thus characterised by him, would appear to have been a man of sufficient energy and position to have been formidable.

5. **L. Silano**; see 12. 8, 1.

6. **ultorem**: i.e. that, in spite of his indolence, the desire of revenge might make him lend himself to the schemes of the discontented.

crebra . . . fama, abl. abs.

vixdum . . . egresso. He wanted two months of completing his seventeenth year.

pueritiam egresso Neroni et imperium per scelus adepto viru aetate composita, insontem, nobilem et, quod tunc spectaretu e Caesarum posteris: quippe et Silanus divi Augusti abnep erat. haec causa necis. ministri fuere P. Celer eques Roman et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia inpositi. a his proconsuli venenum inter epulas datum est apertius qua ut fallerent. nec minus properato Narcissus Claudii libertu de cuius iurgiis adversus Agrippinam retuli, aspera custodia necessitate extrema ad mortem adigitur, invito principe, cui abditis adhuc vitiis per avaritiam ac prodigentiam mire co-gruebat.

2. Ibaturque in caedes, nisi Afranius Burrus et Annae Seneca obviam issent. hi rectores imperatoriae iuventae rarum in societate potentiae, concordes, diversa arte ex aeq pollebant, Burrus militaribus curis et severitate morum, Sene

2. **aetate composita**, so used of Claudius in 6. 46, 2. Silanus was forty years old.

spectaretur. The clause does not appear to be strictly part of the oratio obliqua; but the subjunct. is to be taken as potential, like 'deceret' (c. 3. 4) and many others. No question of descent from Augustus entered into the qualification for any princeps after Nero.

3. **et Silanus**, i. e. Silanus as well as Nero. For his pedigree see above.

4. **P. Celer**: see c. 33, 1.

5. **Helius**, afterwards left as vicegerent in Rome and Italy, during Nero's absence in Greece in 820–821, A.D. 67–69 (see Appendix to Book 16). He was put to death by Galba (Dio, 64. 3, 2; Plut. Galb. 17).

rei familiari, as his procurators: see 12. 60, 1, 6, and notes. Ritt. reads 'inpositus,' noting an erasure in Med., and thinking it improbable that there was more than one fiscal procurator in Asia (see 4. 15, 3, and note).

6. **venenum . . . datum est.** Dio, without mentioning their agency, states (61. 6, 4) that Agrippina sent out some of the same poison which had been used for Claudius.

7. **fallerent**, probably sc. 'ipsum,' as in 6. 50, 5.

properato, here alone used in abl. abs. adverbially. Dr. compares 'festinato' in Iust. 38. 10, 11 ('cum turmas equitum festinato misisset').

8. **retuli**; see 12. 57, 4; 65, 2.

9. **necessitate extrema**, 'the most rigorous compulsion': i.e. by the threat of imminent execution. Cp. the similar expressions, with some variation of meaning, in 11. 37, 4; 15. 61, 7.

agitur: cp. c. 43, 3; 6. 10, 2; and 'supplicium agi' (14. 42, 2).

10. **abditis adhuc.** As in the case of Tiberius and Gaius, the propensities subsequently developed are assumed to have been always present.

prodigentiam, a Tacitean word: cp. 6. 14, 1, and note. His 'avaritia' ('greediness in acquiring') is not inconsistent with this quality. Dio mentions (60. 34, 5) that before his death he destroyed the secret papers of Claudius relating to Agrippina and others. In another place (64. 3, 4) he is mentioned by error among those put to death by Galba.

12. **Ibatur**, sc. 'ab Agrippina.'

Burrus et Seneca: see 12. 42, 2; 8, 3. 'Obviam issent' = 'restitissent,' as in c. 5, 3; 1. 32, 1, etc.

14. **rarum**, etc. On this parenthesis see Introd. i. v. § 82. All recent edd. follow Boxhorn in thus correcting the Med. 'parum in societate potentiae.' Lips. reads 'pari in societate potentia.'

ex aequo, 'equally' (ἐξ ἴσου) so used in H. 2. 77, 2; 97, 2; 4. 64, 5; 4, 2; G. 36, 3; Agr. 20, 3: cp. 'ex facili' (Agr. 15, 1); 'ex affluenti' (H. 1. 57); and Dr., Synt. und Stil, § 96.

aeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta, iuvantes in vicem, o facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, luptatibus concessis retinerent. certamen utrique unum erat ntra ferociam Agrippinae, quae cunctis malae dominationis pidinibus flagrans habebat in partibus Pallantem, quo auctore audius nuptiis incestis et adoptione exitiosa semet perverterat. l neque Neroni infra servos ingenium, et Pallas tristi adrontia modum liberti egressus taedium sui moverat. propalam nen omnes in eam honores cumulabantur, signumque more litiae petenti tribuno dedit optimae matris. decreti et a natu duo lictores, flamonium Claudiale, simul Claudio cenium funus et mox consecratio.

. **praeceptis eloquentiae et comi-** honesta, 'by his lessons in eloquence his dignified courtesy' (C. and B.).

ıvantes **invicem**, 'helping each r.' The omission of 'se' in this ression (cp. 14. 17, 2; H. 1. 74, 2; 2. 2; Plin. Ep. 7. 20, 7, etc.) follows t is noted as an earlier and more ıral usage with 'inter se,' one which so found in Tacitus (2. 30, 1; 3. 1, 3,): see Nipp. on 14. 17, 2.

lubricam, 'perilous': cp. 6. 49, 3, note.

voluptatibus concessis (cp. 14. 21, such indulgences as public opinion wed, such as did not cause grave dal; so 'concessa venere uti' (Hor. 1. 4, 113). See c. 12, 2.

tinerent, 'might keep under con-r.'

in partibus, 'on her side'; so tes' c. 18, 3, etc. Pallas had always oorted her (cp. 12. 1, 3; 2, 3; 25, 1, t.

sed. The thought is that Pallas for two reasons, little power over o; and it is implied by the following ıen' that Agrippina's influence also being weakened.

fra servos, 'submissive to a e': cp. 'infra Ventidium deiectus ns' (G. 37, 3).

isti, 'sour': cp. 'tristi adulatione' 21, 4); 'tristes' (16. 22, 3); 'tristi-' (Agr. 9, 4). On the arrogance of ıs cp. 12. 53, 2, etc.

in eam . . . cumulabantur. For expression cp. 1. 21, 4, and note. tus has also the more usual 'cumu- aliquem aliqua re,' as in 12. 53, 5, On the honours given her see Introd. .

signum, 'the parole' (supplied again with 'optimae matris'): cp. 'signo Felicitatis dato' (Bell. Afr. 83, 1). The word was given by Nero, as also by Tiberius (1. 7, 7), to the officer commanding the cohort on guard at the palace.

11. **duo lictores**, sc. 'ei' ('Agrippinae'). Tiberius had refused this honour to Livia (1. 14, 3).

flamonium Claudiale. On the form 'flamonium' see 4. 16, 3, and note. Livia had held the similar office of 'flaminica Augusti' (cp. Vell. 2. 75, 3: Dio, 56, 46, 1). We find also that there was a 'flamen Claudialis' (Henzen 6006), and that the college of 'sodales Augustales' were charged with his cultus (see 1. 54, 1, and note, also Henzen 6045, 6048, etc.). This decree is mentioned here with the other honours to Agrippina, but must have been subsequent in date to the deification of Claudius.

simul Claudio, etc. On the mention already made of this see 12. 69, 4, and note. That it is here given in its proper place would appear from the fact that the funeral honours to Augustus were decreed some days after his death (1. 8, 1), and his apotheosis not till after the funeral (1. 10, 8); such an interval being here marked by the distinction between 'simul' ('at the same sitting') and 'mox,' as the subject of the funeral goes on to the next chapter. The apotheosis of Claudius was so far formally complete that the appointments above noted were made, his cultus recognised in the 'Acta Arvalium,' and that Nero is styled 'Divi Claudi f.' on inscriptions and coins; still the satire of Seneca, and the jests of his brother Gallio and of Nero (Dio, 60. 35, 3), seem to show that it was hardly taken

3. Die funeris laudationem eius princeps exorsus est, du antiquitatem generis, consulatus ac triumphos maiorum enume- bat, intentus ipse et ceteri; liberalium quoque artium co- memoratio et nihil regente eo triste rei publicae ab exter s accidisse pronis animis audita: postquam ad providenti sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare, quamquam ora a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret, ut fuit illi vo ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus adcommodatu. adnotabant seniores, quibus otiosum est vetera et praesen contendere, primum ex iis qui rerum potiti essent Neron alienae facundiae eguisse. nam dictator Caesar summis o- toribus aemulus; et Augusto prompta ac profluens quaec

seriously (see Plin. Pan. 11). His temple, begun by Agrippina, is stated to have been nearly destroyed by Nero, and completed by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 9). The statement (Id. Cl. 45) that Vespasian also restored his worship, which Nero had abolished, appears to be an exaggeration.

censorium funus: see 4. 15, 3, and note; Momms. Staatsr. i. 460, 2; Marquardt, Privatl. 351, 2.

1. **dum . . . enumerabat**, 'during his enumeration of.' On the origin of the patrician Claudii see 4. 9, 3, and note. Suetonius says (Tib. 1.) that they numbered twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations.

3. **intentus**, 'he and his audience were serious': cp. 'intentior' (1. 52, 3), etc.

liberalium artium, 'literary accomplishments': cp. 6. 46, 2. Suet. states (41, 42) that he had begun to write history in early life, at the suggestion of Livy, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, and that he constantly composed during his principate. Some voluminous works in Latin are mentioned, a history of recent times, an autobiography, a defence of Cicero against Asinius Gallus, also two Greek works on Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian history.

4. **et nihil . . . accidisse**, 'and the fact that no disaster had happened.' The substantival infinitive is coordinated with a noun as are also often participles (Introd. i. v. § 55, 2).

regente, intrans.: cp. 4. 33, 4; H. 2. 12, 3; Dial. 41, 3; Sen. de Ira, 2. 15, 4; Quint. 3. 8, 47.

5. **pronis**, 'favourable.'

6. **flexit**: cp. 1. 34, 5, and note.

7. **cultus**, 'polish'; so used ofte of speech in Dial. (20. 2, 4; 23, 5; 26, .

praeferret, 'displayed': cp. 4. 5, 2, and note.

8. **amoenum**, 'attractive': cp. 2 4, 4. As applied to such a man as Sen a, the term is, no doubt, a veiled cens e, and the following sentence implies t, when Tacitus wrote, the literary ne of Seneca was not sustained. Su a reaction is implied throughout the ' a- logus' (where no mention is mad of Seneca), and may be seen fully devel ed in the criticism of his 'dulcia vitia in Quint. 10. 1, 125–131.

9. **adnotabant seniores**: cp. 12 5, 3, and note.

quibus otiosum est, 'whose le re is occupied in'; i.e. who have not ng else to do: cp. 'vacuum fuit' (H. 2 8, 2).

10. **contendere**: cp. 12. 1, 2, and te.

11. **summis oratoribus aemulus** Ci- cero (Brut. 72, 252) makes Atticus s o Caesar, 'omnium fere oratorum L ne loqui elegantissime,' and afterwards 75 261) 'non video cui debeat cedere.' et quotes also (Jul. 56) a letter of Cice to Cornelius Nepos, saying of Caesar ra- torum quem huic antepones eorum qu nihil aliud egerunt?' In Dial. 21, 5 nc in Quint. 10, 1, 114, he is rather ra ed as an orator who had not had leisu to cultivate fully his admirable talent, th gh the latter speaks with enthusiasm bo o his vigour and elegance. Some o his speeches were extant when Suet. wro

12. **profluens**: cp. 4. 61, 2.

quaeque, so all recent edd. te Ern. for Med. 'quae': 'deceret,' p en tial subj. (cp. c. 1, 2). Tacitus mea to

eceret principem eloquentia fuit. Tiberius artem quoque llebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus aut conlto ambiguus. etiam Gai Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi on corrupit. nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissereret, egantiam requireres. Nero puerilibus statim annis vividum imum in alia detorsit: caelare, pingere, cantus aut regimen quorum exercere; et aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse bi elementa doctrinae ostendebat.

4. Ceterum peractis tristitiae imitamentis curiam ingressus de auctoritate patrum et consensu militum praefatus, consilia

y that the speaking of Augustus, while dy and fluent, was also dignified, such suited one who was in too exalted a sition to use the rhetorical flights of a ofessed orator. Suet. (Aug. 86) deibes his style as clear and pointed, ning at perspicuity, and avoiding all retricious ornament. The style of his ters is similarly described in Gell. 15. 3.

1. **artem . . . callebat**, etc., 'was proent in the skill' (as distinct from the ural gift of Augustus) 'of weighing his words,' so as to say nothing that ld compromise him: cp. 'argumenta non tam numerare soleo quam expene' (Cic. de Or. 2. 76, 309).

2. **tum . . . ambiguus**, 'being besides l of vigour in the matter of his speech, if obscure, designedly so' (not from nt of power to speak plainly). On the ech of Tiberius see 1. 11, 4, and note, l his oration (in the form of a letter) given by Tacitus in 3. 53–54. Suetos states (Tib. 70) that he took Corvinus his model, but that he spoke best withpreparation.

3. **etiam . . . non**, an unclassical expresssion for 'ne . . . quidem,' found also 16. 22, 4; Agr. 43, 1: cp. 'quoque ' (3. 54, 11, and note).

urbata mens, 'the disordered inect': cp. 'C. Caesar, turbidus animi' 3. 48, 2. Suet. speaks of him (Cal. as 'quantumvis facundus et promtus, ue, si perorandum in aliquem esset. o et verba et sententiae suppetebant': also Introd. p. 17. Dio gives (59. 16) it may amount to the substance of of his speeches.

. **quotiens**, with subjunct. of repeti.: see Introd. i. v. § 52.

neditata, 'a prepared speech': for passive use cp. 3. 5, 6, and note.

5. **elegantiam requireres**, 'would you miss (note any absence of) literary skill.' Augustus noted that Claudius as a youth spoke in a surprising degree better than he talked (Suet. Cl. 4). Suet. also notes (c. 41) of one of his works that it was composed 'magis inepte quam ineleganter,' a criticism which the only fragment of his composition preserved to us (that of his speech given in App. to B. 11) would not unfitly illustrate.

vividum animum; so 'vividum ingenium' (Liv. 2. 48, 3). It is to be noted that Tacitus credits Nero with susceptibility and intelligence. On his tastes here mentioned and their subsequent development, the fullest account is found in Suet. Ner. 20–25, and 52. See also Introd. pp. 59, 66.

6. **caelare**, etc., either taken (with Nipp.) as historical infinitives, or (with Pfitzn.) substantivally, as in apposition to 'alia.'

7. **aliquando**, 'at times.' Nipp. notes that stress is laid on this word, as implying that poetry had not then become a passion with him as afterwards (14. 16, 1; etc.; Dio, 62. 29, 2). Nipp. notes other instances in which the idea of a restrictive word, like 'tantum,' is left to be gathered from the sense, as c. 55, 3; 14. 33, 3, etc. Friedländer points out (iii. 341) the very many cases in which Romans began to write poetry very early in life.

9. **tristitiae imitamentis**: cp. 3. 5, 6, and note.

10. **patrum . . . militum**: see 12. 69, 3. He here puts the senate first.

consilia . . . exempla. Nipp. appears rightly to refer the former to Seneca and Burrus, the latter to Augustus, whose rules of government he professed to follow (see below).

sibi et exempla capessendi egregie imperii memoravit, neque iuventam armis civilibus aut domesticis discordiis inbutam; nulla odia, nullas iniurias nec cupidinem ultionis adferre. tum formam futuri principatus praescripsit, ea maxime declinans, quorum recens flagrabat invidia. non enim se negotiorum omnium iudicem fore, ut clausis unam intra domum accusatoribus et reis paucorum potentia grassaretur; nihil in penatibus suis venale aut ambitioni pervium; discretam domum et rem publicam. teneret antiqua munia senatus, consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent: illi patrum aditum praeberent, se mandatis exercitibus consulturum.

5. Nec defuit fides, multaque arbitrio senatus constituta sunt: ne quis ad causam orandam mercede aut donis emeretur

1. **neque iuventam**, etc., 'his youth had not been steeped (cp. 1. 36, 1) in civil wars (like that of Augustus), nor (like that of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius), in family enmities' (cp. 4. 12, 5; 40, 3; 6. 51, 2).

3. **nullas iniurias**, 'no injuries received': cp. 12. 69, 5, and note.

4. **formam**, 'the policy.' The division of functions proposed by him is substantially that instituted by Augustus (see Introd. i. vi. pp. 75, foll.). So Suet. says (Ner. 10) 'ex Augusti praescripto imperaturum se professus.' The popularity of the speech was such that the senate ordered it to be engraved on a silver column, and recited annually (Dio, 61. 3, 1).

declinans, 'renouncing.' This meaning is nowhere else found, but is akin to that of avoiding (6. 51, 3, etc.): cp. also 15. 26, 3.

5. **non enim**, etc., referring to the private trials (see Introd. i. vi. p. 74) so prevalent under Claudius (11. 2, 1; 5, 1, etc.), which appear to have taken cognisance of all kinds of cases: see Suet. Cl. 15. On the importance attached to this announcement of Nero see Introd. p. 38.

8. **venale**, such as the traffic in the civitas and other privileges carried on by Messalina and the freedmen (Introd. p. 39). The same secret influences are alluded to in 'discretam domum,' etc. ('the members of his household would have nothing to do with public affairs').

9. **antiqua munia**: see Introd. i. vi. p. 77, foll.; Mommsen, Staatsr. iii. 1269, etc.

consulum tribunalibus. Mommsen points out (Staatsr. iii. 932, 5) that th judgment seats of the consuls in the co mitium are meant; reference being mad to the ancient custom for deputations t apply first to them or other magistrate to obtain access to the senate. Cp. 'lega Locrensium . . . in comitio sedentibus co sulibus . . . ante tribunal . . . procubueru . . . dixerunt . . . rogare uti sibi patr adeundi . . . potestatem facerent' (Liv. 2 16, 6), and other references in Momms. l. 959, 3. The senate, as approached throug them and sitting under their presidenc is to hear appeals (see 2. 35, 3; 14. 28, etc.) and other general questions comi before them from Italy (see c. 48, 1; 1 17, 3; H. 4. 45, 1) and the senatori provinces (see 3. 60, 1; 12. 62, 1; Intro i. vi. p. 79).

10. **publicae**, the 'provinciae senat populique.'

11. **mandatis exercitibus**, 'the arm (and military provinces) entrusted to hi (by the arrangement between the prince and the senate): see Introd. i. vi. p. 6 vii. pp. 94, 98, foll.

12. **multaque . . . constituta.** (such legislation by decree see 12. 7, and note.

13. **ne quis . . . emeretur.** The re tion of this decree to that of Claudius (7, 8) is not here clearly stated, and see to be confused or mistaken in Suet. N 17 (unless some unknown later enactme is there referred to); but it is proba that stress is here laid on 'emeretur,' a that what was forbidden was a barga beforehand. Pliny mentions (Ep. 5. 4) a senatus consultum enforced in

designatis quaestoribus edendi gladiatores necessitas esset. od quidem adversante Agrippina, tamquam acta Claudii sub-rterentur, obtinuere patres, qui in Palatium ob id vocabantur, adstaret additis a tergo foribus velo discreta, quod visum ceret, auditus non adimeret. quin et legatis Armeniorum usam gentis apud Neronem orantibus escendere suggestum peratoris et praesidere simul parabat, nisi ceteris pavore

e, whereby litigants were forced to ar before the case came on 'nihil se advocationem cuiquam dedisse pro-isse cavisse'; adding that after the l they were permitted 'pecuniam dum-at decem milium dare.' Such a decree ıld seem however to have been more ess a dead letter; the account in Pliny ws that its enforcement was so un-ected as to cause surprise and con-nation; Quintilian, who, while treat-the acceptance of a present by advo-es as an open question, condemns gaining as a 'piraticus mos' (12. 7, , attests by that expression its pre-ence; Martial mentions an orator who ıanded 200 sestertia (8. 16, 2), and self made bargains beforehand (Id. 1); enormous fortunes were made by ı like Eprius Marcellus and Vibius spus (see Dial. 8, 2, and Friedl. i. 31). See the notes of Nipp. and Dr. and those of Mayor on Juv. 7, , foll.

. **ne designatis**, etc.: see 11. 22, 3. addition of 'quidem' in Med. seems error of some one who mistook the e of 'ne.' Domitian is stated (Suet. n. 4) to have reimposed this obliga-; which perhaps was never altogether away with, as Lucan, who must been quaestor some years after this ee, is said by his anonymous bio-her to have given a show with his eagues 'ut mos erat.'

quod quidem. This relates espe-y to the latter decree (the former ng been rather extended than re-ed): it would appear, from the con-that what was represented in 11. 23, originating in the 'sententia' of a tor, was enacted, not by a senatus-ultum, but by an edict of Claudius.

in Palatium, probably into the tine library: see 2. 37, 3; Momms. tsr. iii. 929, 3.

additis a tergo foribus. Some read 'abditis' (with Gron.) or 'ob-ditis' (with Lips.). It would appear that a new door was made at the back of the building, probably behind the emperor's seat. She would thus face the senators, and hear all that they said, while the curtain concealed her from them. She is represented, in 14. 11, 2, as having tried to enter the senate itself, which even Livia had never dared to do (Dio, 57. 12, 3). Elagabalus is noted (Vit. 4, 1; 12, 3) as having even brought his grandmother into the senate, and allowed her to sit and vote in it.

5. **auditus**; so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'aditus.' It is to be noted that the one word is taken in an active, the other in a passive sense (she was to hear without being seen), and that a plural is combined with a singular; nor is any clear instance found where a plural 'auditus' is thus used. Heraeus would read 'visus ... auditum' (the vision being that of many persons, the hearing that of one); but Wölfflin shows (Philol. 27, 114) that 'visus' (plural) is used of one person in c. 16, 5; 11. 34, 3; and many other plurals for singulars (cp. 'aemulatus' c. 46, 5); and that the interchange of plural and singular may be a mere variation, like 'paenam vel infamias' (where again Her. would read 'paenas vel infamiam') in 4. 33, 4.

Armeniorum, probably an embassy on the events mentioned in c. 6, 1. They were apparently ambassadors, not of the nation, but of a party (c. 34, 5).

6. **suggestum imperatoris.** On similar state occasions in the time of Claudius she had been content to sit on another elevated seat close by (12. 37, 5; 56, 5; Dio, 60. 33, 7). Her present action would appear to be an assertion of the regency to which she aspired (see 14. 11, 1), and which in fact she at first partially exercised (see Introd. p. 53; Schiller, p. 92, 2, etc.).

7. **pavore defixis**: cp. 1. 68, 2, and note.

defixis Seneca admonuisset, venienti matri occurreret. It specie pietatis obviam itum dedecori.

6. Fine anni turbidis rumoribus prorupisse rursum Partho et rapi Armeniam adlatum est, pulso Radamisto, qui saep regni eius potitus, dein profugus, tum quoque bellum deseruera igitur in urbe sermonum avida, quem ad modum princeps vi septemdecim annos egressus suscipere eam molem aut propulsa posset, quod subsidium in eo qui a femina regeretur, num proel quoque et obpugnationes urbium et cetera belli per magistr administrari possent, anquirebant. contra alii melius evenis disserunt, quam si invalidus senecta et ignavia Claudius militi ad labores vocaretur, servilibus iussis obtemperaturus. Burru tamen et Senecam multarum rerum experientia cognitos; imperatori quantum ad robur deesse, cum octavo decumo aetat

1. **Seneca admonuisset.** Dio (61. 3, 4) makes the device that of Burrus also, which is less probable.

2. **obviam itum dedecori,** 'the scandal was prevented' (cp. c. 2, 1). It would appear from Dio (l. l.) that they did not come back to the tribunal, but heard the embassy elsewhere.

3. **fine anni.** The narrative of eastern affairs is taken up from the end of 12. 51. Tiridates had been in possession of Armenia since the flight of Radamistus (see 12. 51, 5; Introd. p. 107), but the irruption of Parthians appears to have taken place somewhat later.

4. **rapi** = 'diripi,' a poetical use, as in Verg. Aen. 2, 374. Nipp. compares 'rapiunt in transitu hiberna' (H. 4. 33, 2); 'Syriam Aegyptumque praetereuntibus raptas' (Curt. 4. 14, 1).

saepe, repeated again with 'profugus.' Only two occasions have been distinctly mentioned, that in which his supporters were 'sine acie pulsi' (12. 50, 2), and that in which he had to fly from his own people (12. 51, 1). Nipp. notes that 'saepe' is used with similar rhetorical exaggeration in 3. 18, 2; 'semper,' in 15. 47, 1; 'tot,' in 6. 24, 2. It would appear that he had kept up some desultory warfare between the date of his last flight (see note above) and the time here spoken of.

5. **tum quoque,** then, as on the former occasions (see note above). He had now finally ceased to dispute possession with Tiridates.

6. **vix . . . egressus:** cp. c. 1, 2, and note. The embassy may have arriv after Nero's seventeenth birthday (Dec. 1.

7. **suscipere . . . aut propulsa,** 'sustain or repel the shock.'

9. **magistros,** 'his tutors,' used in diously of Seneca and Burrus.

11. **militiae ad labores.** If the e peror did not himself take the field, must at least direct from home organisation of an expedition.

13. **tamen,** answering the taunt impl in 'magistros.' They were not, after mere pedagogues, but men of the worl

multarum . . . . cognitos, 'we known as men of manifold experien.' Nipp. compares 'egregia virtute er cogniti' (Caes. B. G. 1. 28, 5), and 'en cognovisse paratissimo animo' (Cic. Pl. 13. 6, 13). The case is that denot quality, a similar genitive being foun Caes. B. G. 5. 6, 1. On the use of 'x perientia' cp. 1. 4, 3, and note.

14. **quantum deese,** in oratio rea, 'quantum deest': cp. 1. 17, 2, and n He only wanted a year or two of the of these men.

octavo decumo. Pompeius born Sept. 30, 648, B.C. 106, and first in command of a force against Marians in 670, B.C. 84 (Vell. 2. 2 Plut. Pomp. 6), but had already se under his father in civil war in 667, B. (Plut. Pomp. 3), and probably agains Italians at the capture of Asculum two years earlier (Id. c. 4). Tacitus intend to refer to his first actual exper of war, or may have followed those according to Velleius (2. 53, 5), mac

nno Cn. Pompeius, nono decumo Caesar Octavianus civilia ella sustinuerint? pleraque in summa fortuna auspiciis et con-liis quam telis et manibus geri. daturum plane documentum, onestis an secus amicis uteretur, si ducem amota invidia egre-ium, quam si pecuniosum et gratia subnixum per ambitum eligeret.

7. Haec atque talia vulgantibus, Nero et iuventutem proximas er provincias quaesitam supplendis orientis legionibus admovere egionesque ipsas propius Armeniam collocari iubet, duosque eteres reges Agrippam et Antiochum expedire copias, quis 'arthorum fines ultro intrarent, simul pontes per amnem Eu-

rror of five years in their accounts of the ge of Pompeius.

1. **nono decumo**, in October 710, B.C. 4, when he was just nineteen years old. ee Mon. Anc. 1. 1 'Annos undeviginti atus exercitum privato consilio et privata npensa comparavi.'

2. **in summa fortuna**, 'in the highest ank': cp. 2. 72, 3, etc.

auspiciis et consiliis, i. e. the ighest personages generally act rather y exercise of supreme command at home see note on 2. 18, 1) than by actual ervice in the field. On the ellipse of magis' before 'quam' see Introd. i. v. 64, 1. It is here softened by 'pleraque' aving the force of 'plura.'

3. **plane**, here rather used as in c. 50, (='clearly'), than concessively (as ipp. takes it), as in 3. 34, 4, etc.

4. **honestis an secus.** Classical atinity (as Dr. notes) would use an ljective in place of 'secus' or an adverb that of 'honestis': cp. 'recte an secus' Cic. Pis. 28, 68); 'pro bene aut secus onsulto' (Liv. 7. 6, 8).

amota invidia, 'disregarding the oice of envy.' The words are contrasted ith 'per ambitum' ('yielding to in-igue') and both refer to such counsel as ould be given by dishonest advisers.

5. **quam si.** Joh. Müller shows (Beitr. 21–23), against those who would omit si' here, that the general sense is the me whether it be present or absent; if be omitted the implied 'potius' of the mparison refers to 'egregium,' if it be serted, to 'daturum.' He thinks that better sense is given if 'si' is retained, d an ironical contrast supposed to be plied to the system of Claudius.

7. **vulgantibus.** On the abl. abs. see trod. i. v. § 31 c.

iuventutem, the young men of citizen blood in the provinces, from whom the legions were mainly recruited (see 3. 40, 5, and note). Ritt. needlessly inserts 'Romanam,' which is sufficiently understood from the mention of 'legiones.' The coordination 'et'—'que' for 'et'—'et' is found in H. 5. 5, 5, rarely in Cic., and frequently in Livy.

8. **quaesitam** = 'conquisitam': 'conquisitores' is a regular term for recruiting officers (Cic. Att. 7. 21, 1, etc.; Liv. 21. 11, 13, etc.).

admovere, the correction to 'admoveri' (Pich., etc.) is needless; such combinations of active and passive verbs being not unusual (cp. 'permittere differrique' 3. 12, 7). Ritter less well takes 'admovere' as a historical infinitive.

10. **veteres**, in contrast to those mentioned below as only now raised to that rank.

Agrippam, sc. 'Herodem' (the 'Agrippa' of Acts 25, 1), the son of the one mentioned in 12. 23, 2, etc. Claudius had given him in 801, A.D. 48, the little kingdom of Chalcis in Caele Syria, held previously by his uncle (Jos. B. I. 2. 12, 1), and, four years later, transferred him, with the title of king, to the tetrarchies held by Philip and Lysanias (Id. Ant. 20, 7, 1), to which dominion Nero, in his first year, added part of Galilee (Id. 20. 8, 4). He joined Vespasian (H. 2. 81, 2), and aided the Romans in the Jewish war (H. 5. 1, 4), after which he lived at Rome till his death in the time of Trajan.

Antiochum, of Commagene: see 12. 55, 3, and note.

11. **ultro**, without waiting to be attacked.

pontes iungi: cp. 'iuncto ponte' 1. 49, 6. On the places of crossing the

phraten iungi; et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regione Sophenen Sohaemo cum insignibus regiis mandat. exortusq in tempore aemulus Vologesi filius Vardanes; et abscesse Armenia Parthi, tamquam differrent bellum.

8. Sed apud senatum omnia in maius celebrata sunt sentent eorum, qui supplicationes et diebus supplicationum vestem pri cipi triumphalem, utque ovans urbem iniret, effigiemque ei pari magnitudine ac Martis Ultoris eodem in templo censuei, praeter suetam adulationem laeti, quod Domitium Corbulone

Euphrates see 6. 37, 4; 41, 2; 15. 7, 3, and notes.

1. **Aristobulo** (cp. 14. 26, 3), a son of Herod of Chalcis (Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 4), whose kingdom he appears subsequently to have possessed (Id. B. I. 7. 7, 4). He is the last recorded vassal-king of Lesser Armenia (on which see 11. 9, 3, and note), which appears to have become part of the provincial empire under Vespasian (Momms. Hist. v. 299, 1; E. T. i. 324, 1).

2. **Sophenen**, a tract on the south-west of Armenia, between Mt. Masius and Anti-Taurus (Strab. 11. 14, 2, 527) and separated by the Euphrates from Cappadocia. Strabo (l. l.) mentions its *βασίλειον*, Carcathiocerta (perhaps Kharput). It was taken from Tigranes by Pompeius (Plut. Pomp. 33), and appears to have been from that time under Roman influence. At a later date it was governed with Cappadocia (Marqu. Staatsv. i. p. 213).

Sohaemo, not known to be related to the king of Ituraea mentioned in 12. 23, 2. Josephus, who makes no mention of the gift of Sophene to him, states (Ant. 20. 8, 4) that he was made in this year king of Emesa in Syria on the death of his brother Azizus. He also supported Vespasian (H. 2. 81, 1), and took part in the Jewish war (H. 5. 1, 4), and that against Antiochus of Commagene (Jos. B. I. 7. 7, 1).

3. **in tempore**, 'opportunely': cp. 1. 19, 2, and note.

Vologesi: so most edd. after MS. Agr. Orelli and Jacob retain the Med. 'Vologeso,' on which form see note on c. 37, 1, and 12. 14, 8. 'Aemulus' takes a dat. in c. 3, 4; 6. 32, 5, etc.

Vardanes, so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'Vardanis,' which Or. and Jacob retain, taking him to be an unnamed son of the one mentioned in 11. 8–10. But we should expect Tacitus to give his name. A date appears to be furnisl for his rebellion by a change of coina in A.D. 55–58 (see Introd. p. 97, 3).

abscessere Armenia: cp. 15. 6, and other similar uses of the simple a given in Introd. i. v. § 24; also 'absc-serat muneribus' (Liv. 9. 3, 5); 'ol-dione abscessit' (Id. 37. 31, 3). In 1, 6; 3. 5, 2, Tacitus uses the verb wi a preposition.

5. **in maius**: cp. Introd. i. v. 60. The meaning is that the temporary retr of the Parthians was regarded as a me important discomfiture.

6. **vestem . . . triumphalem**: cp. 41, 4. This dress had been decreed to e worn on public occasions in Rome by e dictator Caesar (Dio, 44. 4, 2; 6, 1), an s mentioned as worn by Gaius at the ded-tion of a temple (Id. 59. 7, 1), and by No in receiving Tiridates (Id. 63. 3, 3). C-dius on a similar occasion wore an 'insie paludamentum' (12. 56, 5).

7. **utque**. This change of construc n (see Introd. i. v. § 91, 8) is especi y frequent in Tacitus with verbs of dec-ing: cp. c. 41, 5; 1. 15, 4 (and nc); 3. 13, 1 (and note). 'Censere' is c n used with a substantive in the sens of 'decernere,' as in 2. 83, 4; 3. 57, 2; also in Caes., Sall., and Liv. (see Nip's note).

effigiem. Most recent edd. fo w Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'fi-gies'; it being unlikely that more an one statue would be set up in the sne place, or that the plural would be re used for the singular.

8. **Martis Ultoris**. This temple as the usual place for commemorating ic-tories: see 2. 64, 2, and note.

9. **Corbulonem**. On his former er-vices see 11. 18–20. He remained in he East till he was recalled and force to kill himself in 820, A.D. 67 (see Ap to B. 16).

tinendae Armeniae praeposuerat videbaturque locus virtuti-ıs patefactus. copiae orientis ita dividuntur, ut pars auxili-rium cum duabus legionibus apud provinciam Suriam et legatum us Quadratum Ummidium remaneret, par civium sociorumque ımerus Corbuloni esset, additis cohortibus alisque, quae *in* appadocia hiemabant. socii reges, prout bello conduceret, ırere iussi: sed studia eorum in Corbulonem promptiora erant. ıi ut *instaret* famae, quae in novis coeptis validissima est, inere propere confecto apud Aegeas civitatem Ciliciae obvium uadratum habuit, illuc progressum, ne, si ad accipiendas copias uriam intravisset Corbulo, omnium ora in se verteret, corpore gens, verbis magnificis et super experientiam sapientiamque iam specie inanium validus.

9. Ceterum uterque ad Vologesem regem nuntiis monebant, ıcem quam bellum mallet datisque obsidibus solitam prioribus verentiam in populum Romanum continuaret. et Vologeses,

ı. **retinendae**: cp. the analogous use 'praeficere' with gerundive dat. in 15. ,3. The Romans choose thus to repre-ıt Armenia as in the permanent position a vassal kingdom.

3. **apud**, used (as Nipp. points out) in ferent senses here and with 'legatum.'

4. **Quadratum**: see 12. 45, 6.

par . . . . numerus. The regular rrison of Syria comprised four legions 5, 4), with the usual auxiliary com-ment.

5. **cohortibus alisque**, those men-ıed in 12. 49, 2. It would appear that position of Corbulo was that of a ısular legatus, substituted for the usual ocurator (12. 49, 1) of Cappadocia. would seem probable from c. 35, 4 t Galatia also was placed under him; his general 'imperium maius' in the ıt does not appear to begin till 816,). 63 (15. 25, 6).

. **parere**, sc. 'Corbuloni aut Quadrato.' ey were to place themselves at the dis-al of either, according to the interests the war, but preferred to serve with bulo.

promptiora, 'more inclined'; so th dat.) in 4. 60, 5.

. **instaret famae.** The verb is want-in Med. and is thus supplied by ıse, who compares 'instandum famae' restige must be followed up') in Agr. 4, 'instandum coeptis' in H. 3. 52, 2; 'instare fortunae' in H. 5. 15, 4. Most edd. follow G. in reading (after 'famae') 'inserviret,' which does not yield as good a meaning as 'instaret,' and may be a gloss on it.

9. **Aegeas**, so all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'egeas.' The name of this town, situated on the coast of the gulf of Issus, is given as Αἰγαῖαι by Strabo, Αἰγέαι by Pausanias, Αἰγαί by Dio, Aegaeae by Pliny, who states that it was a free town (5. 27, 22, 91). It would appear from c. 33, 3 that Cilicia had at this time a separate legatus instead of forming part of Syria (see 2. 78, 3, etc.).

11. **corpore ingens**; so in 15. 53, 2; H. 1. 53, 1. Corbulo's strength is alluded to in Juv. 3, 281.

12. **verbis magnificis**, abl. of quality. The old edd. read 'magnificus' with G. Nipp. notices this as a favourite expression with Tacitus for grandiloquence: cp. 15. 8, 3, and other passages here cited by him.

13. **specie inanium**, 'by the prestige of mere outward show': cp. 'sublatis inanibus' (4. 41, 3), etc.

14. **Ceterum**, here apparently distin-guishing their joint action from their pre-vious and subsequent rivalry.

nuntiis, sc. 'missis': cp. H. 1. 74, 1; 4. 86, 1; also 12. 38, 4, and note.

15. **prioribus**, sc. 'regibus,' such as Phraates (2, 1, 2). The Parthians them-selves are made to speak of their 'reve-rentia' to Rome in 12. 10, 3.

quo bellum ex commodo pararet, an ut aemulationis suspect per nomen obsidum amoveret, tradit nobilissimos ex famili Arsacidarum. accepitque eos centurio Insteius ab Ummidi missus, forte prior ea de causa adito rege. quod postqua Corbuloni cognitum est, ire praefectum cohortis Arrium Varu et reciperare obsides iubet. hinc ortum inter praefectum centurionem iurgium ne diutius externis spectaculo esset, a bitrium rei obsidibus legatisque, qui eos ducebant, permissu atque illi *per* recentem gloriam et inclinatione quadam etia hostium Corbulonem praetulere. unde discordia inter duce querente Ummidio praerepta quae suis consiliis patravisse testante contra Corbulone non prius conversum regem a offerendos obsides quam ipse dux bello delectus spes eius a metum mutaret. Nero quo componeret diversos, sic evulga iussit: ob res a Quadrato et Corbulone prospere gestas lauru fascibus imperatoriis addi. quae in alios consules egressa coniun

1. **ex commodo,** 'as might suit him best': cp. 'ex utilitatibus' (1. 58, 2); 'ex usu' (4. 5, 6), etc., also 'contra commodum' (Suet. Aug. 78). The word is here a correction after Muretus for Med. 'quomodo.'

suspectos, so with genit. in 3. 29, 6; 60, 2.

3. **Arsacidarum**: see 2. 1, 1, and note. Some of these were no doubt partisans of his rival (c. 7, 2).

Insteius, probably the Insteius Capito afterwards praefectus castrorum to Corbulo (c. 39, 2).

4. **prior ea**: so Halm and Nipp., after Muret. and Lips. ('having gone to the king on that account and having happened to be first on the spot'), for the Med. 'priore,' which most others retain, with the meaning that he had gone to the king on some matter which had previously occurred. We should rather in that case have expected 'priore aliqua de causa': 'ea de causa,' as read above, may well be taken to mean that he went as one of the 'nuntii' (§ 1); which seems also implied in 'quae suis consiliis patravisset' below.

5. **Arrium Varum,** probably to be taken, with Mommsen (Hist. v. 392, 1; E. T. ii. 60, 1), as identical with the distinguished officer of Vespasian. The objection that the rank of 'primopilus,' which would naturally precede that of 'praefectus cohortis,' is stated in H. 3. 6, 2 to have been conferred on the latter by Nero at apparently a later date, is met by pointing out that in C. I. L. v. 867 a person who had passed on from 'primipilus' of a legion to higher military rank becomes 'p. p. iterum,' without attachment to a legion, apparently as honorary rank, to serve as stepping-stone to a procuratorship. Cp. 'p. p. bis' (Or. Henz. 74; Henzen 5456).

9. **per recentem gloriam**: so Halm, after Weissenb. Most others have restored the Med. text by inserting 'ob,' after some inferior MSS. Dr. and Jacob follow Nipp. in reading 'recentem gloria,' with the meaning 'fresh from his renown' (cp. 1. 41, 4, and note), which, as also Professor Pelham brooke's 'recente gloria' (abl. abs.) is not well suited to the following clause. It is very probable that Tacitus wrote an accus. in both clauses, as Med. has 'inclinationem,' which Ritt. would preserve by reading 'quandam' (with some inferior MSS. and old edd.). But a change from accus. to abl., in causal clauses, is not unusual (e.g. 1. 7, 11).

13. **ipse . . . delectus,** 'the selection of himself': see Introd. i. v. § 55 b, 1.

14. **diversos** = 'discordes': so 'diversi ordiuntur' (2. 10, 1); 'ducibus diversis' (3. 38, 5); 'diversi sententiis' (4. 50, 2).

16. **fascibus imperatoriis,** those of the twelve lictors assigned originally to Augustus in 735, B.C. 19 (Dio, 54, 10, 5). They were wreathed with laurel for vic-

10. Eodem anno Caesar effigiem Cn. Domitio patri et con-aria insignia Asconio Labeoni, quo tutore usus erat, petivit senatu; sibique statuas argento vel auro solidas adversus erentes prohibuit. et quamquam censuissent patres, ut ncipium anni inciperet mense Decembri, quo ortus erat Nero, erem religionem kalendarum Ianuariarum inchoando anno inuit. neque recepti sunt inter reos Carrinas Celer senator, vo accusante, aut Iulius Densus equester, cui favor in Britan-um crimini dabatur.

11. Claudio Nerone L. Antistio consulibus cum in acta

es gained under his auspices, as were e of republican generals for their own ories. At a later date, those of the eror appear to have been always so thed (Vit. Maximin. 14).

niunxi, 'I have related continu-y' (cp. 4. 33, 3, and note). For previous nces in which Tacitus thus departs his usual practice see 6. 38, 1; 12. 3, and note on 12. 51, 5. The events 808, A.D. 55, probably begin with ulo's departure (c. 8, 4). The narra-is continued in c. 34.

Cn. Domitio: see 4. 75, 1, and . He had been dead some fifteen s (see Introd. p. 49). Suet. (Ner. 9) ks generally of 'honores maximi' now to his memory, and it would seem his name was included in the Arval er (see Schiller, p. 95, 1).

nsularia insignia: cp. 12. 21, 2.

quo tutore usus erat. The state tutela,' as distinct from 'curatela' Dict. of Ant. s. v.), ceased when a n had reached the age of puberty. nius, who is otherwise unknown, was ably appointed Nero's 'tutor' at the h of his step-father Crispus Passienus.

sibique. The dat., as Dr. points s in contrast to those with 'petivit': himself, he prohibited in the face of f.'

gento vel auro solidas: cp. 2. 3, and note.

quo ortus erat: see note on 12. y.

veterem religionem. The custom ginning the official year on the kalends nuary was not of extreme antiquity, ates from 599, B.C. 153.

neque recepti: cp. 2. 74, 2, and t. It is to be noticed that the senate, her the consuls as its presidents (4.), could refuse to entertain a charge. When the princeps quashes an accusation before the senate it is by exercise of the tribunitian 'intercessio' (3. 70, 2).

Carrinas. This name (corrupted in 15. 45, 3) is so read here in Med. and also in Juv. 7, 205. Many edd. here read 'Carinas,' but Nipp. cites an inscription with the double 'r' in Bait. Fast. p. ccxlv.

senator, probably used here not as = 'senator pedarius' (cp. 1. 75, 3, and note), but in contradistinction to 'equester.'

8. **servo accusante.** On the cases in which the evidence of a slave against his master was admitted see 2. 30, 3, and note.

equester: cp. 12. 60, 3, and note. Here, as there, some would alter the text to 'eques R.' Many instances are found of knights brought to trial before the senate (3. 49, 1; 70, 2; 4. 15, 3; 31, 1; 68, 1; 6. 40, 1, etc.). The charge brought against Densus appears to be an attempt (cp. 12. 42, 5; 14. 48, 3, and notes) to revive the law of 'maiestas.'

10. **Claudio Nerone.** Claudius had assumed the consulship at the beginning of the year after his accession, and his example appears to have been generally followed. Nero at this time held it for two months (Suet. 14). His former designation as consul for his twentieth year (12. 41, 2) was in effect carried out by his then becoming a second time consul (c. 31, 1).

L. Antistio. His full name 'L. Antistius Vetus' is given in inscriptions (see Nipp.). He is mentioned again in c. 53, 2; 14. 58, 3, and his suicide in 16. 10, 1. He is noted by Nipp. as son of L. Antistius Vetus, cos. suff. in 779, A.D. 26 (on whom see Henzen Inscr. 7666), and was probably cousin of the consul of 803, A.D. 50 (see 12. 25, 1, and note).

in acta principum. On this annual oath see 1. 72, 2, and note. It would

principum iurarent magistratus, in sua acta collegam Antistiu iurare prohibuit, magnis patrum laudibus, ut iuvenilis anim levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus maiores continuaret. sec-taque lenitas in Plautium Lateranum, quem ob adulteriu Messalinae ordine demotum reddidit senatui, clementiam sua obstringens crebris orationibus, quas Seneca, testificando qu honesta praeciperet, vel iactandi ingenii, voce principis vulgab.

12. Ceterum infracta paulatim potentia matris delapso Nero in amorem libertae, cui vocabulum Acte fuit, simul adsumpt in conscientiam *M.* Othone et Claudio Senecione, adulescentis decoris, quorum Otho familia consulari, Senecio liberto Caesaris

include at this time the 'acta' of Augustus and Claudius, as well as those of Nero (see note on 16. 22, 5).

2. **prohibuit.** Nero is supplied as subject from the preceding abl. His prohibition implies that he treated Antistius as his equal in official rank.

3. **levium quoque**, etc., 'elated by the fame arising even from small things.'

maiores continuaret, 'might go on at once to greater': 'continuare rem' is equivalent to 'continuo aliquid facere'; so with 'pacem' (c. 53, 1), 'reverentiam' (c. 9, 1), 'stragem' (14. 36, 4), etc.

4. **Plautium Lateranum**; see 11. 36, 5. His expulsion was probably the act of the senate (see 12. 59, 4, and note), but the power of pardon belonged in all cases to the princeps (see Introd. i. vi. p. 73); though Nero no doubt at this time followed Claudius (see 12. 8, 3, and note) in going through the form of consulting the senate.

5. **demotum.** This correction for the Med. 'remotum' is supported by c. 14, 1; 20, 1; 2. 43, 3, etc.

6. **obstringens,** 'solemnly promising'; a sense akin to the absolute use of this verb in 1. 14, 6; 4. 31, 5.

testificando, 'for the purpose of testifying': cp. 15. 16, 2. For this use of the gerundial, like the gerundive dat., see Introd. i. v. § 22 a.

7. **iactandi ingenii,** 'in order to display his talent.' The coordination of this genit. (on which see Introd. i. v. § 37 d) with a preceding dative of purpose is noted by Dr. as found nowhere else. The implied judgment on Seneca may be compared with that in c. 3, 2. These speeches were no doubt conceived in the spirit of his treatise 'de Clementia,' which belongs to this date.

9. **vocabulum,** 'name,' as in 12 6 4, etc. Her full name appears to have been 'Claudia Acte, Augusti liba' (Insc. Or. 735). It is stated that she was bought in Asia (Dio, 61. 7, 1), and that men of the highest rank were ready to further Nero's desire to marry her by swearing that she was of the race of the Attalidae (Dio, l. l.; Suet. Ner. 28). On her subsequent influence see c. 46, 4; 14. 2, 2. She survived Nero, and was one of the faithful women who buried his remains (Suet. Ner. 50), and appears from inscriptions to have had a considerable establishment (see Friedl. Sitte. 107). The idea that she was a Christian appears to rest on a mere assumption of her identity with an unnamed concubine of Nero mentioned in Chrys. Hom. 46, 13, on Act. Ap. as having been persuaded by St. Paul to forsake him and to embrace the faith.

10. **M. Othone,** the subsequent emperor (cp. c. 45–46). The praenomen is absent in Med. but is likely to have been given in this place (evidently the first mention of him in this work), and may easily have been lost after the last letter of the preceding word. The date of his birth given by Suet. (Oth. 2) would show him to have been now twenty-three years old, and probably not yet a senator. His name is found as one of the Arvales in a table of 810, A.D. 57 (C. I. L. vi. 2039).

Claudio Senecione, a knight prominent in the conspiracy of Piso (15. 50, 70).

11. **familia consulari.** The only consul in the family was his father, L. Otho, who was cos. suff. after Galba in 786, A.D. 33 (Suet. Galb. 6), and was afterwards raised to the patriciate by Claudius

re genitus. ignara matre, dein frustra obnitente, penitus epserat per luxum et ambigua secreta, ne senioribus quidem ncipis amicis adversantibus, muliercula nulla cuiusquam iniuria oidines principis explente, quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili dem et probitatis spectatae, fato quodam, an quia praevalent cita, abhorrebat, metuebaturque, ne in stupra feminarum istrium prorumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur.

13. Sed Agrippina libertam aemulam, nurum ancillam aliaque idem in modum muliebriter fremere, neque paenitentiam filii satietatem opperiri, quantoque foediora exprobrabat, acrius endere, donec vi amoris subactus exueret obsequium in ma-

t. Oth. 1). The same expression is in a similar case in 6. 49, 1 (where note).

berto Caesaris. The name would that he had been freed by Claudius; he might still be called 'libertus aris' ('Neronis'), as Nero would inherited the 'patronatus.' The ection of Spengel, 'C. Caesaris' (cp. , 2), can hardly be right. Nipp. notes 'patre' is inserted, as 'genitus' it have a wider meaning, and that ' is supplied.

inrepserat. With this punctuation, e' is to be taken as subject of the and the words 'simul . . . genitus' parenthetical. The absence of any pronoun as 'ea' to introduce the subject is certainly harsh; but this nation seems preferable to that of s, who place only a comma after itus,' and refer the verb to Otho and cio, either reading 'inrepserant' (with), or justifying the singular by exam- of doubtful appositeness, as c. 15, 3 re see note), or supposing (with Ritt.) erat' is supplied with 'familia con-,' and that 'inrepserat' applies to cio alone. The whole passage (see below) is certainly confused in ure, but the subsequent sentence 'ne ribus . . . adversantibus' answers to mptis . . . adulescentulis'; the in-e of Acte being described as gained the active help of his younger and cquiescence of his elder friends.

r **luxum et ambigua secreta,** vantonness and suspicious interviews.' he use of 'luxum' cp. c. 20, 1; 1. etc.; for that of 'secreta,' c. 18, 3; 4, etc. The interviews might be 'ambigua,' as having taken place on feigned pretexts, or perhaps as implying that the complicity of Otho and Senecio resembled that of Serenus (c. 13, 1), in that her visits were nominally to them but really to Nero.

3. **muliercula . . . explente.** This abl. abs. is not, as might have been expected, coordinate with the one above, but dependent on it (='cum muliercula expleret'); giving the reason for the acquiescence of his elder friends, such as Burrus and Seneca. Dr. notes (Synt. und Stil, § 216) that this confused construction does not appear elsewhere in Tacitus, but in Caes. and oftener in Livy, e.g. 1. 46, 1; 24. 4, 6.

4. **quando** extends its force to 'metuebatur,' and gives their reason for thinking that some outlet was necessary. Some edd. less well place a colon after 'abhorrebat.'

uxore ab Octavia. He had been married to her for about two years (see (12. 58, 1).

8. **libertam aemulam, nurum ancillam.** The terms are those of rhetorical exaggeration. Acte is viewed as her rival in influence, and the freedwoman is contemptuously called a slave ('ancilla'). Similar expressions are often used of freedmen (e.g. 14. 39, 3). 'Nurum' can only be a figure of speech, while Nero was married to Octavia; though his purpose of marrying Acte seems to have been at one time serious (Suet. Ner. 28).

9. **muliebriter,** 'with feminine petulance': cp. 'muliebri inpotentia' (1. 4, 5).

10. **acrius accendere.** With this 'eo' or 'tanto' is supplied (Introd. i. v. § 64, 3). The violence of her reproaches only increased his passion for Acte.

trem seque Senecae permitteret, ex cuius familiaribus Annae Serenus simulatione amoris adversus eandem libertam prin adulescentis cupidines velaverat praebueratque nomen, ut qu princeps furtim mulierculae tribuebat, ille palam largiret tum Agrippina versis artibus per blandimenta iuvenem adgre suum potius cubiculum ac sinum offerre contegendis quae pri aetas et summa fortuna expeterent: quin et fatebatur inte pestivam severitatem et suarum opum, quae haud procul i peratoriis aberant, copias tradebat, ut nimia nuper coercer filio, ita rursum intemperanter demissa. quae mutatio ne Neronem fefellit, et proximi amicorum metuebant orabant cavere insidias mulieris semper atrocis, tum et falsae. fo illis diebus Caesar inspecto ornatu, quo principum coniuges parentes effulserant, deligit vestem et gemmas misitque don matri nulla parsimonia, cum praecipua et cupita aliis p deferret. sed Agrippina non his instrui cultus suos, sed cet arceri proclamat et dividere filium, quae cuncta ex ipsa habe

14. Nec defuere qui in deterius referrent. et Nero infe

1. **seque Senecae permitteret.** The struggle of Seneca and Burrus against Agrippina had been continual (see c. 2, 3).

Annaeus Serenus. Pliny states (N. H. 22. 23, 47, 96) that he was 'praefectus vigilum,' and that he died of eating poisonous fungi. Seneca inscribed to him his treatises 'de Constantia,' 'de Tranquillitate Animi,' and 'de Otio,' and speaks of himself (Ep. 63, 14) as having bitterly wept for his death, which it is thought (see Hirschf. 146) may have taken place about 815, A.D. 62.

3. **velaverat,** 'had screened': cp. 6. 29, 3.

6. **cubiculum ac sinum,** 'her own chamber and privacy,' i.e. the privacy of her own chamber, where he might meet Acte without any agency of Otho, Senecio, or Serenus. For the use of 'sinus' cp. 6. 45, 5; also in 'huius sinu' (Agr. 4, 2); 'gremio ac sinu matris' (Dial. 28, 4).

7. **expeterent,** 'might demand': for 'summa fortuna' cp. c. 6, 5.

8. **opum:** see 12. 7, 7, etc. Hirschf. notes (p. 28) inscriptions recording names of her procurators.

9. **nimia,** with abl. of respect, as in H. 1. 35, 2, also 'fiducia nimius' (Sall. H. 2. 93 D; 96 K; 84 G). On the use of the gerundive here cp. 6. 23, 4, and note. The domineering behaviour of Agri to her son is described in 12. 64, 5.

11. **orabant cavere.** On this cons tion cp. 6. 2, 3, and note. The accus inf. is also used with 'orare' (11. 10

12. **semper atrocis:** cp. 'atrox Agrippina' (12. 22, 1).

et = 'etiam.'

14. **parentes,** 'mothers': the li sex is shown by the preceding 'conie Such ornaments were preserved a the heirlooms of the palace (see 1 1 4; 35, 2).

effulserant: cp. 'insignibus ef gens' (H. 4. 29, 1). The verb origi with Vergil (Aen. 5, 133, etc.) a introduced into prose by Livy.

15. **nulla parsimonia,** i.e. he ga the best, and gave them unasked (' = 'ultro').

16. **cultus,** 'her wardrobe' (C. an so 'cultus dotales' (16. 31, 1). E not furnishing it with these, but k her out of the rest. Dr. notes the b dination of 'sed' to 'sed,' as in 1 2. It is not necessary to insert 'se Ritt., though it may possibly have dr out after 'ceteris.'

18. **in deterius.** The full expr would be 'referre in deterius vers 43, 1), or 'aucta' (2. 82, 1). For expressions see Introd. i. v. § 60 b.

quibus superbia muliebris innitebatur, demovet Pallantem a rerum, quis a Claudio impositus velut arbitrium regni bat; ferebaturque degrediente eo magna prosequentium ltitudine non absurde dixisse, ire Pallantem ut eiuraret. e pepigerat Pallas ne cuius facti in praeteritum interrogaretur esque rationes cum re publica haberet. praeceps posthac rippina ruere ad terrorem et minas, neque principis auribus tinere, quo minus testaretur adultum iam esse Britannicum, am dignamque stirpem suscipiendo patris imperio, quod tus et adoptivus per iniurias matris exerceret. non abnuere quin cuncta infelicis domus mala patefierent, suae in primis tiae, suum veneficium: id solum dis et sibi provisum, quod

cura rerum, the department 'a nibus': see note on 11. 29, 1. He probably succeeded by Claudius scus, who held office many years, lived through the greater part of itian's rule (see Stat. Theb. 3. 3; ll. Sitteng. i. 93).

elut arbitrium regni agebat, ; holding, as it were, the office of roller of the empire': so 'perfuga arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne age- (H. 4. 21, 2). Nipp. notes that re' and 'agitare aliquam rem' are both of those who really fill a posi- (as 1. 38, 1; 3. 41, 2), and of those pretend to do so (as 2. 36, 4; H. and that here the verb is taken in former sense; the pretence being fied by 'velut.'

degrediente, 'going from the Pa- m' (the full expression occurs in . 67, 2): see on 11. 21, 3. The d of attendants are those secured to by his enormous wealth (12. 53, 5).

non absurde, 'not without wit': . 45, 2, and note.

eiuraret. This term, used pro- of the oath taken by magistrates of tate on resigning office (see 12. 4, 5), tirically applied to the freedman. s usual for a concourse of friends to d on such occasions; so the allusion ere both to the throng following s, and to the bargain which he had (ironically compared to the oath of ence).

in praeteritum, 'going back over ast.'

errogaretur, 'should be called count for'; used with similar genit. verbs of accusing) in 14. 46, 1; 16. ; Sall. Cat. 18, 2, and in the same sense, without genit., in Cic. p. Dom. 29, 77; Liv. 38. 50, 8; 45. 37, 3. The term is strictly used of the questions put by the accuser in opening the suit.

6. **paresque . . . haberet**, 'and that his account with the state should be taken as balanced': so Seneca has 'parem facere rationem' (Ep. 19, 10), or 'signare' (de Ben. 6. 40, 2). It is somewhat question- able (see Hirschf. 7; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1000, 2) how far this passage proves that the freedman presiding over the fiscus (see Introd. p. 29) was considered ac- countable as an administrator of public moneys. It is probable that 'res publica' is used loosely; for we can hardly sup- pose him liable to render account to any other person than his master, who how- ever would no doubt regard him as one of his public officers, like the procurators who governed provinces, and not merely as a functionary of his household.

8. **quo minus** = 'quin': cp. 1. 21, 4, and note.

10. **insitus**, 'an intruder': cp. 'igno- bilitatem suam . . . inserit' (6. 2, 2).

per iniurias matris, 'through the iniquities of his mother.' The context seems in favour of thus giving 'iniurias' a subjective reference (as in 2. 54, 2, etc.), rather than an objective ('by a course of insults against his mother') as in c. 19, 3; 44, 7, etc.

non abnuere se quin. Dr. notes that this expression is ἅπ. εἰρ.; but that 'non negare quin' is found in Liv. (40. 36, 2), etc.

12. **dis et sibi**, providence and her own act had fortunately spared Britanni- cus from sharing his father's fate, and had made thus provision for punishing Nero.

viveret privignus. ituram cum illo in castra; audiretur h Germanici filia, inde debilis rursus Burrus et exul Seneca, trun scilicet manu et professoria lingua generis humani regimen postulantes. simul intendere manus, aggerere probra, consec tum Claudium, infernos Silanorum manes invocare et tot inr facinora.

15. Turbatus his Nero et propinquo die, quo quartum cumum aetatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare sec modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius indolem, levi quid experimento nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late qua visset. festis Saturno diebus inter alia aequalium ludicra regn

1. **castra**: see 12. 69, 3, etc.

2. **inde debilis**, so Halm, Or., Nipp., after Lips. for the Med. 'indebilis.' The loss of a syllable is a common error in this MS., and 'debilis' would mean 'crippled' (as in Verg. Aen. 5. 271, etc.), and would be explained by 'trunca manu.' Others suppose a confusion of 'b' and 'v' (also common in Med.), and read (with MS. Agr.) 'inde vilis,' and refer the word to the stigma of low origin resting on him, as that of exile rested on Seneca. But he is not known to have been of lower origin than any other Roman knight, unless he is identified with the secretary 'ab epistulis Graecis,' who would probably have been a freedman (see Introd. p. 50, 3).

rursus. Some of those who read 'vilis' would take this word closely with it, and supply it again with 'exul,' supposing her to say 'Burrus, whom I can reduce to the insignificance from which I raised him (12. 42, 2), and Seneca, whom I can send back to the exile from which I rescued him' (12. 8, 3). But, whether the reading be 'vilis' or 'debilis,' Agrippina must be here speaking of them as they would confront her at the camp, i. e. as they were, not as she would unmake them after she had won her victory. 'Inde rursus' would mean 'then on the other side' (cp. 1. 80, 3, and note).

trunca . . . manu. Nothing is elsewhere known of the mutilation here referred to.

3. **professoria lingua**, 'with a declaimer's tongue.' The adj. seems not elsewhere used, but public teachers are called 'professores' by Quint., etc.

expostulantes, 'demanding': cp. c. 50, 2; 15. 53, 3, etc.

4. **intendere manus**, 'she uses tures': cp. 4. 3, 2.

5. **Silanorum**, of L. and M. Sila see 12. 8, 1; c. 1, 1.

tot inrita facinora, 'she call ('apostrophises') all her crimes that done no good ('had only placed Ne power').

7. **Turbatus . . . et propinquo** Two distinct causes of Nero's alarm thus coupled: cp. c. 9, 5, etc.

quartum decumum, dating his birth on Feb. 13, 794, A.D. 41 note on 12. 25, 3). The birthday w be an important one, as he would age to take the 'toga virilis' (se 41, 1).

8. **volutare secum**: cp. 4. 12, 3 note.

9. **indolem.** On the intelligen Britannicus see 12. 26, 3.

levi quidem. All edd. have lowed Freinsh. in thus correcting Med. 'ut quidam'; the supposition that the first syllable of 'levi' was l the last of 'indolem,' and 'ui' corr into 'ut.'

10. **quaesivisset** = 'acquisivisset' subjunctive is used, as this is part of N thought.

11. **festis Saturno diebus.** A si expression for the Saturnalia is used 3. 78, 1. Those of the previous De ber are here meant, the occasio which Seneca had produced his 'I de morte Claudii.' The 'Saturnal Lucan (anon. vit.) can hardly have written quite so early.

regnum lusu sortientium. notes that 'sortientium' is to be tak a partitive genit. depending on 'Ne and that 'lusu' is taken of throwing So Horace, describing a similar cu

su sortientium evenerat ea sors Neroni. igitur ceteris diversa c ruborem adlatura: ubi Britannico iussit exsurgeret proessusque in medium cantum aliquem inciperet, inrisum ex sperans pueri sobrios quoque convictus, nedum temulentos norantis, ille constanter exorsus est carmen, quo evolutum m sede patria rebusque summis significabatur. unde orta iseratio manifestior, quia dissimulationem nox et lascivia emerat. Nero intellecta invidia odium intendit; urguentisque Agrippinae minis, quia nullum crimen neque iubere edem fratris palam audebat, occulta molitur pararique venenum bet, ministro Pollione Iulio praetoriae cohortis tribuno, cuius ra attinebatur damnata veneficii nomine Locusta multa scelem fama. nam ut proximus quisque Britannico neque fas que fidem pensi haberet, olim provisum erat. primum venenum ipsis educatoribus accepit, tramisitque exsoluta alvo parum lidum, sive temperamentum inerat, ne statim saeviret. sed

s (Od. 1. 4, 18), 'non regna vini sortitalis.' From the description given in ian, Diss. Epict. 1. 25. 8, and Lucian, urn. 4, it appears that the 'king' ht give any fantastic order to the ers, and that they were bound to obey.

. **diversa**, sc. 'iussit,' supplied from following clause: cp. 3. 56, 3, and e. On the dat. after 'iubeo' see 4. 2, and note. The construction with junct., as in the next sentence, is found I. 2. 46, 2, and in Ter., Liv., Ov.

. **cantum**, etc. Tacitus does not apr to support the story told by Suet. r. 53), that Nero was jealous of the al powers of Britannicus.

. **convictus** = 'convivia': cp. 2. 28, 14. 4, 8; G. 21, 2.

. **constanter**, 'with self-possession': 3. 6, 4; 6. 22, 4. The poem was bably not an 'impromptu' but a quoon.

volutum, 'turned out of': so used 'integumentis' (Cic. de Or. 2. 86,), and thus figuratively with 'turba' r. Eun. 4. 4, 56), 'praeda' (Liv. 6. 5), 'bonis' (Sen. Ep. 74, 3).

nox et lascivia. Nipp. explains use of the singular verb by noting that two conceptions are kept separate: so is sequendi nox et satietas fuit' (Agr. 6). For instances otherwise explained 12. 12, 3, and note.

invidia, 'the feeling against him': 12. 67, 2, etc.

intendit, 'increases': cp. 2. 38, 6, etc.

9. **nullum crimen**, sc. 'erat' (cp. 6. 43, 1, and note). Britannicus was liable to no charge.

11. **Pollione Iulio**, identified by some with the Pollio mentioned as praef. praet. in Plut. Oth. 18; but the name there appears to be an error for Proculus or Plotius.

12. **Locusta**, already described in 12. 66, 4. Martina is similarly described as 'infamis veneficiis' in 2. 74, 2.

13. **nam**, etc. This refers to 'parari venenum iubet' (the words 'ministro . . . fama' being parenthetical). In such a household it was easy to get poison administered, when once prepared. See the account of his surroundings in 12. 26, 2; 41, 8.

14. **pensi haberet**, 'should attach weight to.' On this genit. see Introd. i. v. § 32 f., also 'nec pensi duxerat' (Val. Max. 2. 9, 3). Older writers who use the expression (as Plaut., Sall., Liv.), always make it depend on a neuter, as 'nihil' (Sall. Cat. 12, 2), 'quicquam' (Id. 5, 6).

15. **educatoribus**, 'his governors': cp. 11. 1, 2, etc.

tramisit. Cp. the symptoms in the case of Claudius (12. 67, 1).

16. **temperamentum**, 'some dilution.'

sed Nero. Suet. states (Ner. 33) that he beat Locusta with his own hand,

Nero lenti sceleris inpatiens minitari tribuno, iubere suppliciu veneficae, quod, dum rumorem respiciunt, dum parant d- fensiones, securitatem morarentur. promittentibus dein ta praecipitem necem quam si ferro urgueretur, cubiculum Caesa iuxta decoquitur virus cognitis antea venenis rapidum.

16. Mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aeta nobilibus sedentes vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria t parciore mensa. illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusq eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne omitteret institutum aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis dol repertus est. innoxia adhuc ac praecalida et libata gustu po traditur Britannico; dein, postquam fervore aspernabatur, frigi in aqua adfunditur venenum, quod ita cunctos eius artus perva ut vox pariter et spiritus raperentur. trepidatur a circu- sedentibus, diffugiunt inprudentes: at quibus altior intellect,

and when she pleaded that she had purposely given slow poison to escape detection, he said 'sane legem Iuliam timeo.'

2. **dum . . . respiciunt.** On such indicative clauses inserted in oratio obliqua see Introd. i. v. 49. Here, as in 15. 59, 6, the rhetorical effect is heightened by the approach to oratio recta.

rumorem, 'popular outcry': cp. 4. 29, 2, etc.

3. **promittentibus,** abl. abs.

4. **cubiculum Caesaris iuxta.** This particular form of anastrophe (see Introd. i. v. § 77) is noted by Dr. as rare even in Tacitus (cp. 3. 1, 1; 14. 9, 3).

5. **cognitis . . . rapidum,** 'ascertained to be quick by testing its ingredients.' According to Suet. (l. l.), Nero had it tried on a kid, which lived five hours, then, after further concentration by boiling down, on a small pig, which died immediately. He then ordered it to be administered. 'Rapidum' is so used in 12. 67, 3.

6. **habebatur,** 'was kept up': cp. 1. 73, 2, and note. The custom of Claudius is described in Suet. Cl. 32 ('adhibebat omni caenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur'); that of Augustus in Suet. Aug. 64 ('neque caenavit una, nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent'). See also Friedl. i. 130; Marquardt, Privatl. 300. Tacitus speaks in the past, because, from the time here spoken of till that in which he wrote, there had been no young sons of pr- cipes. Suet. states (Tit. 2) that, on is occasion, Titus was sitting next to B- tannicus, tasted the poison, and was lo and seriously ill from it.

idem aetatis, a similar accus. o 'id aetatis' (5. 9, 3): for others cp. 8, 2; 18, 1, etc.; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § ; Madvig, 238.

7. **sedentes.** In the custom of Aug- tus and Claudius, this posture was ma- tained for young people (Suet. l. l.). V- lerius Maximus (2. 1, 2) mentions this a former custom in the case of wom ('feminae cum viris cubantibus, sedentes cenitabant').

9. **gustu explorabat:** cp. 12. 66, and note.

11. **praecalida.** The potion consi d of the favourite hot drink of mixed wie and water called 'caldum' or 'calda.'

12. **fervore,** abl. of objective cau: see Introd. i. v. § 30.

frigida in aqua, etc. In the le of the poisoning of Alexander, given Just. 12. 14, 9, the poison is represe d as introduced in the same way.

14. **pariter et.** Nipp. notes that in Tacitus this expression always stands thus between the words coupled, as in c. 39, 3; 40, 2; 45, 2.

raperentur = 'eriperentur,' as in 2. 71, 2, etc.

circumsedentibus, the young 'nobiles' mentioned above.

15. **inprudentes,** those who did not understand what had happened.

sistunt defixi et Neronem intuentes. ille ut erat reclinis et escio similis, solitum ita ait per comitialem morbum, quo prima infantia adflictaretur Britannicus, et redituros paulatim visus nsusque. at Agrippinae is pavor, ea consternatio mentis, ıamvis vultu premeretur, emicuit, ut perinde ignaram fuisse *que* Octaviam sororem Britannici constiterit: quippe sibi ıpremum auxilium ereptum et parricidii exemplum intellegebat. ctavia quoque, quamvis rudibus annis, dolorem, caritatem, nnis adfectus abscondere didicerat. ita post breve silentium petita convivii laetitia.

17. Nox eadem necem Britannici et rogum coniunxit, proviso te funebri paratu, qui modicus fuit. in campo tamen Martis pultus est adeo turbidis imbribus, ut vulgus iram deum porndi crediderit adversus facinus, cui plerique etiam hominum

ı. **resistunt**, 'keep their seats': this b is often used of keeping in the same sition or posture.

lefixi, 'rooted': cp. c. 5, 3; 1. 68, etc.

reclinis, only elsewhere used by citus in 14. 5, 2, and in no earlier prose trod. i. v. § 70).

. **nescio similis**, 'as if unconscious' what had really happened: cp. 'ignaro pior' (11. 35, 1).

ta, referring generally to what has ceded, as in 12. 12, 2, etc. Ritt. needly alters to 'id.'

omitialem morbum, epilepsy, so ed because its occurrence broke up comitia (Fest. s. v. 'prohibere'). ch is said about the disease in Plin. H.

rima, the correction of MS. Agr. Med. 'primum,' which Walth. would nd by 14. 63, 4 (where see note).

. **premeretur**, 'it was repressed': n 1. 4, 3; 3. 11, 2; 6. 50, 5, etc. Her -control can be illustrated from 14. .

micuit (here alone in Tacitus), shed out,' betrayed itself in a sudden ression of countenance, immediately pressed.

t . . . constiterit, for the tense 1. 80, 4, and note.

. **atque**. All recent edd. have foled Faern in making this insertion from e inferior MSS. 'Ac' or 'quam' e also been inserted.

exemplum, 'a precedent': cp. 6. , etc.

8. **quoque**. Nipp. points out that this is referred in sense to 'quamvis . . . premeretur.' She, as well as Agrippina, had learnt to conceal her emotions.

11. **Nox . . . coniunxit**: cp. 'nox eadem . . . tulit' (2. 14, 1), and other such personifications instanced in Introd. i. v. § 75. A story is given by Dio (61. 7, 4) and repeated by Zonaras (11. 12, 568), that the body was covered with chalk to hide the livid effects of poison, but that the rain washed it off. Their accounts would imply that the burning took place not at night but on the following day: so Suet. (Ner. 33) says 'postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere.' But the explanation given in the edict (see notes on § 4) supports the account of Tacitus.

12. **in campo tamen Martis**, i. e. in the mausoleum of Augustus (see note on 1. 8, 6). 'Sepultus' is used of the deposition of his ashes.

14. **plerique etiam hominum**. Halm and Dr. follow Heins. in reading 'tamen' for the Med. 'etiam,' which however gives a good sense; the idea being that human judgment was less likely than the divine to consider extenuating circumstances, yet even among men sufficient excuse was found to make it most unlikely that the supposed indications of divine displeasure were really such. The lax moral judgment here shown has been remarked, and is due, as Nipp. points out, to the prevalence of such crimes in ancient monarchies.

ignoscebant, antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnu aestimantes. tradunt plerique eorum temporum scriptores, cr bris ante exitium diebus illusum isse pueritiae Britannici Ner nem, ut iam non praematura neque saeva mors videri que, quamvis inter sacra mensae, ne tempore quidem ad complexu sororum dato, ante oculos inimici properata sit in illum supr mum Claudiorum sanguinem, stupro prius quam veneno pollutu. festinationem exsequiarum edicto Caesar defendit, ita maiorib institutum referens, subtrahere oculis acerba funera neq

1. **antiquas**, i. e. such as are represented in the legends of Atreus and Thyestes, Eteocles and Polynices, Romulus and Remus, and in the history of Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus: cp. 'solita fratribus odia' (4. 60, 5).

insociabile regnum, 'that despotism bears no partner': cp. 'ob infidam societatem regni' in Liv. 1. 14, 3 (who appears to follow Ennius). The same excuse (ἀκοινώνητον ἀρχή, θεσμὸς φύσεως ἀκίνητος) is represented by Philo (Leg. 10. p. 1001) as made by public opinion for the murder of Tiberius Gemellus by Gaius. 'Insociabilis' is a rare word, used of persons in 4. 12, 6; 15. 68, 3; of a nation in Liv. 37. 1, 4.

2. **aestimantes**, 'taking into account': cp. 15. 2, 4; also 'aestimare an' (in the sense of 'calculating') in H. 2. 76, 2; 4. 81, 4. The Med. text 'extimantes' (cp. H. 1. 14, 2; 16, 4, etc.) led some inferior MSS. and the old edd. to read 'existimantes' (cp. c. 42, 6).

eorum temporum scriptores: cp. 12. 67, 1.

3. **illusum isse**: so all recent edd. after Lips. for Med. 'esse.' For this sense of 'illudere' cp. 15. 72, 4; for the use of 'ire,' 4. 1, 2, etc.

4. **ut iam non . . . queat.** His death was felt to have come too late rather than too soon, and to have been the lesser outrage. 'Saevum' is thus used of something atrocious in 1. 35, 7, etc.

5. **sacra mensae**, repeated in 15. 52, 2 (with 'dique hospitales'). The allusion is probably to the customary libations at a meal to the Lares and Penates. Nipp. would take 'sacra' as 'the sanctity' (cp. 2. 65, 4, and note), and understand it of the inviolability of the guest.

6. **sororum.** As only Octavia was present (c. 16, 6), it has been thought that 'sorori' should be read (with inferior MSS.); but the two sisters are coupled as his nearest relatives. Cp. 'adeo p pere ut non complecti liberos . . . perm teret' (15. 60, 1).

properata: for the passive cp. 6, 2, etc.

supremum Claudiorum sang nem. He was the last male born i that great patrician family; Nero, tho not without a share of Claudian blo, being only entitled to the name of Cl dius by adoption.

8. **defendit**, 'justified' or 'excus.' It may be presumed that this edict, e his other utterances at this date, s composed by Seneca. The defence pears to justify only the privacy of e funeral, not the 'festinatio.'

ita: so Halm and Dr. Med. is 'id,' with 'a' added above the line; It. reads 'iam a'; Orelli and Nipp. 'mai bus' alone.

9. **subtrahere oculis**: cp. 'te aspectu ne subtrahe nostro' (Verg. Ae 465). Elsewhere Tacitus has 'subtrah oculos' (3. 53, 1, etc.). The ancient man custom by which all funerals w conducted at night survived in the se of those whose friends could not af d expensive ceremonies, and also in the e of those who had died prematurely, e funere immaturae subolis domus fune retur' (Serv. on Verg. Aen. 11. 143). e Sen. de Brev. vit. 20, 5, Plut. 'Cons d ux.' 11, p. 612, and other passages qu d in Marquardt, Privatl. 343. The o er explanation given by Muretus (see C ington on Verg. Aen. 6, 429) appear to be fanciful.

acerba, 'premature': this meta or from unripe fruit is also in Vergil, o uses 'acerbum funus' of those who d in childhood (Aen. 6, 429) or in early n hood (11, 28). Seneca appears to ve been fond of the expression (see Cs. ad Marc. 9, 2; 17, 7; de Ira, 3. 25; Ep. 122, 10).

ıudationibus aut pompa detinere. ceterum et sibi amisso ·atris auxilio reliquas spes in re publica sitas, et tanto magis ovendum patribus populoque principem, qui unus superesset familia summum ad fastigium genita.

18. Exim largitione potissimos amicorum auxit. nec defuere ui arguerent viros gravitatem adseverantes, quod domos villas id emporis quasi praedam divisissent. alii necessitatem adhibitam redebant a principe, sceleris sibi conscio et veniam sperante, i largitionibus validissimum quemque obstrinxisset. at matris a nulla munificentia leniri, sed amplecti Octaviam, crebra cum micis secreta habere, super ingenitam avaritiam undique pe- ınias quasi in subsidium corripiens, tribunos et centuriones omiter excipere, nomina et virtutes nobilium, qui etiam tum ıpererant, in honore habere, quasi quaereret ducem et partes. ognitum id Neroni, excubiasque militares, quae ut coniugi nperatoris olim, tum ut matri servabantur, et Germanos nuper ındem *in* honorem custodes additos degredi iubet. ac ne coetu

2. **spes in re publica sitas**: cp. the pressions of Tiberius at the death of rusus (4. 8, 4). The words here used int rather to the hope of public sym- thy.

4. **familia**, the Claudian: for 'sum- ım ad fastigium' cp. 3. 29, 2, and te.

5. **largitione . . . auxit.** For the sense 'augere' cp. 2. 2, 2, etc. Munificent ts to friends from the princeps were not common (see c. 34, 2, 3; Friedl. i. 125); t the occasion gave rise to suspicion. sides these 'amicorum potissimi' (by ıom the 'cohors primae admissionis' ıy be meant), it appears that even Lo- sta received pardon for former charges, d also presents and estates (Suet. Ner.).

6. **gravitatem adseverantes**, 'who de profession of austerity.' For this usual sense of 'adsevero' cp. that of lseveratio' in 2. 31, 4, etc.; for that 'gravitas' cp. 'gravitas morum' (15. 4). The allusion is especially to ıeca (in a less degree also to Burrus), ose defence may be gathered from 14. 6, and from passages in his own tings, such as 'nemo in id accipiendo igatur quod illi repudiare non licuit' Ben. 2. 18, 7).

d **temporis**: cp. 12. 8, 2, and e.

10. **amplecti Octaviam**, apparently a figure for supporting her interests: cp. 15. 59, 6.

11. **secreta**: cp. c. 12, 2, etc.

ingenitam avaritiam; cp. 12. 7, 7, etc., where it is added 'quasi subsidium regno pararetur.'

13. **etiam tum.** On the decay of the old families see 11. 25, 3, etc. Tacitus is writing after their almost total extinction under Domitian.

15. **excubias**, the sentinels of praetorians at her doors, as distinct from the body-guard ('custodes') attending her when she went out. Tacitus does not imply that such an honour to the wife or mother of the princeps was unusual, but there appears to be no other mention of it.

16. **Germanos**: see 1. 24, 3, and note.

nuper eundem in honorem: so recent edd., after Boett., for Med. 'super eundem honorem,' which has been explained as 'besides that mark of honour' (the 'excubiae'), but which would require 'eum' instead of 'eundem.'

17. **degredi** (cp. c. 14, 1, etc.), here read by all recent edd. after Ern., for Med. 'digredi.'

coetu salutantium. Probably those who paid the daily visit of ceremony to himself would take the same opportunity of paying attention to her. Her removal to another house would stop this, besides

salutantium frequentaretur, separat domum matremque transfe in eam quae Antoniae fuerat, quotiens ipse illuc ventitare saeptus turba centurionum et post breve osculum digrediens.

19. Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est qua fama potentiae non sua vi nixae. statim relictum Agrippinae lime nemo solari, nemo adire praeter paucas feminas, amore an odi incertas. ex quibus erat Iunia Silana, quam matrimonio C. Si a Messalina depulsam supra rettuli, insignis genere forma lascivi et Agrippinae diu percara, mox occultis inter eas offensionibu quia Sextium Africanum nobilem iuvenem a nuptiis Silana deterruerat Agrippina, inpudicam et vergentem annis dictitan non ut Africanum sibi seponeret, sed ne opibus et orbitat Silanae maritus poteretur. illa spe ultionis oblata parat a cusatores ex clientibus suis, Iturium et Calvisium, non vete et saepius iam audita deferens, quod Britannici mortem luger aut Octaviae iniurias evulgaret, sed destinavisse eam Rubelliu

conveying a hint to all courtiers that such visits to her were no longer pleasing to him. For the use of 'frequentari' cp. 5. 10, 3, etc.

2. **Antoniae.** Nipp. and others would insert 'aviae' or 'proaviae,' thinking that Tacitus would not have failed to indicate which Antonia were meant, the one being the paternal grandmother, the other the maternal great-grandmother of Nero (see Introd. i. ix. pp. 140, 146). It is probable that the latter is meant, but that, as far the best known of the two, she was not further described.

quotiens, with subjunct. of action frequently repeated: see Introd. i. v. § 52.

3. **breve osculum,** 'a hasty kiss': so in Agr. 40, 3.

4. **rerum mortalium,** 'in human affairs': cp. 'mentem mortalia tangunt' (Verg. Aen. 1, 462), and the frequent use of 'mortales' for human beings.

fluxum, 'transient': cp. 'fluxa auctoritas' (H. 1. 21, 4): 'fides' (H. 2. 75, 4).

5. **nixae**; so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'nixa,' which Ern. and Walth. retain and defend, but which seems to fail to give a good sense.

6. **odio,** the desire of seeing her fallen state.

7. **incertas,** used as in 11. 9, 1.

8. **supra rettuli,** 11. 12, 1.

9. **occultis offensionibus,** abl. abs.

10. **Sextium Africanum,** mention again in 14. 46, 2; also (with praen. 'T as one of the Arvales from about A.D. 5 66 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2034, 2039–2042), al as coss. suff. with M. Ostorius Scap (12, 31, 7) in Sept. 812, A.D. 59 (Id. 204 His surname would show him to ha descended from T. Sextius, known as legatus of Caesar in Gaul (B. G. 6. 1, etc.), and as afterwards holding proc sular command in Numidia, where played an important part, especially a partisan of Antonius, during the ea years of the triumvirate, 711–714, B 43–40 (Dio, 48. 21, 1; App. B. C. 3. 8 4. 53; 5. 12; 26; 75).

11. **vergentem annis**: cp. 2. 43, and note.

12. **opibus et orbitate,** hendiadys 'opibus orbae,' like 'orbitate et pecun (14. 40, 1). On the power of 'orbit see 3. 25, 2, and note. In this ca Agrippina, whose avarice is noted (12. 7, etc.), might expect a share of h friend's wealth for herself; but wo be naturally supplanted by the husban

14. **Iturium et Calvisium**: see c. 3; 14. 12, 6.

16. **iniurias,** the slights put upon by Nero (see c. 12, 2); on 'evulga cp. 14. 14, 5, and note.

Rubellium Plautum, son of R bellius Blandus and Julia, daughter Drusus the son of Tiberius (see Intro ix. p. 141). For his subsequent virt

lautum, per maternam originem pari ac Nero gradu a divo ugusto, ad res novas extollere coniugioque eius et iam imperio em publicam rursus invadere. haec Iturius et Calvisius Atimeto, omitiae Neronis amitae liberto, aperiunt. qui laetus oblatis uippe inter Agrippinam et Domitiam infensa aemulatio exer- ebatur) Paridem histrionem, libertum et ipsum Domitiae, npulit ire propere crimenque atrociter deferre.

20. Provecta nox erat et Neroni per vinolentiam trahebatur, um ingreditur Paris, solitus alioquin id temporis luxus principis tendere, sed tunc compositus ad maestitiam, expositoque indicii rdine ita audientem exterret, ut non tantum matrem Plautum- ue interficere, sed Burrum etiam demovere praefectura desti- aret tamquam Agrippinae gratia provectum et vicem reddentem. abius Rusticus auctor est, scriptos esse ad Caecinam Tuscum

ile, and for his death, see 14. 22, 5; , 3.

1. **pari ac Nero.** Ritt. and Jacob llow Heins. in reading 'Neronem,' but ost others retain the nominative, defend- g it by treating the sentence as paren- etical, and no part of the charge against grippina, but a remark of the historian, uivalent to 'qui pari gradu . . . erat.' his 'parity of gradation' is arrived at taking Tiberius as the (adoptive) son Augustus; from whom Plautus could herwise boast no lineal descent, though s mother Julia was descended, through r mother, from Octavia.

2. **et iam imperio**; so nearly all edd. er Gron. for Med. 'etiam perio' ('et perio' Nipp.). 'Iam' would here ve the force of 'mox': by marrying n, and then raising him to the princi- te, she would again engross the whole wer of the state.

4. **Domitiae**, sister of Domitia Lepida . 37, 4): for her descent and affinities Introd. i. ix. p. 140. The enmity here ntioned was probably of long standing; Crispus Passienus (see 6. 20, 2, and e), the husband of Domitia (Quint. 6. 50), divorced her to marry Agrippina. story is given by Suet. (Ner. 34) and (61. 17, 1), that Nero, soon after the rder of his mother, caused her to be soned, in order to get her property.

. **Paridem histrionem.** On the his- nes see 1. 54, 3, and note. Paris is tioned again in c. 27, 7. Nero put to death in 820, A.D. 67; according Suet. (Ner. 54), because he looked on him as a rival in art, according to Dio (63. 18, 1), because he would not instruct him in it. Another actor of the name is known in Domitian's time (Juv. 6, 87; 7, 87, etc.).

7. **impulit**, with inf. as in 6. 45, 5, etc., and in poets and Liv.: so also 'per- pellere' is used in 6. 33, 1, and many other verbs (Introd. i. v. § 43).

atrociter, 'adding to its horrors': cp. 'atrociore . . . fama' (4. 11, 3), 'atro- cius vero' (4. 21, 4).

9. **alioquin**, 'at other times': cp. 3. 8, 4, etc.

luxus . . . intendere, 'to stimulate his excesses,' by wanton dances.

10. **compositus in maestitiam**, re- peated from H. 2. 9, 2: cp. 3. 44, 4, and note.

11. **ordine**, 'the detail'; so 'ordo negotii' (2. 27, 1), 'sceleris' (4. 11, 4), 'fraudis' (4. 69, 5).

13. **tamquam**, here used of a real ground: cp. 3. 72, 4, and note. On the obligation of Burrus to Agrippina see 12. 42, 2.

14. **Fabius Rusticus.** On this writer and Cluvius Rufus, and on the historical works of Pliny, see Introd. i. ii. pp. 12–13.

Caecinam Tuscum. According to Suet. (Ner. 34) and Dio (63. 18, 1), this person was son of Nero's nurse, and became afterwards praefect of Egypt, and was sent thence into banishment, in the last year of Nero, for using a bath pre- pared for his master. He afterwards returned to Rome (H. 3. 38, 2).

codicillos, mandata ei praetoriarum cohortium cura, sed o] Senecae dignationem Burro retentam: Plinius et Cluvius nil dubitatum de fide praefecti referunt; sane Fabius inclinat a laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit. nos consensum auctoru secuturi, si qui diversa prodiderint, sub nominibus ipsorum tr demus. Nero trepidus et interficiendae matris avidus non pri differri potuit, quam Burrus necem eius promitteret, si facino coargueretur: sed cuicumque, nedum parenti defensionem t buendam; nec accusatores adesse, sed vocem unius ex inimi domo adferri: reputaret tenebras et vigilatam convivio nocte omniaque temeritati et inscitiae propiora.

21. Sic lenito principis metu et luce orta itur ad Agrippina, ut nosceret obiecta dissolveretque vel poenas lueret. Burrus s mandatis Seneca coram fungebatur; aderant et ex libertis arbi sermonis. deinde a Burro, postquam crimina et auctores exp-suit, minaciter actum est. Agrippina ferociae memor 'non mirc'

1. **codicillos**, so used of letters patent conferring important appointments in Agr. 40, 2; Suet. Cal. 18, etc. See Hirschf. Unters. p. 266.

2. **nihil dubitatum referunt**, probably to be taken (with Nipp.) as equivalent to 'dubitatum non referunt'; the negation being in sense taken with the verb.

3. **sane**, concessive (1. 10, 2, etc.), here giving a reason for distrusting Rusticus.

5. **secuturi**, 'inasmuch as we intend to follow': on this concise use of the participle see Introd. i. v. § 54 d. The future tense need not be taken to indicate a new departure, but may describe the course which he has taken and still means to take. It seems needless to insert 'horum' with Nipp.

7. **differri**, 'to be turned from his purpose,' persuaded to suspend his intention, apparently a pregnant constr. for 'adduci ut differret.' Dr. appears right in distinguishing this from the ordinary sense of 'differre aliquem,' of which Nipp. gives several instances (2. 36, 2, etc.).

8. **nedum**. See 11. 27, 1, and note.

9. **accusatores**, Iturius and Calvisius; 'vocem unius,' sc. 'Atimeti': 'adferri' would imply that even he was only reported through Paris.

10. **reputaret**; so all recent edd. after Lips. for Med. 'refutare,' which gives no good sense. 'P' and 'f' are often confused, and the final 't' can have been lost in the next word. He urges, in plea f suspension of judgment, that Nero sho d reflect how late it was, that the night h d been spent in feasting (§ 1), and that e whole story had an air of recklessness d ignorance (seemed like a reckless as-tion of ignorant people), and should t be so hastily believed.

convivio = 'per convivium,' m l abl. (Introd. i. v. § 28).

11. **omniaque . . . propiora**. T is might also mean that all the circ-stances of the movement tended to pro t a hasty and ignorant judgment; a m-ing less suitable to 'propiora,' but m e in accordance with the context.

12. **et luce orta**. Two ablatives a-lute, the one denoting a change of t e and the other an action, are thus cou d in 1. 29, 1; 15. 72, 1, etc.

13. **ut nosceret obiecta**, 'that e might hear the charges against her': p 12. 60, 3, and note.

poenas, Med. has 'pena,' with s written above in an old hand. H m inclines to read 'poenam' (cp. 14. o 5).

14. **arbitri**, 'as witnesses' (cp. 16 1 6), to report if Seneca or Burrus sho want of firmness. Freedmen are simi ly employed as confidants of the prince s to see sentences executed (cp. 11. 3 4 14. 59, 3).

16. **ferociae**, 'spirit': cp. 1. 1 6 etc.

quit 'Silanam, numquam edito partu, matrum adfectus ignotos bere; neque enim proinde a parentibus liberi quam ab inpudica ulteri mutantur. nec si Iturius et Calvisius adesis omnibus rtunis novissimam suscipiendae accusationis operam anui rendunt, ideo aut mihi infamia parricidii aut Caesari conscientia beunda est. nam Domitiae inimicitiis gratias agerem, si benelentia mecum in Neronem meum certaret: nunc per concubim Atimetum et histrionem Paridem quasi scaenae fabulas mponit. Baiarum suarum piscinas extollebat, cum meis coniis adoptio et proconsulare ius et designatio consulatus et cetera

. **ignotos habere**, an analogous exssion to 'cognitum habere.' Dr. comes 'ignotos . . . habuisset' in Sen. Ep. 15, and the use by Tacitus of 'praeaptum habeant' (='praesumant') in 64, 5.

. **proinde . . . quam.** The MSS. y in expressions of this kind between rinde' and 'proinde' (the abbreviated ns of which are very similar). The Med. has 'perinde quam' in 2. 1, 2; ; 6. 30, 4; and 'perinde quam si' in 3, 5; but 'proinde quam' in 4. 20, 6. second Med. has 'perinde quam' in 10, 5; 14. 48, 3; 15. 21, 3; 'perinde m si' in c. 49, 3; 'perinde ac' (or que') in 12. 12, 2; H. 3. 18, 2; but, he other hand, 'proinde quam' here in 15. 42, 1; 44, 5; H. 1. 30, 8; 2. 1; 35, 2; 39, 6; 3. 58, 4; 4. 52, 1; 5; 'proinde quasi' in c. 47, 4; 'pro- ac si' in 12. 60, 3 (where see note). . and Orelli alter these so as to read ormly 'perinde'; Halm, with some arent inconsistency, retains 'proinde' . 20, 6; 15. 42, 1; 44, 5; H. 1. 30, nd alters all the others. I have pred to follow Nipp. in retaining the ation shown by the MSS., on the suption that Tacitus designedly varied , as he has varied so many other essions. 'Proinde quam' is found in t. Truc. 2. 3, 3; 'proinde ac' (or ue') and 'quasi' in good authors, cially in Quintilian, whom Tacitus likely to have followed. The absouse of 'proinde' in this sense is less isible (see 12. 40, 8, and note), and instances of 'perinde' in hortatory ges (3. 17, 4; 15. 27, 2) are altered ll.

eri . . . **mutantur**, a mother does o readily transfer her love from her to another (as Britannicus or tus).

3. **adesis . . . fortunis**, 'after having spent their means' (cp. 'adesis bonis' H. 1. 4, 3; 'adesa . . . pecunia' Cic. p. Quinct. 12, 40), when they would do anything for money, repay their patron's favours by the last and lowest service of suborning an accusation against her rival.

4. **anui**, used contemptuously of one described in c. 19, 2 as 'vergens annis.'

5. **infamia parricidii aut . . . conscientia.** 'Parricidium' is used often of the murder of any near relative. Were Agrippina to be put to death on such a charge, she would die under the infamy of having been supposed to have conspired to murder her son, and Nero would have not merely the infamy, but the burden on his own mind, of matricide. She asks 'Because they choose to make up such a charge, is all this to happen?'

6. **nam**, marking transition; 'as for Domitia, enemy of mine as she is, I would thank her, if she only sought to rival me in doing service to Nero.' Ritt. reads 'grates,' as the usual Tacitean word (especially in the Annals); 'gratias agere' being only found (three times) in Agr. and Hist.

7. **nunc**, 'in real fact' ('ut nunc se res habet'). Her only service to him is to suborn her creatures to make up a wild tale, as if they were constructing a tragedy for the stage. On the position given to this sentence by Nipp. see below.

9. **Baiarum**, etc., i.e. 'Where was she when I did and dared all to secure the succession to Nero?' 'Suarum,' 'her favourite Baiae.' According to Dio (61. 17, 2), it was from desire of her fishponds and other possessions there and at Ravenna, that Nero afterwards put Domitia to death.

extollebat, 'she was adorning': cp. 11. 1, 1, and note.

10. **adoptio**, etc.: see 12. 25, 1; 41, 1.

apiscendo imperio praepararentur. aut exsistat qui cohortes urbe temptatas, qui provinciarum fidem labefactatam, denique se vos vel libertos ad scelus corruptos arguat. vivere ego Britannic potiente rerum poteram? ac si Plautus aut quis alius rem pul licam iudicaturus obtinuerit, desunt scilicet mihi accusatores, q non verba impatientia caritatis aliquando incauta, sed ea crimin obiciant, quibus nisi a filio absolvi non possim.' commotis q aderant ultroque spiritus eius mitigantibus, conloquium filii ex poscit, ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret, nec de beneficii quasi exprobraret, disseruit, sed ultionem in delatores et praem amicis obtinuit.

1. **aut existat**, etc. The abruptness of the transition here has caused much difficulty, which is hardly remedied by reading 'at existat' (with some of the old edd.). A similar elliptical use of 'aut' is noted in Cic. de Fin. 4. 26, 72 ('cur igitur . . . non malimus usitate loqui? Aut doceat,' etc.); where however the thought is more easily supplied, as also in the passage cited by Dr. (15. 5, 1). Nipp. thinks that the sentence 'nunc . . . componit' must be placed after 'praepararentur,' and that the meaning is 'or, if these charges are not mere fictions, let some one bring forward tangible facts to prove them.' Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. 24–26), taking the same view of the sense of the passage, prefers to suppose that some words have been lost, such as 'aut falsa haec, aut exsistat,' etc. The abruptness of expression seems to be best justified by the impassioned and exclamatory character of the whole passage (cp. 1. 41, 2; 14. 8, 4, and notes), and the thought seems somewhat different from what Nipp. and Müll. suggest. It is rather, 'if I am to be accused at all, let me be accused of what I have really done. Let some one charge me with having tampered with the praetorians, sapped the faith of the legions abroad, bribed the slaves and freedmen of Claudius to poison him. All this I have done, but it was done for Nero, not against him.' By 'cohortes in urbe' (cp. 'urbanus miles' H. 1. 4, 5), the urban as well as the praetorian cohorts may be meant; 'provinciae' are thus used for the legions contained in them in 12. 69, 3; and 'scelus' has the specific sense of poisoning in 1. 5, 1, etc.

3. **vivere ego**, etc., alluding to the supposition that she had desired to set up Britannicus (c. 14, 3). 'Could my life have been spared (after all these crime had Britannicus become emperor?' (the absence of an interrogative partic see 2. 15, 4; 12. 37, 3; and notes.

4. **rem publicam**, taken with 'ob nuerit'; 'iudicaturus' being thrown in imply that whoever became prince would have to judge her cause. ' Plautus (c. 19, 3) or any one else sha have gained the empire and shall ha to sit in judgment on me, is it to be su posed that no one will be found to accu me?'

6. **impatientia caritatis**, 'through t uncontrollable force of affection': cp. 1 63, 6; also 'inpatienter indoluit' (4. 1 2), etc. She intends thus to characteri such expressions as are mentioned in c. and 14, and to contrast mere wor spoken against Nero with the dark crim committed for him, which only he w had profited by them could pardon.

8. **spiritus**, 'her indignation': pl. in 4. 12, 7; 16. 24, 3; 26, 7, and oft in Cic.

9. **quasi diffideret**, 'as though s had misgivings,' that a substantial defen to the charge was needed.

nec de beneficiis. I have follow Nipp. and most other edd. in thinki the insertion of 'de' necessary. In t Med. text, retained by Orelli and Hal 'pro' would be supplied, with such sense as 'on behalf of her services him.'

10. **exprobraret**, 'was upbraiding h with them': cp. 4. 57, 5, etc.

in, coordinated with dat.: cp. 12. 1, and note.

11. **amicis**, those noted in the n chapter. Anteius is especially noted 16. 14, 3, as one of her most intim friends.

2. Praefectura annonae Faenio Rufo, cura ludorum, qui a sare parabantur, Arruntio Stellae, Aegyptus Ti. Balbillo nittuntur. Suria P. Anteio destinata, sed variis mox artibus us, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. at Silana in exilium ; Calvisius quoque et Iturius relegantur; de Atimeto sup- um sumptum, validiore apud libidines principis Paride quam oena adficeretur. Plautus ad praesens silentio transmissus

3. Deferuntur dehinc consensisse Pallas ac Burrus, ut Cor- ıs Sulla claritudine generis et adfinitate Claudii, cui per

Praefectura annonae: see 1. 7, 3. This was, next to the 'praefectura pti' and 'praefectura praetorio,' chief position held by a Roman t.
enio **Rufo**. This officer obtained od reputation in this office, which o his promotion to that of 'prae- praetorio' (14. 51, 5). He joined onspiracy of Piso (15. 50, 4), and ed death with less fortitude than s (15. 68, 2). Ritt. notes that Med. h here reads 'senio') reads the seven times as 'Faenius,' twice as us' (the usual form in inferior MSS. ld edd.). 'Faenius' is also the in which the name is found in Inscr. Vilm. Index, p. 327).
a **ludorum**. Mommsen notes sr. ii. 951, 3) other such special issioners of equestrian rank: cp. no curante gladiatorium munus is principis' (Pl. N. H. 37. 3, 11, uratorem munerum et venationum' Cal. 27). See also Hirschf. 177. ffice of 'ludi procurator' (11. 35, 7) nct from this.
rruntio Stellae, otherwise un- . Nipp. thinks he may probably been the father of L. Arruntius of Patavium, who was cos. suff. Trajan, probably in 854, A.D. 101 L. vi. 1, 1492), and is often men- as a poet by Martial, and to whom dedicates Sylv. B. 1.
Balbillo. Med. gives the prae- C.', which Ritt. thinks with much ility may be a corruption of the name, and reads 'Claudio Bal- The full name is 'Ti. Claudius ıs' (C. I. G. 4699). Another ion (Id. 4957) mentions a daughter ı. Boeckh (ad loc.) thinks he may en son of an illegitimate son of ıus of Commagene. He is men- tioned as praefect of Egypt by Pliny (N. H. 19. pr. 3) and by Seneca (Qu. Nat. 4. 2, 13), who calls him 'virorum optimus profectusque in omni literarum genere rarissimi.'

3. **P. Anteio**. The name is here cor- rupt in Med. but restored by Lips. from 16. 14, 2, where his subsequent fate is related. Another of the name is men- tioned in 2. 6, 1. This person is shown by an inscription at Salona (C. I. L. iii. 1. 1977) to have been legatus of Delmatia in 804/805, A.D. 51/52. He must have been cos. suff. in some unknown year.

4. **retentus est**. Tiberius had thus detained Arruntius and Aelius Lamia (6. 27, 2, 3). Anteius, as an intimate friend of Agrippina (16. 14, 3), may have been thought unsafe to be trusted with military command. Ummidius Qua- dratus (12. 45, 6) thus retained Syria till his death (14. 26, 6).

5. **relegantur**, a milder form of banish- ment than that of Silana (see on 3. 18, 8). They were pardoned after Agrippina's death (14. 12, 6).

supplicium, capital punishment. This severity seems partly due to his having been the prominent informer (c. 19, 4), and also to his being only a freed- man.

6. **apud libidines principis**, an un- precedented expression, implying quasi- personification, like 'apud aures' (1. 31, 5), and thus equivalent to 'apud prin- cipem libidinosum.'

7. **silentio transmissus**: cp. 1. 13, 5. On his subsequent fate see note on c. 19, 4.

9. **Deferuntur . . . consensisse**. On this construction cp. 2. 27, 1, and note.

Cornelius Sulla: see 12. 52, 1, and note.

10. **claritudine . . . adfinitate**, causal ablatives.

nuptias Antoniae gener erat, ad imperium vocaretur. eius a cusationis auctor extitit Paetus quidam, exercendis apud aerariu sectionibus famosus et tum vanitatis manifestus. nec tam gra Pallantis innocentia quam gravis superbia fuit: quippe nomina libertis eius, quos conscios haberet, respondit nihil umquam domi nisi nutu aut manu significasse, vel si plura demonstran essent, scripto usum, ne vocem consociaret. Burrus quamv reus inter iudices sententiam dixit. exiliumque accusatori i rogatum et tabulae exustae sunt, quibus oblitterata aerarii nomi retrahebat.

24. Fine anni statio cohortis adsidere ludis solita demovet quo maior species libertatis esset, utque miles theatrali licenti non permixtus incorruptior ageret et plebes daret experimentu an amotis custodibus modestiam retineret. urbem princeps l travit ex responso haruspicum, quod Iovis ac Minervae aedes caelo tactae erant.

25. Q. Volusio P. Scipione consulibus otium foris, foeda do

2. **exercendis . . . sectionibus.** He appears to have made a traffic either by buying confiscated debtors' property of the treasury wholesale, and selling at a profit in smaller portions, or (as would appear from § 4) by buying a debt to the treasury on speculation, and then recovering it from the debtor. Such a business would be considered sordid even if not dishonest (cp. Suet. Vit. 2).

3. **vanitatis,** 'of falsehood'; so in 6. 21, 2; H. 4. 81, 3, etc., also as the opposite to 'veritas' in Cic. Tusc. 3. 1, 2. For the genit. cp. 12. 51, 6.

4. **superbia:** cp. 'tristi adrogantia' (c. 2, 4). Pliny calls him 'fastidiosissimum mancipium' (Ep. 8. 6, 14).

7. **ne vocem consociaret** (='ne sermonem communicaret'), 'so as not to put himself on speaking terms with them.' In estimating this proof of his arrogance it is to be remembered that it is the behaviour of a freedman to his own freedmen.

8. **inter iudices.** As Burrus was not a senator, we must suppose him to have sat as one of the assessors of the princeps, who tried the case personally 'intra cubiculum' (11. 2, 1). It is not to be supposed that the promise of c. 41, 2 bound Nero wholly to abstain from private trials.

9. **exustae,** so that no one else might profit by them.

oblitterata aerarii nomina re hebat, 'he was bringing back to li forgotten debts to the treasury,' tracing out and exacting treasury d from those who had been overlool Augustus is recorded to have burnt m such records (Suet. Aug. 32; Dio, 53. 2

11. **statio cohortis.** A praetorian co was present to keep order at the ga (see 1. 77, 1). The experiment mentioned was unsuccessful (see c. 25,

13. **incorruptior ageret:** cp. 'seve acturos' (4. 2, 2).

14. **lustravit.** This was done freque on occasion of prodigies, public calami or bloodshed (see H. 1. 87, 1; Liv. 9, 5; App. B. C. 1. 26, etc.). The c mony is distinct from the regular ' tratio' after a census (see on 11. 25, but consisted similarly of a proces and sacrifice. The description of a 'lustratio' in Lucan (1. 592, foll.) possibly, as Schiller thinks, have drawn from this occasion. The prin would officiate in his capacity of pon maximus.

17. **Q. Volusio P. Scipione.** former had the cognomen Saturninus; Henzen 5406, 1, and an Arval tabl 816, A.D. 63 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2043 His father is mentioned in c. 30, 4 grandfather in 3. 30, 1 (see no Pliny states (N. H. 7. 14, 12, 62) tha was born after his father was sixty

ivia, qua Nero itinera urbis et lupanaria et deverticula veste ili in dissimulationem sui compositus pererrabat, comitanti- qui raperent venditioni exposita et obviis vulnera inferrent, ersus ignaros adeo, ut ipse quoque exciperet ictus et ore prae- et. deinde ubi Caesarem esse qui grassaretur pernotuit auge- urque iniuriae adversus viros feminasque insignes, et quidam nissa semel licentia sub nomine Neronis inulti propriis cum is eadem exercebant, in modum captivitatis nox agebatur; usque Montanus senatorii ordinis, sed qui nondum honorem essisset, congressus forte per tenebras cum principe, quia vi mptantem acriter reppulerat, deinde adgnitum oraverat, quasi

h would make him only thirty-one date of his consulship), and that other was a Cornelia of the Scipio . The other consul would thus r to have been related to him, and robably have been son of the Scipio 74, 2; 11. 2, 1, etc.

leverticula. The word is used for rsorium' in Liv. 1. 51, 8, here ally of low taverns. Suet. says 26) 'post crepusculum statim o pilleo vel galero (the 'vestis s' of Tacitus) popinas inibat cir- e vicos vagabatur ludibundus, non ernicie tamen.' Cp. also Dio, 61. oll. The license here indulged in ro (cp. also c. 47, 2), and in which later princes imitated him (vit. L. , Comm. 3), is represented as often ed by vicious young men of rank uet. Oth. 3; Juv. 3. 278-301, and ad loc.).

n **dissimulationem**, etc., 'dis- to conceal his person': cp. 3, 44, note.

ui **raperent**, etc.: cp. Suet. Ner. 26 as etiam effringere et expilare; a ('a market') domi constituta, rtae et ad licitationem dividendae e pretium absumeretur.'

era **inferrent**: cp. Suet. 're- a caena verberare ac repugnantes re cloacisque demergere assuerat.'

lversus **ignaros**: the sense of agerent' is to be supplied. Dr. e anastrophe of 'adeo' here and 5, 5, as found also in Val. Max., erwise only in poets (after 'mag- multus,' 'totus'), and without a ent clause.

praeferret, 'showed marks in .' Pliny states (N. H. 13. 22, 43, 126) that he got rid of the bruises by the use of a medicament called 'thapsia.'

5. **pernotuit augebanturque**: the perf. denotes what was known once for all, the imperf. what was constantly happening.

7. **sub nomine**, 'assuming the name': cp. 5. 4, 4; 16. 19, 5, etc.

8. **in modum captivitatis**, 'in a way approaching the state of a captured city': cp. 11. 23, 4, and note, also 'in acerbissima captivitate' (H. 3. 83, 2). For 'in' Med. has ·T·, whence many read (after G.) 'et in,' making the protasis extend to 'agebatur,' and then reading 'Iulius quidem' (for Med. 'quē').

9. **senatorii ordinis**. The context shows that he had not yet become actually a senator (through the quaestorship), or at most had not gone beyond that office (cp. 14. 40, 2, and note). Suet. calls the person 'laticlavius quidam.' The laticlave was worn by sons of senators (Suet. Aug. 38) and by knights capable and desirous of becoming senators.

10. **vi attemptantem**, 'attacking him by force': cp. 'illum bello attemptare' (Stat. Th. 4, 71). This reading (after MS. Agr.) is nearer to the Med. 'uia temptantem' than that of Puteol. and others ('vim temptantem'). Suet. (l. l.) and Dio (61. 9, 3), say that Montanus was repelling an assault on his wife; whence Ritt. thinks that the original text may have been 'vim adversus uxorem eius temptantem.'

11. **oraverat**, 'had asked pardon.' Dio says that Nero at first took no notice of it, thinking that Montanus had not recognised him, but, on receiving his petition, said *οὔκουν ἤδη, Νέρωνα τύπτων, αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο*;

exprobrasset, mori adactus est. Nero tamen metuentior in pc terum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit, qui rix rum initia modica et quasi privata sinerent: si a laesis validi ageretur, arma inferebant. ludicram quoque licentiam et fautor histrionum velut in proelia convertit inpunitate et praemiis atq ipse occultus et plerumque coram prospectans, donec discor populo et gravioris motus terrore non aliud remedium repertu est, quam ut histriones Italia pellerentur milesque theatro rursu adsideret.

26. Per idem tempus actum in senatu de fraudibus libertoru efflagitatumque ut adversus male meritos revocandae liberta ius patronis daretur. nec deerant qui censerent, sed consul

quasi exprobrasset, 'as if his entreaty implied a reproach': on the infin. after 'adigere' cp. 4. 29, 3, and note.

1. **tamen**: so Halm, ed. iv. (in former editions 'iam'), after Petersen. Or., Ritt., and Jacob retain the Med. 'tum' ('tū'), which others take to be a corruption of 'aū' ('autem'). Nipp.'s criticism that this conjunction, which is very rarely used by Tacitus (except in Dial.), stands always in direct or indirect speech, not in narration, appears to have an exception in H. 2. 20, 2.

metuentior. Tacitus appears to take this comparative from Ovid (F. 6, 259). Dr. cites several analogous forms from Cic.

2. **plerosque** = 'permultos' (3. 1, 2, etc.): so 'plerumque' ('persaepe') below. Suet. says that his guard followed 'procul et occulte.'

3. **privata** = 'privatorum,' 'those of ordinary individuals': 'sinere' is so used with accus. in 6. 35, 1 (see note).

4. **ludicram licentiam.** The expression in Suet., 'seditionibus pantomimorum,' would suggest that the 'licentia' here meant was that of the actors themselves, as distinct from that of the 'fautores'; otherwise it would be well to take the two expressions (with Gron.) as a hendiadys ('ludicram licentiam fautorum'). In any case 'fautores' is a pregnant expression for 'fautorum licentiam.'

5. **velut**: he made the riots almost resemble actual battles.

6. **occultus . . . prospectans,** 'looking on from a place of concealment, and often in full view.' Suet. says 'e parte proscaeni superiore signifer simul et spectator aderat, et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fr minibus decerneretur, multa et ipse i in populum, atque etiam praetoris ca consauciavit.' For the sense of 'cora cp. 6. 8, 8, and note.

8. **histriones . . . pellerentur.** O former expulsion under Tiberius see 14, 4, and note. The next clause wo imply that some performances still t place in the theatres; but it is to gathered from 14. 21, 7 that all 'pantomimi,' not merely (as Nipp. s poses) those who had actually offen were temporarily banished. Some of 'fautores' were also arrested (c. 28, For the action taken by subsequent perors see Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 432.

rursum: see c. 24, 1.

10. **fraudibus,** 'knavery' (cp. 6. 21 16. 32, 3, etc.), i.e. ingratitude, or n fulfilment of the legitimate expectat of the patron.

11. **efflagitatum,** etc. A decisio Claudius in an individual case is reco by Ulpian (Dig. 37. 14, 5): 'Divus C dius libertum qui probatus fuit patr delatores summisisse, qui de statu facerent ei quaestionem, servum pat iussit esse.' Suet. (Cl. 25) and Dio 13, 2) speak of him as often thus act but do not ascribe to him any ger enactment.

revocandae. This sense ('re ing'), here alone given to this wor Tacitus, is elsewhere rare, being fo first in Ov. M. 9, 617, also in Sen. Suet.

12. **censerent,** i.e. expressed opi 'extra relationem': see 2. 33, 2; 3 (and note); 11. 5, 3; Momms. Sta iii. 939–940; 950, 1.

sed consules, etc. For sir

tionem incipere non ausi ignaro principe, perscripsere tamen :onsensum senatus. ille an auctor constitutionis fieret conavit inter paucos et sententiae diversos, quibusdum coalitam rtate inreverentiam eo prorupisse frementibus, *ut* vine an uo cum patronis iure agerent, † sententiam eorum consultarent rerberibus manus ultro intenderent, impudenter vel poenam n ipsi suadentes. quid enim aliud laeso patrono concessum

ıllingness in the consuls to bring on nportant question without explicit ıctions from the princeps see 5. 4, 2; 9, 2; H. 4. 9, 1. These passages 1 however show that the discretion ith them.

ille an auctor, etc. The Med. text re more corrupt than in any other ge, and runs thus: 'ille an auctor itutionis fieret ut inter paucos et ıtiae adversos quibusdam coalitam ate inreverentiam eo prorupisse frebus uine an aequo cum patronis iure nt sententiam eorum consultarent ac ribus manus ultro intenderent impuel poenam suam dissuadentes.' It ıin that we have an account of a ısion, not in the senate, but in the e cabinet council of the princeps (see l. i. vi. p. 74), similar to that given 23, 2; and that the arguments on de (introduced by 'quibusdam . . . ıtibus') are given in the rest of this er, and those on the other side in the ing. In the first sentence, a verb ssing deliberation is clearly wanting. sen (in Nipp. ed. vii.) leaves a space verb expressing doubt or hesitation 'ut' (which gives the ground of ; Ritt. somewhat strangely takes ter' to be an inverted and corrupted f 'interrogat'; others suppose 'ut' resent the remains of such a verb as ıltavit' (Halm, Dr.) or 'consuluit' nb.). The reading 'diversos' for sos' dates from Lips.; 'sententiae' thus a genit. similar to 'morum ıs' in 14. 19, 1 (see Introd. i. v. §). For the sentence 'vine . . . connt,' beyond the insertion of 'ut' sted by 'eo') before the first word, isfactory correction has been pro- and Halm and Andresen (Nipp.) he words untouched and obelized; ter noting that 'sententiam connt' cannot be good Latin, though ossible to suppose, with Madvig ii. p. 553), the general meaning to have been that they insolently asked the opinion of their patrons ('eorum'), whether they would have force or law (blows or the legal remedy: see below). Dr. reads 'ut ne aequo quidem cum patronis iure agerent, patientiam eorum insultarent,' and other desperate attempts at restoration may be found in Ritt. and Burnouf. It is not improbable that one or more sentences have been lost in which various instances of insolent conduct were given. For the last sentence, the text as above, adopted by Halm and Dr. from Madvig (l. l.), is mainly followed by Andresen (who reads 'impune' instead of 'impudenter') and Burnouf (who reads 'deridentes' instead of 'ipsi suadentes'). The sense would be that their crowning insolence was to ask that they might be punished, knowing what their only punishment could be. Various other attempts at emendation may be seen in the critical notes of Walther, Orelli, Halm, Ritt., etc.

3. **coalitam**, 'consolidated'; so of 'audacia' (14. 1, 1), 'libertas' (H. 4. 55, 4). The verb 'coalescere' is so used in Liv. etc., but the participle appears to be found only in Tacitus and Ammianus.

6. **verberibus**, dat. of purpose (='ut verberarent'): 'manus intendere' is used of threatening gestures in 4. 3, 2, etc. Compare the account of the conduct of slaves and freedmen, when protected by the 'imago Caesaris,' in 3. 36, 1.

7. **concessum**. No express law conveying such a power is known, but Augustus is stated by Dio (56. 13, 7) to have made in 757, A.D. 4, some ordinance respecting the rights (*δικαιώματα*) of patrons and others towards freedmen. This power of relegation, if, as seems here implied, it was vested in the patron himself, without the intervention of a magistrate, would be a survival of primitive jurisdiction, exercised by patria potestas in families (see 2. 50, 4; Liv. 7, 4, 5, etc.), and thus over the freedman as part of the family.

quam ut centesimum ultra lapidem in oram Campaniae libert releget? ceteras actiones promiscas et pares esse: tribuendu aliquod telum quod sperni nequeat. nec grave manu missis p idem obsequium retinendi libertatem, per quod adsecuti sin at criminum manifestos merito ad servitutem retrahi, ut me coerceantur quos beneficia non mutavissent.

27. Disserebatur contra: paucorum culpam ipsis exitiosa esse debere, nihil universorum iuri derogandum; quippe la fusum id corpus. hinc plerumque tribus, decurias, ministe

1. **ut centesimum**: so Lips. and subsequent edd. for Med. 'uicesimum' (without 'ut'). This limit is known in later times as that of the jurisdiction of the 'praef. urbi' (Dig. 1. 12, 1, 4), but, as a limit of banishment, is of older and perhaps Republican date (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1076, 4).

in oram Campaniae. It is meant that those relegated might choose their own place of residence anywhere not less than a hundred miles from Rome, and that the most eligible part of Italy was thus open to them. Such a relegation was therefore to be desired rather than dreaded, and they would ironically beg for it. Statius says (Sylv. 3. 3, 162) of a freedman thus relegated by Domitian: 'hic molles Campani litoris oras, Et Diomedeas concedere iussus in arces, Atque hospes, non exul erat.'

2. **ceteras actiones**, etc. 'in all other suits they were placed on a general and equal ground'; i.e. beyond the power above mentioned, a patron could only proceed against his freedman on the same footing as against any other citizen. For the meaning of 'promiscus' cp. 4. 16, 5; 37, 5; 14. 14, 4, etc.

4. **retinendi.** This gerundial genit. (see Introd. i. v. § 36) is found only here and in 15. 5, 3; 21, 3 (Med.), and is taken to depend on the idea of a substantive implied in the sense (as here 'onus,' implied in 'grave'). Nipp., who refers to a treatise by E. Hoffmann, compares this usage to that of the gerund as a defining or specifying genit. (cp. 3. 63, 6, and note); but the absence of any other instances has caused others to suspect the text in Tacitus. Madvig (Adv. ii. 553) considers that τοῦ ποιεῖν cannot be equivalent τὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν, and would here insert 'onus' (so Ritt. ins. 'munus'): Halm alters only 15. 21, 3.

6. **non mutavissent**, 'had not corrected their slavish instincts'; i.e. l not inspired them with higher feeling gratitude. Madv. would read, with so inferior MSS., 'commutavissent,' and t it to mean that they had been chan from good slaves to bad freedmen.

7. **Disserebatur contra.** The l interval makes the want of corresponde between this and 'quibusdam . . . mentibus' (c. 26, 2) less remarkable t that in 3, 18, 2 (cited by Nipp.). also 11. 23, 2.

9. **id corpus**, the mass of freedm Tacitus so speaks of the 'magn corpus' of the Semnones (G. 39, 4) the word is often thus used in Livy, e 'sui corporis regem' (1. 17, 2). Sc indication of the great proportion freedmen in Rome may be found in vast number of inscriptions relating them.

hinc plerumque tribus, 'of t in great part the tribes consisted.' I sibly, as Nipp. thinks, 'in urbe' belo to this clause also, and the four ur tribes alone are meant. There is dence that freedmen shared in the pu corn dole, even under the Republic Dio, 39. 24, 1; also Momms. Staatsr. 446, 1), and their enrolment in the tr was probably for this purpose (Mom i. 341, 5; iii. 461); such enrolment b apparently distinct from the privileg adding the name of the tribe to t personal 'nomina,' and the right (obsolete) of voting in tribes or cent (Id. iii. 446).

decurias. Those here meant such as the 'lictores,' 'scribae,' 'p cones,' and 'viatores.' They are at l verbally distinct from 'collegia' (Mom i. 341, 5), and are associated with 'trib cp. 'veterani decuriae tribus' (Suet. A 57), 'implevimus tribus decurias p tium senatum forum.' (Tert. Apol.

ministeria, for concrete 'm

gistratibus et sacerdotibus, cohortes etiam in urbe conscriptas; plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus non aliunde originem ni: si separarentur libertini, manifestam fore penuriam ingenum. non frustra maiores, cum dignitatem ordinum dividerent, rtatem in communi posuisse. quin et manu mittendi duas cies institutas, ut relinqueretur paenitentiae aut novo beneficio us. quos vindicta patronus non liberaverit, velut vinclo sertis attineri. dispiceret quisque merita tardeque concederet

: so 'apparitores et ministeria' nt. Aq. 101). Some persons who t be so called belonged to the uriae' already mentioned, and many merely slaves (see Pl. ad Trai. 31, 32, 1); but the reference is here to free attendants as were not incored. Mommsen (l. l.) instances 'ac-' and 'calatores.'

cohortes. The 'vigiles' (Introd. i. . 91) are meant (cp. Strab. 5. 3, 7, Dio, 55. 26, 4). The 'urbanae co-s' were of the same status as the orian (4. 5, 5). For an instance of nrolment of freedmen in the legions, ote on 1. 31, 4.

plurimis equitum, plerisque se-ribus, 'most of the knights, very (cp. 'plerumque' above, and c. 25, 3) e senators, derive their origin from igher source.' Under Tiberius the rivileges of Roman knighthood had restricted to 'ingenui' of three ations (Pl. N. H. 33. 2, 8, 32); but ule must have always had exceptions was now much relaxed. The four ers Vitellii, all senators of the highest were sons of a knight, who (acg to the most probable account) himself son of a freedman (Suet. Vit. was also the knight Vedius Pollio 1. 11, 4); and Pliny mentions (Ep. 1) a freedman's son of his own time had been praetor. The cognomen rasea and that of Tacitus himself been thought to indicate such an (see others noted in Merivale c. 68, 5). Freedmen themselves became rs under Commodus (Vit. Comm.

penuriam ingenuorum: see 4.

n communi posuisse, 'made free-the common property of all,' i. e. all Roman citizens equal, in so far y were free. Cp. 'cetera in comsita sunt' (H. 4. 74, 2).

manu mittendi duas species. The distinction drawn is between 'iusta manumissio,' whether by 'vindicta,' 'testamentum,' or 'census' (enrolment on the list of citizens by the censor), and that of a more private character, whether 'inter amicos,' 'per epistolam,' or 'convivio' (by declaration in private before five witnesses, or in a letter countersigned by five persons, or by the reception of the slave as a guest at the master's table). Nipp. rightly explains the absence of mention here of the two latter kinds of 'iusta manumissio' by pointing out that manumission by census must have become practically obsolete through the disuse of the censorship, and that that by will could only take effect on the testator's death, and could have no bearing on the present question of the behaviour due towards the benefactor.

6. **paenitentiae aut novo beneficio.** Those who had been only privately manumitted could receive 'iusta manumissio' afterwards (cp. Plin. Epp. 7. 16, 3 'Si voles vindicta liberare quos proxime inter amicos manumisisti'). Ern. rightly points out that, as even the lower kind of manumission was not revocable, the only 'locus paenitentiae' consisted in the option of refusing the further step.

7. **vindicta,** by the touch of the lictor's wand, accompanied by a certain form of words and by the master turning the slave round (see Pers. 5, 75. foll.). This ceremony required the presence of a consul, praetor, proconsul, or propraetor. So Pliny offers (l. l.) to induce Tiro, a proconsul on his way to his province, to turn aside to the house of a friend for this purpose.

velut vinclo servitutis attineri. Those who had received 'iusta manumissio' became Roman citizens: those otherwise manumitted were by the old law still of servile condition, but had received a distinct status (that of 'Latini

quod datum non adimeretur. haec sententia valuit, scripsitq Caesar senatui, privatim expenderent causam libertorum, qu tiens a patronis arguerentur: in commune nihil derogarent. n multo post ereptus amitae libertus Paris quasi iure civili, n sine infamia principis, cuius iussu perpetratum ingenuitatis iud cium erat.

28. Manebat nihilo minus quaedam imago rei publicae. na inter Vibullium praetorem et plebei tribunum Antistium ortu certamen, quod inmodestos fautores histrionum et a praetore vincla ductos tribunus omitti iussisset. conprobavere patres, i cusata Antistii licentia. simul prohibiti tribuni ius praetorum

Iuniani') by the lex Iunia Norbana in the time of Tiberius, which, while giving them Latin rights such as 'ius commercii,' left them bound so far 'velut vinclo servitutis' as to be subject to certain disabilities, such as the denial of connubium, and inability to make a will or to inherit under one. See Gaius 1. 23; 3. 55, and Poste, p. 54; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 626.

2. **privatim,** 'personally'; that they should consider each individual case on its merits: for the use of 'expendere' cp. 14. 35, 4.

3. **in commune,** 'generally,' cp. 3. 27, 5, etc.

4. **amitae libertus Paris**: see c. 19, 4. Nero is mentioned in the context, so that Ritt.'s insertion of 'eius' after 'amitae' is needless.

quasi iure civili, i.e. by being judicially pronounced 'ingenuus'; the 'quasi' implying that the decision was not an honest one. The circumstances of the case are given in Dig. 12. 4, 3, § 5 'Neratius libro membranarum refert, Paridem pantomimum a Domitia, Neronis amita, decem (sestertia), quae ei pro libertate dederat, repetisse per iudicem, nec fuisse quaesitum, an Domitia sciens liberum accepisset.' He had bought his freedom, and claimed to recover the sum paid, on the ground that he was free born, and the court, to please Nero, decided in his favour, and did not even raise the question whether Domitia had bought him knowing him to be free.

7. **imago rei publicae**: cp. 'manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis' (1. 74, 6); also the expression 'imago antiquitatis in 3. 60, 1. By 'nihilo minus' it is implied that the action of the senate and law cou described in the last chapter was free.

8. **Antistium,** Antistius Sosian praetor in 815, A.D. 62, in which y he was exiled and narrowly escaped dea for a libel (14. 48–49). He is afterwa heard of as accusing a brother exile (14, 1), and as ordered back into exile 823, A.D. 70, when he is called 'pravit morum multis exitiosus' (H. 4. 44, 3).

9. **fautores histrionum**: cp. c. 40. Vibullius was no doubt the presidi praetor at the 'ludi.'

10. **conprobavere,** approved the tion of the praetor ('fautores in vin ductos esse'). That the tribune was acti within the old lines of his official rig is plain from ancient precedents (e. Liv. 38. 60, 6); so that the power h assumed by the senate to annul his int position and censure his 'licentia' noticeable.

11. **ius praeripere.** This decree d not appear to do away with the anci 'ius appellationis' against the decree a magistrate, which evidently (see Pl Ep. 1. 23, 3) still continued to belong tribunes. The word 'praeripere' see rather to point to some stretch of author by which they were in the habit of int vening in an impending suit before pr tors or consuls, and transferring its c nisance to themselves (see Mom Staatsr. i. 146, 1; ii. 105, 1; 310, That the tribunes continued as late the time of Hadrian to exercise so judicial function ('cognitio') is pl from Juv. 7, 228, but whether by way appeal or as a court of first instance see an open question (see Mayor, ad l Momms. Staatsr. i. 279, 7; ii. 309, 2)

ısulum praeripere aut vocare ex Italia cum quibus lege agi sset. addidit L. Piso designatus consul, ne quid intra domum potestate adverterent, neve multam ab iis dictam quaestores arii in publicas tabulas ante quattuor menses referrent; medio ıporis contra dicere liceret, deque eo consules statuerent. co-ita artius et aedilium potestas statutumque quantum curules,

vocare ex Italia. This must ainly have been an illegal stretch of er; the old authority of the tribunes ng been restricted to the city (cp. γέγραπται αὐτῶν τὸ κράτος τοῖς τεί- Dion. Hal. 8. 87), or at most to one beyond it (cp. Liv. 3. 20, 7). The te seems to admit by implication the of tribunes to summon persons re them in Rome; but even this, gh we gather it to have been largely tised, is questioned by high authority. o (ap. Gell. 13. 12) distinguishes the of summoning an absent person catio') from that of laying hands on n presence ('prensio'), and maintains tribunes had the latter power only, istinct from magistrates with 'im-m' (who had both), and from such uaestors (who had neither power). us also cites the great jurist Antis-Labeo (see on 3. 75, 2) as laying the same rule, and as himself ing to obey a tribune's messenger.

m quibus lege agi posset, e liable to a suit at law': the term plicable to civil process only (cp. 12. , also Momms. Staatsr. i. 146, 1; ɔ, 1). On the relation of the consuls alian causes see c. 4, 3, and note. xample of consular civil jurisdiction survived in that respecting 'fidei nissa,' specially committed to them ugustus (Just. Inst. 2. 23, 1), and etained by them when the case was ore importance than those left to raetors (Quint. 3. 6, 70; see also ns. Staatsr. ii. 103).

L. Piso, mentioned again in c. 31, . 18, 4. He is taken to be son of nsul of 780, A.D. 27 (4. 62, 1), and bly the L. Piso, pontifex, who was nd of Licinia Magna, daughter of her consul of that year (C. I. L. vi. see also Momms. in Eph. Epig. , foll.); probably also the same ned as one of the Arvales from 811 , A.D. 58–63 (C. I. L. vi. i. 2039– and as 'curator aquarum' in 813– . D. 60–63 (Front. Aq. 102). If he is son who was still alive within Pliny's memory (Ep. 3. 7, 12), he was father of the proconsul of Africa of 823, A.D. 70 (see H. 4. 38, 2), with whom Borghesi (Œuvr. iv. 534, 536) identifies him.

ne quid, etc. 'that they should inflict no penalty (cp. 2. 32, 5 and note) officially within their houses.' Nipp. takes this to mean that in private offences committed by members of the household they should have no more power than any other paterfamilias; but this seems to have been the general rule for all magistrates. It appears to revive an old restriction of this power, namely, that although the tribune's house was open night and day to those who desired to invoke his 'auxilium' (Plut. Q. R. 81), the actual intervention had to be exercised in public, usually by the 'collegium' sitting together (cp. 'ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur' Liv. 42. 33, 1); their usual place of session being at the 'rostra' (Gell. l. l.) or in the 'Basilica Porcia' (Plut. Cat. Min. 5). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 292.

3. **neve multam,** etc. Mommsen considers (Staatsr. ii. 310, 2) that civil processes are still alone referred to. The large powers of fining exercised by tribunes under the Republic cannot have survived at this date. The registration at the aerarium is similar to that of senatorial decrees (3. 51, 3), and had to take place before sentence could be enforced.

4. **medio temporis,** 'during the interval.' This expression occurs also in 14. 53, 2; H. 2. 53, 2 (see Introd. i. v. § 32 a).

5. **deque eo,** etc. 'appeal should lie to the consuls.' These appear to have had, as a 'potestas maior,' the right to reverse decisions of other magistrates (Momms. Staatsr. i. 269; ii. 101). An instance is given by Val. Max. (7. 7, 6) of the reversal of the praetor's decision in a civil suit by the consul Mamercus Lepidus in 677, B.C. 77.

6. **aedilium.** On their number and functions under the empire see Introd. i. vi. p. 76. The penal powers here referred

quantum plebei pignoris caperent vel poenae inrogarent. e Helvidius Priscus tribunus plebei adversus Obultronium Sa binum aerarii quaestorem contentiones proprias exercuit, tam quam ius hastae adversus inopes inclementer augeret. dei princeps curam tabularum publicarum a quaestoribus ad prae fectos transtulit.

29. Varie habita ac saepe mutata eius rei forma. nam Au

to would belong to their 'cura urbis,' which had been already curtailed by Claudius (Suet. Cl. 38).

1. **quantum . . . pignoris**, etc. 'within what limit they might distrain or fine.' The power of 'pignoris capio,' or seizing property in case of contumacy, is part of the general coercive power of magistrates (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 160), and is generally associated with that of fining (cp. Varr. ap. Gell. 14. 7, 10; Liv. 37. 51, 4; 43. 16, 5). Senators were liable to it for disregarding a summons to the house (see note on 16. 22, 1). We gather from this passage (see also Momms. ii. 513) that a higher limit was fixed for the curule than for the plebeian aediles. The form 'aedilis plebeius' for 'aedilis plebi,' is noted by Momms. (ii. 471, 3) as found in Fest. and in inscriptions; and perhaps 'plebeii' should be here read, as in 11. 24, 11.

et Helvidius. Most recent edd. follow Gron. in reading 'et' for 'eo,' which can hardly yield a good sense. The Helvidius Priscus now tribune can hardly be the 'legatus legionis' of five years earlier (see 12. 49, 3, and note). If the famous person of the name (16. 28, 2 and note) is identical with this one, his quaestorship must have been filled under Claudius rather than Nero: the view that he is addressed by Thrasea as 'iuvenis' in 16. 35, 3, is perhaps mistaken.

2. **Obultronium Sabinum**, mentioned in H. 1. 37, 6 as put to death in Spain by Galba.

3. **contentiones proprias**, 'a personal dispute,' in contrast to these general measures for restricting magisterial powers. Instances occur in early history of interference on the part of the tribunes with the collection of dues for the treasury, but chiefly by extorting conditions in this respect before they permit a delectus to be held. See Liv. 6. 31, 4; 32, 1; and Momms. Staatsr. i. 277.

tamquam, on the ground that: cp. c. 20, 1.

4. **ius hastae**: cp. 3. 31, 7. On th power of the quaestor to levy such sa of property cp. Liv. 4. 15, 8, etc Momms. ii. 552.

augeret. In Med. 'g' is written an erasure, and the original text is thoug by Baiter to be 'auderet:' Ricklefs wou read 'ageret.' The text would bear th meaning that he 'stretched his righ though no strictly parallel instance a pears to be found.

5. **curam tabularum publicaru** The aerarium was also the record offi (see above, § 3), so that the 'cura tab larum' and 'cura aerarii' were identic

praefectos. These persons, wh were senators of praetorian rank (c. 29, are designated in inscriptions (Henz 5431, 5446, 6051, etc.) 'praefecti aera Saturni.' A reason for the change bei made at this time is suggested (s Momms. i. 277, 4) by the fact that 'praefecti' (officers of Caesar) they wou be independent of such interference the part of a tribune as is here mentione The alleged reason is given in c. 29, 3.

7. **Varie habita**, etc., 'the regulati of that department had been in differe hands and had been often changed': c 'forma reipublicae' (4. 33, 1), 'civitati (H. 4. 8, 3), etc. The whole chapt treats only of the public treasury, not the 'aerarium militare' (1. 78, 2; 5. 8, nor, of course, of the 'fiscus.'

nam Augustus, etc. Under t Republic the 'aerarium' had been in t hands of quaestors (see on 11. 22, 8) t 709, B.C. 45, when it happened that quaestors were elected, and the dicta Caesar gave the charge to two aedi (Dio, 43. 48, 1). Dio appears to inte to state that this arrangement lasted t the regulation of Augustus here refer to, but his meaning is not free from dou and the administration by aediles, which Suet. (Aug. 36) has no knowled is shown by Mommsen (ii. 557, 4) not have been really permanent. The ord ance of Augustus, made in 726, B.C.

stus senatui permisit deligere praefectos; deinde ambitu fragiorum suspecto, sorte ducebantur ex numero praetorum praeessent. neque id diu mansit, quia sors deerrabat ad rum idoneos. tunc Claudius quaestores rursum imposuit, que, ne metu offensionum segnius consulerent, extra ordinem nores promisit: sed deerat robur aetatis eum primum magiatum capessentibus. igitur Nero praetura perfunctos et exientia probatos delegit.

30. Damnatus isdem consulibus Vipsanius Laenas ob Sardi-

ɔ, 53. 2, 1), gave the charge to two ers of praetorian rank, who, although ed 'praefecti,' were to be chosen not Caesar but by the senate.

ambitu . . . suspecto, 'through rehensions of intrigue': cp. 3. 52, 1 specta severitate') and note.

praetorum, two of the praetors of year, called 'praetores aerarii' (1. 75, or 'praetores ad aerarium' (Insc. Or. Dio, who places this change in B.C. 23 (53. 32, 2), calls these praetors e ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει (l. l.; cp. 60. 4, 4; 3). Tiberius, without making any ge in the control of the treasury, ed apparently another board of three tors to be chosen to take charge of record department (Dio, 57. 16, 2). se bear the title 'curatores tabularum icarum' (see Inscr. quoted on 12. 45,

tunc Claudius. Nipp. and Dr. 'tum'; but it seems possible to nd 'tunc' as referred to the time ed by 'sors deerrabat,' etc. or by the er use of this adverb in post-Augustan n. Claudius had appointed a special d of three ex-praetors in 797, A.D. 42, llect outstanding treasury debts (Dio, o, 4), and two years later made the ge here alluded to (Id. 60. 24, 1), in exion with the abolition of quaestorial vinciae' in Italy (see 4. 27, 2, and . 'Rursum' implies that the change reversion to ancient custom, though the important difference that the quaestores aerarii' were selected by princeps, and held office three years the following Insc. and Dio, l. l.); at the expression of Suet. (Cl. 24), egio quaestorum . . . curam aerarii ni reddidit,' is inaccurate. One of irst persons so appointed was the r-in-law of Agricola (Agr. 6, 1), as own by an inscription (Henzen 6456) Do]mitio T. f., Vel(ina tribu), Decidio, [iii] viro capitali, [adlec]to a Ti. Claudio Caesare [Augus]to Germanico qui primu[s quaes]tor per triennium citra [ordine]m praeesset aerario Saturni, praetori.'

5. **extra ordinem**, etc. If approved in their office, they passed on at once to the praetorship without the intermediate step of tribune or aedile (Dio, l. l. and Insc. l. l.): 'honores' is used here specially of the higher magistracies (see c. 45, 1; 6. 2, 5, and note).

6. **eum primum.** The term 'magistratus' is not taken to include the lesser offices, or 'vigintiviratus' (see 3. 29, 1, and note), held before the quaestorship.

7. **praetura perfunctos.** The usual expression is 'praetura functus,' which has a somewhat stricter meaning than 'praetorius' (see 2. 33, 1, and note).

experientia: cp. c. 6, 4, etc.

8. **delegit.** He chose these 'praefecti aerarii Saturni' (see Momms. ii. 559) himself, instead of leaving the choice to the senate, as Augustus had done (§ 1). It is probable that he followed the precedent of Claudius in making them hold office for three or more years (see Momms. l. l.), and that the arrangement now made was on the whole permanent, though the treasury is mentioned as in the hands of praetors in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 4. 9, 1).

9. **isdem consulibus**, used for 'eodem anno,' although the consuls who gave their name to the year were no longer in office.

Sardiniam. This island, with Corsica, was at this time governed by a Caesarian procurator (see note on 2. 85, 5). Nero, during his tour in Greece, proclaimed the freedom of Achaia, and, to make up for its loss, gave back Corsica and Sardinia to the senate (Paus. 7. 17, 3). This proclamation is generally dated from the Isthmian games of 820, A.D. 67: but a Sardinian inscription of that year in

niam provinciam avare habitam. absolutus Cestius Proculu repetundarum, Cretensibus accusantibus. Clodius Quirinali quod praefectus remigum, qui Ravennae haberentur, velut ir fimam nationum Italiam luxuria saevitiaque adflictavisset, venen damnationem anteiit. Caninius Rebilus, ex primoribus periti legum et pecuniae magnitudine, cruciatus aegrae senectae emiss per venas sanguine effugit, haud creditus sufficere ad constantian sumendae mortis, ob libidines muliebriter infamis. at L. Volu

which the proconsul cites another proconsul, as well as a procurator, as his predecessors, suggests an earlier date (see Momms. in Hermes ii. 102, foll., iii. 107, foll.; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 97, 10).

1. **avare habitam**: cp. 3. 13, 2, and note.

Cestius: so Rhen. and subsequent edd. for Med. 'cestus.' G. has 'Cesius,' whence Ritt. reads 'Caesius.'

2. **Cretensibus**: so all recent edd., after Nipp., on the analogy of 'accusantibus Cyrenensibus' (14. 18, 1), 'Mauris' (14. 28, 3). Med. has 'credentibus,' whence Ber. and other old edd. read 'cedentibus' ('relinquishing the prosecution'). Crete (with Cyrene) was a senatorial province of the second rank (see 3. 38, 1, and note).

Clodius Quirinalis. An inscription found at Trieste (C. I. L. v. 1, 533; Wilm. 1244) gives his full name and titles: 'P. Palpellius, P. f., Maec(ia tribu), Clodius Quirinalis, p(rimi) p(ilus) Leg. XX, trib. milit. Leg. VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(elicis), proc. Aug., praef. classis.' The last words show that by 'praefectus remigum' is meant the office of praefect of the 'classis praetoria' at Ravenna (see 4. 5, 1, and note; Introd. i. vii. p. 108). His appointments would show him to have been a knight; and the equestrian 'cursus honorum' appears often to begin with the rank of 'primipilus' (see 1. 29, 2, and note, and other instances in Friedl. i. 334).

3. **velut infimam nationum**, 'as if it had been one of the most despised nations.' It is implied that such cruelties, practised on an uncivilised people, would not have been severely condemned. For a similar Roman sentiment see 1. 76, 5; 2. 85, 5.

5. **damnationem anteiit**, 'anticipated condemnation' (so in 6. 29, 7): for the reasons prompting many to such a course see 6. 29, 2. These three cases thus mentioned together are supposed to ha been all tried before the senate; but tw of the persons were officers of Caesar, an Nero would appear from c. 33, 1 to ha tried such cases personally.

Caninius Rebilus: so all ed after Lips., substituting the name of well-known family for the unknown nan of the Med. text ('G. Aminius Rebius' Seneca mentions (de Ben. 2. 21, 6), in a anecdote belonging to the time of Gaiu one 'Rebilus consularis,' a rich man infamous character, who may well be th person. Another, probably his fathe was cos. suff. in 742, B. C. 12, and died office (Fast. Cap.). His grandfather m have been the person who was cos. su for one day in 709, B. C. 45 (see H. 37, 3).

6. **emisso**: so Halm, Dr., Jacob, aft Heins. (on the supposition that 'e' w lost after 'senectae'), for Med. 'miss which Or. and Nipp. retain. Instanc are found of both expressions (Cel Petron. 90; Plin. N. H. 25. 5, 23, 56 and though both are used rather of t medical operation of bleeding, eith might here be understood of suicide aid of the context.

7. **creditus sufficere**; for this co struction see Introd. i. v. § 45.

8. **sumendae mortis**: cp. 'sig sumpti exitii' 3. 7, 2 (and note).

muliebriter: cp. 11. 36, 5.

L. Volusius, father of the con (c. 25, 1). It appears from Plin. N. 7. 14, 12, 62, that he was at his dea praefectus urbis, which office he m probably have held for many years succession to Sanquinius Maximus (note on 6. 4, 4). It is shown by so inscriptions (most of which are mu mutilated), that he was legatus of D matia under Tiberius and Gaius, aug sodalis Augustalis, and sodalis Titius I. L. iii. 1. 2974–2976; Eph. Epig. p. 113).

s egregia fama concessit, cui tres et nonaginta anni spatium endi praecipuaeque opes bonis artibus inoffensa tot impera- um malitia fuerunt.

31. Nerone iterum L. Pisone consulibus pauca memoria digna nere, nisi cui libeat laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis lem amphitheatri apud campum Martis Caesar extruxerat, umina implere, cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum res inlustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare. erum coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatae t, plebeique congiarium quadringeni nummi viritim dati, et tertium quadringentiens aerario inlatum est ad retinendam

concessit, for 'vita concessit': cp. 1, 2; 4. 38, 3.

opes. He had inherited much from ather (3. 30, 2), and had increased his s by saving (14. 56, 1); hence they 'bonis artibus' (sc. 'quaesitae'), in rast especially to the wealth gained he accuser's trade, or the dishonest s of the great freedmen: cp. 'magnae innocenter partae' (4. 44, 1).

offensa . . . malitia, abl. abs. o. thinks 'amicitia' must be read r Lips.), with which 'inoffensa' would 'uninterrupted,' as in 1. 56, 2; H. 3, 5 ('cursu honorum inoffenso'); t. 1. 1, 31 ('inoffensa literarum . . . inctio'), etc.; but the text can be 1 to mean 'without coming into colli- with the malevolence': cp. 'Cogit nsae currus accedere metae' (Luc. 1).

fuerunt: so Halm, Dr., Baiter, for 'fuit,' which others retain, but h involves taking 'malitia' less well minative.

L. Pisone: see c. 28, 3, and note. us Martialis was suffectus with Nero e end of the year (C. I. L. ii. 2958).

nisi cui libeat, etc. Tacitus speaks what bitterly, and evidently refers ne particular historian or historians. s been thought (see Nipp. Introd.) that the allusion is to the elder , whose authority is elsewhere oned somewhat slightingly (15. 53, nd who has given in his Natural ry (16. 40, 76, 200), and may also inserted in his general history, a e of a larch beam of remarkable brought to Rome many years before, worked into this amphitheatre. The er Pliny, who might have been hurt ch an allusion, is believed to have died before the date of the completion of the Annals (see Momms. in Hermes iii. 99). Suet. (Ner. 12) mentions this amphitheatre as built of wood, and as finished within a year, and gives an account of the contests held in it (see note on 14. 14, 6).

7. **cum . . . repertum sit,** 'whereas it has been an established usage, suitable to the dignity of the Roman people.' On the sense of 'ex' cp. 1. 58, 2, etc.: that of 'repertum' seems new, but persons may be said to discover what they institute or establish.

8. **annalibus,** used generally for history, as in 3. 65, 1.

diurnis urbis actis. On these journals, see Introd. i. iii. p. 15.

9. **Capua atque Nuceria.** The former (now Sta Maria, about three miles from the modern Capoua) was one of the Campanian colonies of the dictator Caesar (Caes. B. C. 1. 14, 4, etc.); the latter (Nocera, east of Pompeii) was one of the colonies contemplated by the triumvirs (App. B. C. 4. 3), but was probably not established till the time of Augustus. On new colonies in Italy, see 14. 27, 2.

10. **congiarium.** On such gifts see 3. 29, 3 (and note); 12. 41, 3. This one is recorded on coins of Nero, inscribed 'Cong. i. dat. pop.' (Cohen i. p. 283, 68); other coins record a second (Cohen i. 284, 72); and Eckhel (vi. 271) refers to some evidence for a third (see note on 15. 72, 1). It is suggested by Schiller (p. 109) that this one was intended to mark the beginning of his principate, but had to be delayed till the fiscus had recovered from the donative (12. 69, 3).

quadringeni; so all edd. after Lips. for Med. 'quadrigeni.' The amount

populi fidem. vectigal quoque quintae et vicensimae venaliu mancipiorum remissum, specie magis quam vi, quia cum vendit pendere iuberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus adcresceba edixit Caesar, ne quis magistratus aut procurator in provinc *quam* obtineret spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut qu aliud ludicrum ederet. nam ante non minus tali largitione qua corripiendis pecuniis subiectos adfligebant, dum quae libidi deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.

32. Factum et senatus consultum ultioni iuxta et securita

is larger than any which had been given since the earlier largesses of Augustus: see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 138.

quadringentiens, 40 million HS. Similar gifts from the fiscus to supply deficits in the aerarium are mentioned in Mon. Anc. iii. 34, amounting to 150 million HS. Such occasional subventions (see Hirschf. Unters. p. 22) are to be distinguished from the definite annual contribution alluded to in 15. 18, 4 (where see note).

ad retinendam populi fidem, 'to sustain the public credit' (so 'fides' in 6. 17, 5; H. 1. 88, 5, etc.). Possibly (as Prof. Holbrooke suggests) the youth and inexperience of the former 'quaestores aerarii' (see c. 29, 3) had led to mismanagement.

1. **quintae et vicensimae**, a duty of four per cent. on the purchase of slaves (wholly distinct from the old 'vicensima' on manumissions). This duty is otherwise known as a 'quinquagesima' (two per cent.) imposed by Augustus (Dio, 55. 31, 4), which had been doubled, probably by Gaius, certainly by the time of Claudius (Or. Insc. 3336), and appears to have belonged to the 'aerarium militare' (Dio, l. l.).

2. **specie magis quam vi.** The remission consisted only in that it was levied from the slave-dealers ('mangones'), who were usually foreigners, instead of from the purchasers, who were usually Roman citizens: and the former took care to recoup themselves by adding it to the price of the slaves. The change appears only to have made the mode of levying this duty uniform with that of other such imposts (Schill. p. 106).

4. **edixit Caesar.** For other such imperial decrees by edicts see c. 51, 1, etc.

magistratus aut procurator. By the former term (similarly opposed to the praefects of Egypt in 12. 60, 3) proconsuls and legati pro praetore are meant.

5. **quam obtineret**: so Halm, Ni Dr. after Madv., who points out (A ii. 553) that 'quam' could easily h been lost after 'cia.' Halm had forme struck out 'obtineret'; most others foll Rhen. in altering 'in provincia' to ' provinciam.'

6. **nam ante**, etc. Ern. rightly expla this to mean that these shows were a ki of 'ambitus,' whereby they secured pa sans who either prevented those who w oppressed from prosecuting the govern or frustrated the prosecution by a cou demonstration; and that this 'largit was itself the means of oppressing subjects by making redress more diffic On other such modes of 'ambitus' see 20–21. The gladiators of a provin governor are mentioned in 1. 22, 1. seems doubtful (see Friedl. ii. 336) whet this edict remained long in force; but provincial 'ludi' mentioned in inscripti appear to have belonged to the princ and to have been under his procurat (see Hirschf. 181; Momms. Staatsr. 1071, 2).

7. **libidine**, used of wickedness general, as in 12. 46, 3; H. 4. 73, 5,

8. **propugnant** = 'tuentur': so w accus. in 15. 13, 2; Stat. and Suet. earlier writers the verb is used absol. with 'pro' and abl.

9. **senatus consultum.** This dec is cited by jurists as the 'senatus c sultum Claudianum,' and was an extens of an earlier 'senatus consultum Sila num,' passed in 763, A.D. 10; which described (Dig. 29. 5) as ordaining t 'domino occiso de ea familia quae habenda est quae intra tectum fuerit certe extra tectum cum domino eo te pore quo occidebatur.' This new dec is cited as containing the provision h mentioned; also as extending the resp sibility on the murder of a wife to household of the husband and vice ver also as ordaining, that those who

si quis a suis servis interfectus esset, ii quoque, qui testamento nu missi sub eodem tecto mansissent, inter servos supplicia nderent. redditur ordini Lurius Varus consularis, avaritiae ninibus olim perculsus. et Pomponia Graecina insignis nina, A. Plautio, quem ovasse de Britannis rettuli, nupta ac perstitionis externae rea, mariti iudicio permissa. isque prisco tituto propinquis coram de capite famaque coniugis cognovit

ı sold in the meantime were to be aimed, and the price made good by seller (Dig. l. l., Paul. Rec. Sent. 3.). An instance of such wholesale exe-on of a household is given in 14. 42–

ltioni . . . securitati, dat. of pur-: see Introd. i. v. § 22 c.

Lurius Varus. Being a consular, ıad probably been proconsul of Asia Africa, and had been expelled from senate for extortion. This had no ot been mentioned in its proper place, s to make further explanation here less. The name in Med. is 'Lurius us,' read in old edd. as 'Lucius us'; but 'Lurius' is a Roman name l. 2. 85, 2, etc.), and 'Varius' is best n (with Nipp.) to be an error of as-ation.

perculsus: cp. 'perculit' (4. 31, 3, 4).

omponia Graecina, probably hter of Pomponius Graecinus, who cos. suff. in 769, A. D. 16 (see Henzen 6442, and note there), and a friend of (ex P. 4. 9, etc.).

A. Plautio. The name is restored by from Med. 'platio,' the praenomen d by Nipp., as likely to have been after 'femina'; otherwise a single would suffice for a person so well n to the reader. He was cos. suff. 2, A. D. 29 (I. R. N. 1968), and is n by another inscription (C. I. L. v. 8) to have been legatus of Claudius elmatia. On his services in Britain ntrod. pp. 132, foll.

em ovasse . . . rettuli. Halm, ., and Dr. follow Acid. in this reading, ie supposition that Tacitus would ally thus refer here to what he must fully recorded in its place. Others the MS. text 'qui ovans se . . . ret-i (but reading 'Britannis,' with G., ed. 'Britanniis'), explaining 'se ret-i as a somewhat grandiose expression ediit' (cp. Verg. G. 4, 180; Aen. 7, tc.), suited to the rarity at this time of the honour of an ovation (see Introd. p. 139, 2). Walther retains also 'Britanniis;' but this plural is not according to the usage of Tacitus, and is hardly to be defended by its use to denote the islands (Plin. N. H. 4. 16, 30, 102). The ovation of Plautius took place on his return from Britain in 800, A.D. 47 (Dio, 60. 30, 2); and Claudius is stated (Suet. Cl. 24) to have even paid him the honour of riding in the procession at his side.

6. **superstitionis externae.** The term is general (cp. 11. 15, 1), and might well be used of Judaism or of the Egyptian religion; but the belief that Pomponia was a Christian derives support from the account of her habits of life (§ 4, 5), and still more from the discovery of Christian inscriptions, of about a century and half after this date, to a Pomponius Graecinus and Pomponius Bassus, who would naturally be taken to belong to her family: see de Rossi, Roma Sott. ii. 360–364; Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sott. pp. 122–125; Friedl. Sitteng. i. 451. Probably, if she was a Christian, this was made, as often, the ground of a charge of conjugal infidelity, and for this reason the judgment was left to her husband, and it was in this sense that she was pronounced 'insons'; (Nipp., and Lightfoot, St. Clem. i. 30).

prisco instituto propinquis coram. The old law is described by Dion. Hal., who says of the wife charged with adultery (2. 25), *δικαστὴν τὸν ἀδικούμενον ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας κύριον· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐδίκαζον.* This presence of her 'propinqui' (cp. 2. 50, 2) or 'cognati' (Liv. 39. 18, 6, etc.) as assessors was a check on the otherwise absolute authority of the husband, who in cases 'flagrantis delicti' might take summary vengeance (Cato ap. Gell. 10. 23, 5). For instances of such trials see 2. 50, 4; Liv. l. l. and Epit. 48; Suet. Tib. 35; and others collected in Lips. Exc. on 4. 42; Marquardt, Privatl. 5, 7.

7. **de capite,** in the Roman legal sense

et insontem pronuntiavit. longa huic Pomponiae aetas et con tinua tristitia fuit. nam post Iuliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalina interfectam per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri, no animo nisi maesto egit; idque illi imperitante Claudio inpun mox ad gloriam vertit.

33. Idem annus plures reos habuit, quorum P. Celerem accu sante Asia, quia absolvere nequibat Caesar, traxit, senecta done mortem obiret; nam Celer interfecto, ut memoravi, Silano pr consule magnitudine sceleris cetera flagitia obtegebat. Cossu tianum Capitonem Cilices detulerant maculosum foedumque e idem ius audaciae in provincia ratum quod in urbe exercuerat

of the term. We can hardly suppose that at this date the punishment of death, so far in excess of that prescribed by public law (see on 2. 50, 4), could have been inflicted.

1. **pronuntiavit**: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Muret. for Med. 'nuntiavit;' which is retained by others, and which might be taken, with Pfitzn., to mean that he sent word of her acquittal to the senate, which had referred the case to him.

huic Pomponiae. The name is repeated, because Plautius has been since mentioned (cp. 12. 49, 2).

2. **Iuliam Drusi filiam.** On this Iulia see Introd. i. ix. pp. 141, 149. Her great grandmother was a Pomponia, daughter of Atticus (2. 42, 7), through whom this Graecina may have been related to her. She was the mother of Rubellius Plautus (c. 19. 3). Messalina is stated by Dio (60. 18, 4) to have caused her to be put to death in 796, A.D. 43, out of jealousy (ζηλοτυπήσασα). Suet. (Cl. 29) says 'crimine incerto, nec defensione ulla data.' Suillius was employed to accuse her (c. 43, 3).

3. **per quadraginta annos**, i. e. all the rest of her life. This would show her to have lived on to the time of Domitian.

non cultu, etc. 'with no dress but that of mourning': cp. 'laeto cultu' (2. 75, 3): 'egit'='vixit,' as in 1. 4, 4, etc.

4. **inpune**, used as an adj., cp. 'inpune esse' (1. 72, 3, and note).

5. **mox**, in the reaction afterwards.

6. **P. Celerem**: see c. 1, 3, where it is said that he was 'procurator fisci' in Asia when he poisoned Silanus. The power of extortion in such procurators had been no doubt increased by the change mentioned in 12. 60.

7. **absolvere nequibat Caesar.** Th expression need not in itself imply a pr vate trial before Caesar (see on c. 52, 1 but that he was so tried is probable fro the account as a whole, and from the fa that such was usually the case with suc persons (cp. 'apud principem . . . proc ratores principum defendere' Dial. 7, 1) the instance in the time of Tiberius (15, 3) being evidently exceptional. Se note on c. 30, 2.

traxit, 'let him (his case) dra on.' This sense with a personal accu is analogous to that of 'differri' in 20, 1.

9. **obtegebat**, 'was casting into shade the meaning appears to be that the reaso for screening him was that his great crim had been in Nero's service, and that made all his lesser outrages seem insig nificant in Nero's eyes.

Cossutianum Capitonem: see 1 6, 5, and note.

10. **Cilices.** Cilicia had been part the province of Syria (see 2. 78, 3, an note), of which Capito was certainly no legatus (see on 14. 26, 4); but its recon stitution as a distinct province, usuall ascribed to Vespasian (see Marqu. Staats i. 229, 11), may have taken place earlie or a temporary governor may have bee sent to Cilicia, as Lehmann (p. 17 thinks, after the disturbance mentioned 12. 55. Either of these views seems mo probable than that of Zumpt (Comr Epig. ii. 139), that he was proconsul Asia, and was accused by some Cilicia people belonging to that province.

maculosum foedumque. The terms are thus joined in H. 1. 7, 2; 30, 4; the former is used in a simil metaphorical sense in Cic. Att. 1. 16, ('maculosi senatores').

pervicaci accusatione conflictatus postremo defensionem sit ac lege repetundarum damnatus est. pro Eprio Mar-o, a quo Lycii res repetebant, eo usque ambitus praevaluit, uidam accusatorum eius exilio multarentur, tamquam insonti culum fecissent.

4. Nerone tertium consule simul iniit consulatum Valerius ssalla, cuius proavum, oratorem Corvinum, divo Augusto, vo Neronis, collegam in eo magistratu fuisse pauci iam senum ninerant. sed nobili familiae honor auctus est oblatis in sin-os annos quingenis sestertiis, quibus Messalla paupertatem

pervicaci accusatione conflic-s. The accusers were strengthened he support of Thrasea (16. 21, 3). ntence of one of them is preserved ne recollection of Quintilian (6. 1, 'egregie nobis adulescentibus dixisse sator Cossutiani Capitonis videbatur, ce quidem, sed in hunc modum, bescis Caesarem timere."' This d appear to imply that the trial was e Caesar; but even imperial legati sometimes tried before the senate 4. 19), and that this trial was held e that body is evident from the ion of Thrasea's influence, and from words of Juvenal (see next note). ar may have 'remitted' the case to senate, after a preliminary hearing 3. 10, 6, and note), or may have (as often the case) himself presided at rial before the senate.

damnatus est. He was expelled the senate, but restored four or five afterwards by the influence of his r-in-law Tigellinus (14. 48, 2). His eous condemnation was not forgotten Juvenal wrote (8, 92) 'quam ful-iusto Et Capito et Numitor ruerint, ante senatu, Piratae Cilicum.' No- is known of the case of Numitor.

rio Marcello: see 12. 4, 5, and

Lycii res repetebant; so all edd. G.) for Med. 'licires repetebat,' t Ritt., who reads 'Lycia res repe-' on the analogy of 'accusante Asia' :. Lycia had been a free state, but een taken into the empire by Clau- on account of its internal disorders . Cl. 25), and added to the province mphylia (Dio, 60. 17, 3), which was ned by a legatus of praetorian rank. ubsequent changes see Marquardt i. Eprius had been one day praetor , 5). His government is attested by an inscription belonging to the base of a statue set up by the Lycian city Tlos, Τλωέων ὁ δῆμος Ἔπριον Μάρκελλον (C. I. G. 4328 b). There seems not to be sufficient ground for Zumpt's view (Eph. Ep. ii. 146) that he was legatus of Galatia; and his supposition that the trial was 'apud principem' appears to be negatived by the mention of 'ambitus,' unless we suppose him to have bribed the assessors of the princeps.

5. **periculum fecissent**: cp. 16. 19, 5; elsewhere (1. 74, 2; H. 4. 43, 1) 'periculum facessere' is used.

6. **Nerone tertium consule**, here = 'tertium consulatum ineunti.' The other consul is not elsewhere named by Tacitus, but his name occurs in several Arval Tables from the time of Claudius (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2034, 2039, foll.). For his father see 3. 2, 5, for his grandfather, 1. 8, 5 (and notes).

7. **oratorem Corvinum**: see 3. 34, 2 (and note); 11. 6, 4, etc. Tacitus, as elsewhere, varies the form of the name in speaking of near relations (see Introd. i. v. § 86). It is difficult to suppose that persons then living could remember the consulship of Augustus and Corvinus, which was in the year of Actium (723, B.C. 31); but it may be merely meant that there were those living who had been alive then, and who could remember Corvinus himself, who lived probably till 762, A.D. 9 (see Nipp. in Rhein. Mus. xix. 281–292), or, according to some, still later.

8. **abavo Neronis**: see 14. 53, 3, and note.

10. **quingenis sestertiis.** Suet. appears again (Ner. 10) to generalise from an instance: 'senatorum nobilissimo cuique, sed a re familiari destituto, annua salaria, et quibusdam quingena (sestertia) constituit.' It is evident thence, and

innoxiam sustentaret. Aurelio quoque Cottae et Haterio An nino annuam pecuniam statuit princeps, quamvis per luxu avitas opes dissipassent.

Eius anni principio mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum in Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum acriter sumitur, quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridaten dati a regni expertem esse aut alienae id potentiae donum habere, Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur parta ol a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere. ad hoc Armenii ambigua f utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Part propiores conubiisque permixti ac libertate ignota illud magis servitium inclinantes.

35. Sed Corbuloni plus molis adversus ignaviam milit quam contra perfidiam hostium erat: quippe Suria transm tae legiones, pace longa segnes, munia castrorum aegerri

might otherwise be taken for granted, that 'sestertiis' is from 'sestertium.' On such imperial gifts to needy nobles see 1. 75, 4, and note; also Friedl. i. 233, foll.

1. **innoxiam**, without trying to enrich himself 'malis artibus' (cp. c. 30, 4, and note).

Aurelio Cottae, probably son or grandson of the Cotta Messalinus of the time of Tiberius (see 2. 32, 2, and note), who is himself called 'egens ob luxum' (6. 7, 1). He would thus be another descendant of Corvinus.

Haterio Antonino: see 12. 58, 1, and note.

2. **quamvis**, with subjunct. of facts: cp. Introd. i. v. § 53.

3. **avitas** is read by all edd. after Lips. for 'habitas.'

4. **eius anni principio.** On the chronology of these campaigns see on c. 36, 1.

prolatatum = 'dilatum' (cp. 6. 42, 6, etc.). The narrative is taken up from c. 6–9.

7. **aut alienae**, etc.; i.e. to accept it with a recognition of vassalage to Rome. Tacitus has never stated, but must be understood to imply, that the Romans had offered him this compromise at the outset. See Introd. p. 113.

8. **parta . . . recipere.** The result of the successes gained by these generals over Tigranes I in the third Mithridatic war are often exaggerated by Roman writers; but was such as to make the Armenians then and often afterwards cept kings of Roman nomination.

9. **ambigua fide**: see 2. 3, 2; 5 etc.

11. **illud magis.** The antithesis 'libertate ignota' seems to favour reading, in which Orelli, Nipp., and H follow Lips. They had no choice bu be subjects, and preferred Parthian Roman masters. Tacitus allows hir to imply that subjection even to R was 'servitium' in Agr. 14, 2 ('ins menta servitutis et reges'), but elsew (2. 60, 5) contrasts 'vis Parthorum' 'potentia Romana.' With the Med. r ing, 'illuc,' 'ad servitium' is gene taken epexegetically, a meaning w Halm endeavours to make more plai inserting 'ut' after 'illuc.'

13. **Sed Corbuloni**, etc. This pro of disciplining the legions and recru in Galatia and Cappadocia must occupied the chief part of the time s Corbulo was sent out: see Introd. p.

14. **Suria transmotae.** 'Transmo is very rare, but found in Ter. Eun. 10; on the abl. see Introd. i. v. § Two of the four Syrian legions had handed over to him (c. 8, 2), namely, Third and Sixth (c. 38, 6), with det ments from the Tenth (c. 40, 3).

15. **castrorum**: so Halm, after ticher, for Med. 'Romanorum,' w is retained in most edd., and can be t to mean 'the duties of Roman warf but would be somewhat strangely sai

:abant. satis constitit fuisse in eo exercitu veteranos, qui stationem, non vigilias inissent, vallum fossamque quasi nova nira viserent, sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quaestuosi, :ia per oppida expleta. igitur dimissis quibus senectus aut tudo adversa erat, supplementum petivit. et habiti per Ga-m Cappadociamque dilectus, adiectaque ex Germania legio equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium. retentusque omnis citus sub pellibus, quamvis hieme saeva adeo, ut obducta ie nisi effossa humus tentoriis locum non praeberet. ambusti :orum artus vi frigoris et quidam inter excubias exanimati . adnotatusque miles, qui fascem lignorum gestabat, ita

1s composed of Roman citizens. reads 'castrorum Romanorum'; s alter 'Romanorum' to 'armorum' 1sh.) or 'armatorum' (Ritt.).

constitit. The past tense is used :aking of the belief at the time: cp. 6; 33, 5; 15. 16, 1; 67, 5, and passages cited here by Nipp.

stationem . . . vigilias: see 1. 28, l note.

sine galeis, sine loricis. The ons of peaceful provinces seem to been allowed to wear an undress .r to that of the troops in Rome n 3. 4, 2).

1estuosi: cp. 12. 63, 3. The carried on by soldiers during peace uded to in c. 51, 1. Mommsen s (see Hist. v. 398, 2; E. T. ii. 66, it the Syrian legions had become similarly demoralised in Trajan's

per Galatiam Cappadociamque. itizen population of these provinces recruit the legions (cp. c. 7, 1, and the rest the auxiliaries. These latter entioned in 15. 6, 5. Galatia had 1e a province at the death of its last Amyntas in 729, B. C. 25 (Dio, 53.), and included, besides Galatia , Pisidia, part of Phrygia, Lycaonia, sauria, to which Paphlagonia and of Pontus had been subsequently . It was governed by a legatus of rian rank, who resided at Ancyra ra), famous for the temple and inscription of Augustus ('marmor anum'). See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. , foll.

x Germania legio. A difficulty from the fact that no such legion l part of the expeditionary force, is seen from c. 40, 3 to have consisted entirely of previous Syrian legions (see note on § 1, and on c. 38, 6; 40, 3). It wonld seem thus to have been really sent on to Syria, to make up for the weakening of the Tenth by the detachment sent to Corbulo. It appears to be uncertain whether it was the Fourth or the Twefth: the former had been originally a Moesian, the latter a Syrian legion (Introd. i. vii. 103, 104); but both are thought to have been afterwards in Upper Germany (see Nipp. here, and Momms. Hist. v. 120; E. T. ii. 132, note).

7. **cum equitibus**, etc., i. e. with the auxiliaries of horse and foot belonging to it.

retentus . . . sub pellibus, 'was kept under tents' (cp. 14. 38, 1), instead of being housed in winter quarters: cp. 'aut sub pellibus habendos milites fore, aut, si concedere in hiberna vellent,' etc. (Liv. 37. 39, 1). It is plain from c. 36, 1 that the position occupied was in the enemy's country, which must therefore have been entered in the preceding year. Reasons are given in Introd. p. 112, for rather taking the winter here spoken of to be that of 810–811, A.D. 57–58, than, as Mommsen makes it, that of the following year. Nipp. can hardly be right in taking it to be that of 809–810, A. D. 56–57.

9. **nisi effossa humus** = 'humus nisi effossa': 'obducta' can well be also taken with 'humus' in the sense of 'overspread'; but the analogy of 'obducta veste' (4. 70, 2) is in favour of taking it with 'glacie.'

ambusti. This word is used of frostbites from the similarity of the effect to that of a burn: cp. 'ambusta igni vel frigore' (Plin. N. H. 24. 8, 29, 45).

11. **adnotatus . . . praeriguisse ma-**

praeriguisse manus, ut oneri adhaerentes truncis brachiis de derent. ipse cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboril frequens adesse, laudem strenuis, solacium invalidis, exempl omnibus ostendere. dehinc quia duritiam caeli militiaeque mu abnuebant deserebantque, remedium severitate quaesitum nec enim, ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque delict venia prosequebatur, sed qui signa reliquerat, statim cap poenas luebat. idque usu salubre et misericordia melius : paruit: quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere quam ea in quil ignoscebatur.

36. Interim Corbulo legionibus intra castra habitis, donec adolesceret, dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus au liariis, ne pugnam priores auderent praedicit: curam pr sidiorum Paccio Orfito primi pili honore perfuncto mandat.

nus, 'was observed with his hands frozen before him.' 'Adnoto' is post-Augustan, and does not elsewhere occur with this construction, though many analogous usages are found (Introd. i. v. § 45). 'Praerigescere' is ἅπ. εἰρ., and analogous to other words coined by Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 69, 3). The interpretation given above (with Nipp. and Dr.) is in accordance with the usual force of 'prae' in composition with verbs. Others would translate (with Lips.) 'frozen at the extremities' (cp. 'praeustus,' etc.). To take it, with Forcell., as = 'valde riguisse,' on the analogy of 'praerigidus,' seems hardly possible.

2. **cultu levi,** 'lightly clad': for the use of 'cultus' cp. 1. 10, 7, and note.

capite intecto; so in 3. 41, 4, etc. The adj. is found in Sallust, from whom Tacitus appears to adopt it.

in agmine, in laboribus, etc., nearly repeated from the description of Vespasian in H. 5. 1, 2; both being reminiscences of that of Sulla in Sall. Jug. 96, 3 ('in operibus, in agmine multus adesse').

3. **frequens,** adverbial, so used of a person in 4. 55, 1.

4. **ostendere,** used by zeugma with 'laudem' and 'solacium': cp. 'ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator' (1. 24, 3).

5. **deserebant.** Nipp. takes this also with 'duritiam'; the sense being equivalent to 'deserebant militiam ob duritiam'; but 'deserere' is used in this military sense absolutely, e.g. in Quint. 9. 4, 85 ('ire in aciem coactus, deseruit'), and is perl best so taken here.

11. **ver.** The chronology of these c paigns is not clear, inasmuch as Ta gives all the events here mentioned 34–41) under the year 811, A.D. 58, takes up the narrative again (14. 23- under the year 813, A.D. 60; so as to l it uncertain in which place the campaig the intermediate year is to be found. difficulty is discussed in Introd. pp. 112, where reasons are give for thinl it most probable that in this Book campaign of the year 58 alone is gi It would follow that he had led the a into Armenia in the preceding year (se c. 35, 5), as the winter and spring spoken of are evidently spent in country.

12. **adolesceret.** On the use of and other figurative terms for the prog of the seasons see 2. 23, 1, and note.

13. **auderent**: so Pich. and most after MS. Vat.: Med. has 'audir other MSS. 'adirent.' Tacitus often 'audeo' with such an accus., as 'I lium' (4. 49, 1, etc.), 'obpugnation (2. 12, 1), 'aciem' (12. 28, 1).

praedicit, 'proclaims': so ir 6, 4; 16. 33, 3, etc., and in Cic. Liv.

14. **Paccio.** This form of the n given by Med. in 15. 12, 3, is show be a Roman name by inscriptions Wilm. Ind. p. 347). Med. has here ' tio,' and below 'pacium.'

primi pili honore perfunct 'primipilari' (2. 11, 2, etc.): see In

amquam incautos barbaros et bene gerendae rei casum offerri ipserat, tenere se munimentis et maiores copias opperiri etur. sed rupto imperio, postquam paucae e proximis castel- turmae advenerant pugnamque imperitia poscebant, congressus n hoste funditur. et damno eius exterriti qui subsidium ferre uerant, sua quisque in castra trepida fuga rediere. quod viter Corbulo accepit increpitumque Paccium et praefectos itesque tendere extra vallum iussit; inque ea contumelia enti nec nisi precibus universi exercitus exsoluti sunt.

37. At Tiridates super proprias clientelas ope Vologesi fratris utus, non furtim iam sed palam bello infensare Armeniam, sque fidos nobis rebatur, depopulari, et si copiae contra du- entur, eludere hucque et illuc volitans plura fama quam pugna errere. igitur Corbulo quaesito diu proelio frustra habitus et mplo hostium circumferre bellum coactus, dispertit vires, ut iti praefectique diversos locos pariter invaderent; simul re- ı Antiochum monet proximas sibi praefecturas petere. nam rasmanes interfecto filio Radamisto quasi proditore, quo

. p. 105. In 15. 12, 3 he is men- d as again 'primipilus,' which may ıps show that he had been degraded. **casum**, 'opportunity': see 1. 13, 2, ıote.

rupto imperio: cp. H. 3. 19, 4; 10. 2, 15. The few troops that had ed gave some colour of excuse.

tendere, 'to encamp' (cp. 1. 17, 4, Such a punishment is described 'olybius (6. 38, 3) as part of the an discipline in his time, and an instance of it is mentioned in Liv. , 4, another in Val. Max. 2. 7, 15. inus, who notes generally the strict line of Corbulo (Strat. 4. 2, 3; 7, so mentions this particular act (Id. 20), and states that the troops so hed consisted of two alae and three tes. Their special commanders l be the 'praefecti' here mentioned.

clientelas: on the clients of an rn prince see 12. 14, 5, and note.

logesi. Nipp. here reads 'Volo- ,' on the ground that the genit. in f words in 'es' was obsolete (see 13, 3), and that the form 'Volo- ' is confined to the Histories and to authors (Pl. mai., Suet., etc.). It vever found in Med. (though gene- rejected) in c. 7, 2; and the varia- used by Tacitus in the forms of Eastern names, as 'Artaxata' (Introd. i. v. § 85), are remarkable. Ritt. takes it as genit. of 'Vologeses,' doubting the complete obsoleteness of such forms, and thinking that Tacitus varied it here on account of the following 'fratris.'

11. **infensare**: cp. 6. 34, 1, and note.

14. **frustra habitus** = 'deceptus': cp. 14. 11, 1, etc. In c. 51, 1 the expression is used, in a different sense, of things.

15. **circumferre bellum**, 'to enlarge the area of war'; so in Liv. (9. 41, 6, etc.): cp. 'spargit bellum' (3. 21, 5).

17. **Antiochum**: see 12. 55, 3, etc.

praefecturas: cp. c. 39, 2; 15. 28, 1, and note on 11. 8, 4. Pliny states (N. H. 6. 9, 10, 27) that Armenia was divided into 120 such, which were called στρατηγίαι, but had names in the national language.

nam Pharasmanes, etc. The force of 'nam' appears to be that he had not waited for orders. On Pharasmanes see 6. 32, 5, etc. Radamistus had fled to him on his escape from Armenia (c. 6, 1; 12. 51, 4).

18. **quasi proditore**. He had really connived at his occupation of Armenia, but found it convenient to disavow him when he was driven out. The words 'quo . . . testaretur' do not belong to this, but to the following clause.

fidem in nos testaretur, vetus adversus Armenios odium prompt
exercebat. tuncque primum inlecti Moschi, gens ante alias so
Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit. ita consilia Tiridati in c
trarium vertebant, mittebatque oratores qui suo Parthorumq
nomine expostularent, cur datis nuper obsidibus redintegrataq
amicitia, quae novis quoque beneficiis locum aperiret, vet
Armeniae possessione depelleretur. ideo nondum ipsum Vo
gesen commotum, quia causa quam vi agere mallent: sin p
staretur in bello, non defore Arsacidis virtutem fortunamq
saepius iam clade Romana expertam. ad ea Corbulo, satis co
perto Vologesen defectione Hyrcaniae attineri, suadet Tirid
precibus Caesarem adgredi: posse illi regnum stabile et
incruentas contingere, si omissa spe longinqua et sera praesent
potioremque sequeretur.

38. Placitum dehinc, quia commeantibus in vicem nun
nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur, conloquio ipsorum temp

2. **inlecti,** 'won over' to the Roman alliance: on the use of this word without any sense of deceiving see 2. 37, 2, and note.

Moschi. Recent edd. follow Ritt. (1838) in reading this name for 'insochi' (Med.) or 'insechi' (other MSS.), which are names of no people otherwise known; the supposition being that 'm' has been corrupted into 'in,' and 'o' and 's' transposed. The Moschi are mentioned in Hdt. (3. 94, 3; 7. 78, 1), and have been identified by some with the Meschech of Ezek. (27, 13, etc). The **Μοσχικὰ ὄρη** of Strabo (11. 2, 15, 497) belong to the tract on the south-east of the Euxine, and Pliny (N. H. 6. 4, 13) places the Moschi at the sources of the Phasis.

ante alias socia, etc. Nipp. thinks this must be understood of the time when Tacitus was writing, and of assistance rendered in the Eastern wars of Trajan.

3. **incursavit.** Nipp. notes that the verb is sometimes adapted, not to the proper subject, but to a noun in apposition with it: see 2. 17. 2 (and note); H. 1. 86, 4. A few instances are found in other authors, as 'Carmonenses . . . firmissima . . . civitas cohortes eiecit' (Caes. B. C. 2. 19, 5), 'Vulsinii . . . oppidum opulentissimum, totum concrematum est' (Plin. N. H. 2. 52, 53, 139).

in contrarium, i. e. he was forced to stand on his own defence.

5. **datis . . . obsidibus:** see c. 9,
6. **beneficiis,** favours from Rome.
vetere, i. e. his already established
session of it.
7. **ideo,** etc., 'for this reason only
Vologeses as yet made no movement.'
notes that 'commoveri' is used wh
older writers would say 'commovere
lum,' e. g. 12. 55, 1; 14. 31, 4.
8. **causa,** 'by right': so used, answ
ing to 'aequitate,' in 15. 2, 3.
mallent, speaking for himself
well as Vologeses.
10. **clade Romana,** the defeats
Crassus and Antonius: see 2. 1, 2.
11. **Hyrcaniae.** This people, living
the south-east angle of the Caspian,
affinities with the Parthians (6. 36,
The revolt here mentioned explains
inaction of Vologeses down to 813, A. D.
(see 14. 25, 2).
suadet: on the infin. with
verb see 3. 53, 2, and note.
12. **stabile,** by his recognition on do
homage to Rome (see c. 34, 4,
note).
13. **incruentas:** cp. 12. 46, 2,
note.
16. **in summam pacis,** 'towards
general result of peace': cp. 2. 45
(and note); also H. 2. 16, 1, where,
here, Med. has 'summa,' apparently
error arising from the abbreviation 'su
mā.' Such expressions as 'summa bel
'spei,' etc. are frequent in Livy.

umque destinari. mille equitum praesidium Tiridates adfore sibi ebat: quantum Corbuloni cuiusque generis militum adsisteret, statuere, dum positis loricis et galeis in faciem pacis veniur. cuicumque mortalium, nedum veteri et provido duci, barae astutiae patuissent: ideo artum inde numerum finiri inc maiorem offerri, ut dolus pararetur; nam equiti sagittarum exercito si detecta corpora obicerentur, nihil profuturam ltitudinem. dissimulato tamen intellectu rectius de iis quae publicum consulerentur totis exercitibus coram dissertaturos pondit. locumque delegit, cuius pars altera colles erant cleнter adsurgentes accipiendis peditum ordinibus, pars in planin porrigebatur ad explicandas equitum turmas. dieque pacto or Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum pro cornibus, dio sextam legionem constituit, cui accita per noctem aliis ex tris tria milia tertianorum permiscuerat, una cum aquila, quasi em legio spectaretur. Tiridates vergente iam die procul titit, unde videri magis quam audiri posset. ita sine conssu dux Romanus abscedere militem sua quemque in castra et.

39. Rex sive fraudem suspectans, quia plura simul in loca tur, sive ut commeatus nostros Pontico mari et Trapezunte

dum = 'dummodo,' as in 4. 48, 2,

faciem, 'so as to give the apance': 'facies' = 'species,' as in 1. , etc.; and 'in' expresses result; cp. aciem stagni' (H. 5. 23, 4), and the ient expressions 'in speciem,' etc.

nedum: cp. c. 20, 5.

inde . . . hinc, 'on the Parthian . . . on the Roman': cp. 2. 60, 4; , etc. Nipp. gives several instances nilar use of 'hinc . . . illinc' or 'hinc inc' for 'ab hac parte . . . ab illa.'

intellectu = 'intellegentia,' as in c. ; 6. 36, 4, etc.

dissertaturos: cp. 12, 11, 1, and

clementer, 'gently': cp. 12. 33, 2, note.

accipiendis . . . ordinibus, dat. urpose (here equivalent to 'quae res esset accipiendis,' etc.), varied in the sentence to a clause with 'ad' and . (as in 2. 6, 4, where see note), here valent to a similar relative clause, as 56, 2.

pro cornibus, 'at the extremity of each wing'; repeated in 14. 34, 3, and analogous to 'pro munimentis' (2. 13, 4, etc.).

14. **medio.** On this substantival abl. without prep. cp. 1. 64, 7; Introd. i. v. § 25.

sextam, one of the regular Syrian legions (2. 79, 3), called 'Ferrata' (Introd. i. vii. p. 104).

15. **tertianorum,** men belonging to the Third legion (the 'tertia Gallica': see Introd. l. l.).

quasi, etc., 'as if there were but one legion in sight'; that the enemy might think he had but one before him.

20. **suspectans:** cp. 1. 5, 1, and note. On the coordination of a participle with a final clause cp. 2. 62, 1; Introd. i. v. § 91, 9.

21. **Pontico mari et Trapezunte oppido,** 'by way of the Euxine and the town of Trapezus' (Trebizonde), from which point the land-transport would begin. On such ablatives of direction see Introd. i. v. § 25. Trapezus, already a flourishing town at the time of the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Xen. An. 5.

oppido adventantes interciperet, propere discedit. sed neq commeatibus vim facere potuit, quia per montes ducebant praesidiis nostris insessos, et Corbulo, ne inritum bellum tr heretur utque Armenios ad sua defendenda cogeret, excinde parat castella, sibique quod validissimum in ea praefectu cognomento Volandum, sumit; minora Cornelio Flacco lega et Insteio Capitoni castrorum praefecto mandat. tum circu spectis munimentis et quae expugnationi idonea provisis, hortat milites ut hostem vagum neque paci aut proelio paratum, s perfidiam et ignaviam fuga confitentem exuerent sedibus gloria que pariter et praedae consulerent. tum quadripertito exerci hos in testudinem conglobatos subruendo vallo inducit, ali scalas moenibus admovere, multos tormentis faces et hast incutere iubet. libritoribus funditoribusque attributus locu unde eminus glandes torquerent, ne qua pars subsidium labora tibus ferret pari undique metu. tantus inde ardor certan exercitus fuit, ut intra tertiam diei partem nudati propugn toribus muri, obices portarum subversi, capta escensu mur

5. 10), was now a free city (Pl. N. H. 6. 4, 11), and increased in importance afterwards.

1. **discedit.** The context would show the direction first taken, after which he appears to have retreated to Artaxata (c. 40, 1). Egli's view (p. 283) that this was the end of the campaign of 811, A.D. 58, arises out of the error of identification noted on c. 41, 4.

6. **Volandum.** This place is unknown, but is shown by the sequel to have been south of the Araxes and west of Artaxata. Some have identified it with a treasure-fort named Ὀλανή, mentioned by Strabo (11. 14, 6, 529) as near that city.

Cornelio Flacco . . . Insteio Capitoni. The former (not elsewhere mentioned) must have been a 'legatus legionis,' the latter is probably the person mentioned in c. 9, 3, as a centurion; the post of 'praefectus castrorum' (on which see Eph. Epig. i. 82–95) being a step from that rank (see 1. 20, 1, and note).

7. **circumspectis,** 'having been reconnoitred': cp. 14. 33, 2, and note.

10. **exuerent sedibus**: cp. 'exutum campis' (12. 45, 3, and note).

12. **in testudinem,** i.e. into a mass with locked shields over their heads: cp. H. 3. 28, 2; 31, 1, etc.

inducit. Nipp. notes that this verb more distinctly denotes hostile atta than 'adducere'; so 'turmas indu Asilas' (Verg. Aen. 11, 620), 'manipul . . . inducit' (Liv. 10. 33, 1).

14. **incutere** = 'conicere'; so in 3. 31, 1, etc.

libritoribus funditoribusque. (these slingers see 2. 20, 4, and note.

15. **glandes,** 'leaden balls' (often me tioned in military narratives). Such ha been found inscribed 'Roma, feri' (C Insc. 4932).

16. **metu**: so Halm and most edd. aft Lips., in the sense of 'periculo' (cp. 40, 1, and note). Nipp. and others r tain the Med. 'motu.'

tantus ardor. Dr. notes a r miniscence of Liv. 22. 5, 8 ('tantusq fuit ardor animorum ut,' etc.).

17. **nudati propugnatoribus,** app rently from Caes. B. G. 2. 6, 2.

18. **obices portarum.** Nipp. not that 'subversi' would show that this not to be taken of the bars or beams the gates (cp. H. 3. 30, 1), but of bar cades in the gateways (cp. 'obices viarun Liv. 9. 3, 1). The words might al mean 'the obstructions consisting of (presented by) the gates,' as 'obices sax rum' (H. 4. 71, 4): cp. Verg. G. 4, 42 Aen. 10, 377.

escensu, ἅπ. εἰρ.: 'escensio'

nta omnesque puberes trucidati sint, nullo milite amisso, ıcis admodum vulneratis. et inbelle vulgus sub corona ıundatum, reliqua praeda victoribus cessit. pari fortuna atus ac praefectus usi sunt, tribusque una die castellis expug- :is cetera terrore et alia sponte incolarum in deditionem ıiebant. unde orta fiducia caput gentis Artaxata adgre- ndi. nec tamen proximo itinere ductae legiones, quae si nem Araxen, qui moenia adluit, ponte transgrederentur, sub ım dabantur: procul et latioribus vadis transiere.

40. At Tiridates pudore et metu, ne, si concessisset obsidioni, il opis in ipso videretur, si prohiberet, inpeditis locis seque equestres copias inligaret, statuit postremo ostendere aciem dato die proelium incipere vel simulatione fugae locum fraudi are. igitur repente agmen Romanum circumfundit, non aro duce nostro, qui viae pariter et pugnae composuerat ercitum. latere dextro tertia legio, sinistro sexta incedebat, diis decumanorum delectis; recepta inter ordines impedi- nta, et tergum mille equites tuebantur, quibus iusserat ut antibus comminus resisterent, refugos non sequerentur. in

d several times in Liv., and 'escendo' , 3: 15. 59, 1) is rare, but in Cic. etc. old edd. read, with some inferior ., 'ascensu,' which was formerly ght to be the Med. text also.

reliqua praeda. The price of the ves went to the state. 'Cedere' is as in 2. 64, 4; 4. 43, 2; 14. 36, 4, often in Livy.

cetera . . . et alia, 'the rest through and in some cases with the goodwill inhabitants,' etc. 'Alia' is subor- e to 'cetera'; the sense being nearly ame as if 'cetera, alia terrore, alia e' had been used, but with the ad- ıal meaning that the former case was of the larger number: see 1. 63, 7, ıote; 12. 41, 5, etc. On the genit. 'sponte' cp. 2. 59. 3 (and note); 4.

Artaxata: cp. 2. 56, 3 (and note); , 5; Introd. i. v. § 85.

Araxen: see 12. 51, 4.

si concessisset obsidioni, 'should ve offered no resistance to the siege.' notes such analogous phrases as edere postulationi' (Cic. Mur. 23, vitio' (Hor. Sat. 1. 4, 140), 'veris' . 3, 305). Tacitus oftener uses lium,' and it is possible that 'obsidio' should be read here, as the 'ni' may have been added from 'nihil.'

11. **inpeditis locis,** abl. of the instr.: cp. 'inligari praeda' (3. 21, 6), 'defectione Hyrcanorum' (15. 1, 1), 'conscientia inligare' (15. 51, 1). Tacitus does not appear to use the verb with a dative.

seque et: cp. 1. 4, 1, and note.

13. **dato die,** 'when a fit day offered itself': cp. 'dato tempore' (4. 40, 12).

14. **circumfundit:** cp. 12. 38, 3, and note.

15. **viae pariter et pugnae,** dat. of purpose: so in 1. 51, 4, 'incessit itineri et proelio' (where see note).

17. **decumanorum delectis.** This also was one of the regular Syrian legions (see Introd. i. vii. p. 103). Its main body would appear to have been left with Ummidius in Syria (see c. 8, 2).

18. **iusserat ut.** Dr. notes that this construction, though not found elsewhere in Tacitus, occurs in Plaut., Cic., and Liv. On the dative cp. c. 15, 3, etc.

19. **refugos:** cp. H. 2. 24, 3; 3. 61, 3; a poetical word, used by Ov., Luc., Stat., etc.

non sequerentur. Nipp. thinks that 'non' is used here instead of 'ne' to

cornibus pedes sagittarius et cetera manus equitum ibat, pr ductiore [cornu] sinistro per ima collium, ut, si hostis intraviss fronte simul et sinu exciperetur. adsultare ex diverso Tiridat non usque ad ictum teli, sed tum minitans, tum specie tre dantis, si laxare ordines et diversos consectari posset. ubi ni temeritate solutum, nec amplius quam decurio equitum audenti progressus et sagittis confixus ceteros ad obsequium exem firmaverat, propinquis iam tenebris abscessit.

41. Et Corbulo castra in loco metatus, an expeditis legionib nocte Artaxata pergeret obsidioque circumdaret agitavit, co cessisse illuc Tiridaten ratus. dein postquam exploratores tulere longinquum regis iter et Medi an Albani peterentur i certum, lucem opperitur, praemissaque levis armatura, quae mu interim ambiret oppugnationemque eminus inciperet. sed o pidani portis sponte patefactis se suaque Romanis permise quod salutem ipsis tulit: Artaxatis ignis inmissus deletaque solo aequata sunt, quia nec teneri *poterant* sine valido praesid

emphasize the negation: cp. c. 51. 1; 15. 6, 3; also 1. 11, 3 (and note).

1. **productiore [cornu] sinistro.** Halm (with most recent edd.) follows the text of MS. Agr., but brackets 'cornu' as a probable gloss ('cornibus' having so lately preceded it). The Med. 'productiore corn; (='cornus' or 'cornuum') in sinistro' has given rise to other corrections, such as 'productiores in sinistro' (Nipp.; so also Ritt., with 'cornu' in brackets), 'productiore cornuum sinistro' (Lips.), 'productior cornu in sinistro' (Bekk.). The comparative 'productior' occurs in Cic. Or. 53, 178; Hor. A. P. 189.

3. **sinu,** i.e. by the extended wing enveloping his flank.

ex diverso, best taken as = 'ex adverso': cp. c. 57, 3; 14. 30, 1, etc. Gerber and Greef prefer taking it to mean 'ex diversis partibus, modo hinc modo illinc.'

4. **ad ictum:** so recent edd. after Baiter, for Med. 'addictum,' corrected to 'ad iactum' (the general reading). The use of 'ad ictum' in the sense of 'within range' may be compared with that of 'sub ictum' in c. 39, 8, and with the use of 'ictus' in the sense of 'aim' in H. 2. 22, 2; 3. 23, 5.

5. **diversos,** 'separated from each other': cp. 15. 56, 1, etc.

6. **nec amplius quam,** 'and onl taken with the whole sentence: cp. 4. 7, and note; also 15. 13, 2.

9. **in loco,** 'where he was': cp. 62, 7.

10. **agitavit,** used as a verb of delibe tion with 'an'; for its use with 'nu etc. see 11. 29, 1, and note.

12. **Medi an Albani.** By the form the people of Media Atropatene (see 56, 1, and note) are meant: on the lat see 2. 68, 1, and note. He seems to ha gone to Media (14. 26, 1).

13. **levis.** Med. has 'leui,' wher some follow Heins. in reading 'praemi levi.'

16. **Artaxatis ignis inmissus.** On reasons which make it probable t Corbulo wintered in the town and did destroy it till the following spring Introd. p. 114, 2.

17. **nec teneri poterant.** Nipp. (ed. and Dr. follow Halm in inserting ' terant,' which Ritt. prefers to insert bef 'praesidio.' In neither place is its l easily explained, but it is even less sa factory to read 'teneres' as a potent subjunctive (as in c. 3, 6, etc.), as Ni formerly read, or to take the Med. t (with Ern. and Doed.) as a harsh ana luthon; 'poterant' being supposed to supplied in sense from 'nec id no virium erat.'

magnitudinem moenium, nec id nobis virium erat, quod mando praesidio et capessendo bello divideretur, vel si integra incustodita relinquerentur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria quod pta essent. adicitur miraculum velut numine oblatum : nam ncta Artaxatis tenus sole inlustria fuere ; quod moenibus gebatur, repente ita atra nube coopertum fulgoribusque discetum est, ut quasi infensantibus deis exitio tradi crederetur. haec consalutatus imperator Nero, et senatus consulto supcationes habitae, statuaeque et arcus et continui consulatus incipi, utque inter festos referretur dies, quo patrata victoria, o nuntiata, quo relatum de ea esset, aliaque in eandem formam cernuntur, adeo modum egressa, ut C. Cassius de ceteris noribus adsensus, si pro benignitate fortunae dis grates agentur, ne totum quidem annum supplicationibus sufficere dis-

. **quod . . . divideretur,** 'such as ld be divided between leaving a strong rd (cp. 'firmatis praesidiis' Agr. 14, nd carrying on the war.' The datives those of purpose.

. **vel si,** etc. After 'nec' . . . 'nec,' hird alternative would naturally be oduced by 'sin vero.' The use of l' in such a case is akin to its use by itus for 'aut,' as in 14. 35, 4, etc.

. **miraculum.** The eclipse of April 812, A.D. 59, is mentioned by Pliny aving been seen in Armenia by Cor- (see note on 14. 12, 3); and Egli 284) takes this to be the phenomenon spoken of, and grounds much of his nology on the identification. But climate would not allow a campaign ave begun so early (see Momms. Hist. 36, 1; E. T. ii. 53, 1); and the eclipse therefore have been observed when army was in some winter quarters. is it possible that Tacitus, or Corbulo om no doubt he here closely follows), d ever have been understood to mean clipse by any such description as is given. 'Miraculum' is probably of the 'verba magnifica' (c. 8, 4) of ulo himself; who must apparently seen some unusually striking effect loud and sunshine accompanying a derstorm; which, from its coincidence ch a moment, presented itself to his ination as a sign of divine wrath nding over the devoted city.

cuncta Artaxatis tenus : so Halm, Acid., for Med. 'cuncta extra tectis us' (with 'h' written above 'a'). The old edd. followed inferior MSS. in altering 'tectis' to 'tecta'; many, after Lips. altered 'hactenus' to 'tenus'; Nipp. brackets 'extra tectis' as the corruption of a gloss, which may originally have been 'extra tecta' or 'extraiecta'; others (as Ritt.), for a similar reason, bracket 'tectis hactenus'; Weissenborn would read 'tectis ac portis tenus.'

6. **repente ita.** Med. places 'ita' before 'moenibus'; most edd. before 'repente.'

discretum, 'parted off from the rest': cp. 'velo discreta' (c. 5, 2). This interpretation appears to suit the context better than that of 'seamed' (cp. 'telas discreverat auro' Verg. Aen. 4, 264).

7. **infensantibus** : cp. c. 37, 1.

8. **consalutatus imperator** : cp. 2. 18, 2, and note.

9. **arcus** : for such decrees of triumphal arches see 2. 41, 1; 64, 2; 83, 3; 3. 57, 2; 15. 18, 1.

continui, 'in successive years.' For instances of such decrees of the consular office or title for life or for several years to princes see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1097. It is evident that Nero did not accept it, and that the ironical suggestion of Cassius was not resented.

10. **utque** : cp. c. 8, 1, and note.

11. **in eandem formam** = 'eiusmodi'; so in 15. 24, 1: cp. 'ad hanc formam' (H. 1. 5, 4); and other analogous expressions in 11. 3, 1; 16. 1, 1, etc.

12. **C. Cassius,** the jurist; see 12. 11, 4, etc.

seruerit, eoque oportere dividi sacros et negotiosos dies, qu divina colerent et humana non impedirent.

42. Variis deinde casibus iactatus et multorum odia merit reus, haud tamen sine invidia Senecae damnatur. is fuit Suillius, imperitante Claudio terribilis ac venalis et mutatio temporum non quantum inimici cuperent demissus quique nocentem videri quam supplicem mallet. eius opprimendi grat repetitum credebatur senatus consultum poenaque Cinciae leg adversum eos qui pretio causas oravissent. nec Suillius ques aut exprobratione abstinebat, praeter ferociam animi extrem senecta liber et Senecam increpans infensum amicis Claudi, su quo iustissimum exilium pertulisset. simul studiis inertibus iuvenum inperitiae suetum livere iis, qui vividam et incorrupta eloquentiam tuendis civibus exercerent. se quaestorem Ge

1. **dividi**, 'should be marked off'; i. e. that holy days and days of business should bear some fixed proportion to each other, so that the latter should not altogether disappear. Ritt. (1838) takes it to mean that holy days should be partly 'negotiosi' (i. e. 'dies intercisi'); but the words seem hardly to bear this meaning. 'Negotiosus dies' is ἅπ. εἰρ., but analogous to the ordinary application of the word.

quis = 'quibus ita divisis' ('which division being made').

3. **meritus**, 'who had earned': the notion of moral desert, though quite appropriate to this passage, is not always implied: cp. Agr. 4, 4, and other passages cited by Nipp. on 15. 6, 3; also the parallel expressions 'stipendia mereri,' etc.

4. **invidia**, 'feeling against'; so 'invidiam matris' (14. 12, 5), etc. Hated as Suillius was, his attacks on Seneca made some impression: see c. 43, 1.

is fuit: cp. 2. 1, 1, and note: on Suillius, see 11. 1, 1, and note.

5. **terribilis ac venalis**: see 11. 5, 1, 2.

6. **cuperent**: on the subjunct. with 'quantum' cp. 6. 19, 5, and note.

8. **repetitum . . . senatus consultum**, i. e. the decree of 800, A. D. 47 (11. 7–8), renewed and made more stringent in 807, A. D. 54 (c. 5, 1). On the 'lex Cincia' see 11. 5, 3.

9. **questu**, nearly synonymous with 'exprobratione,' whence Ritt. thinks that 'quaestu' should be read; taking the meaning to be that he continued to viola the law.

10. **extrema senecta**, causal abl.

11. **increpans infensum**: cp. 6. 12, also 'desertorem proditoremque incı pant' (H. 2. 44, 2); in 15. 67, 6, a H. 4. 80, 3, 'ut' is used; in H. 2. 2 6 both constructions are combined.

12. **exilium**: see 12. 8, 3, and note.

studiis inertibus, philosophy, rh toric, and poetry, studies not direct touching active life, here opposed to t 'vivida eloquentia' of a forensic plead like Suillius. So Seneca himself is ma to speak (14. 53, 4) of his 'studia umbra educata.'

13. **iuvenum inperitiae**, abstr. f concr. ('coetui iuvenum inperitorum Besides being the instructor of Nero, exercised, especially by his writings, powerful influence on young men. Qu tilian says of him (10. 1, 126) 'tum aute solus hic fere in manibus adolescenti fuit . . . amabant autem eum magis qu imitabantur, tantumque ab eo defluebа quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat.'

livere. The use of this verb wi a dat. of person, on the analogy of 'in dere,' occurs here alone in Tacitus, a appears, as Nipp. notes, to be adopted him from contemporary poets, as St Silv. 1. 2, 151; Mart. 6. 86, 6.

14. **tuendis civibus exercerent**. T same expression recurs in 15. 48, 3. T construction is best taken as a dat. purpose, though 'exercitus' often tal an abl., as in 14. 2, 4; 15. 26, 1, e Suillius is naturally made to repres

anici, illum domus eius adulterum fuisse. an gravius aesti- andum sponte litigatoris praemium honestae operae adsequi, am corrumpere cubicula principum feminarum? qua sapientia, ibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae nicitiae ter miliens sestertium paravisset? Romae testamenta orbos velut indagine eius capi, Italiam et provincias inmenso enore hauriri: at sibi labore quaesitam et modicam pecu- um esse. crimen, periculum, omnia potius toleraturum quam

nself as a defender, though his real de was that of a professional accuser . 5, 1).

uaestorem Germanici: see 4. 31, and note.

. **domus eius adulterum**: on the rge brought against him, and on the her scandal to which Dio has given dence, respecting his adultery with rippina, see Introd. p. 50, 9.

gravius aestimandum, an expres- n taken apparently from Caes. B. G. 14, 10, where 'gravius' is taken ad- bially. Nipp. would so take it here, also 'satis' in 4. 39, 6; but in both ces Tacitus may have taken the simple b for the compound 'existimo' (see e there). It is also possible here that istimandum' is the true reading indi- ed by Med. 'extimandum': cp. c. 17, 2.

. **sponte litigatoris**: see the dis- tion drawn between a free gift and a ulation for advocacy in note on c. 5, 1.

. **corrumpere**, usually with accus. of erson or an abstract noun (as 'fidem,'), here used rhetorically as if 'cubicula' sanctitatem cubiculorum.'

. **philosophorum**. Wölfflin notes ilol. xxvi. 141) that Tacitus (except the 'Dialogus') uses this word and ilosophia' three times only for 'sa- ns' and 'sapientia,' and in these with e special reason. Here 'sapientia' ds close; in H. 3. 81, 1; Agr. 4, 4, it occurs shortly before or after, and dium sapientiae' might seem less nonious.

ntra quadriennium, since Nero's ession.

ter miliens, 300 million HS. Dio 10, 3) gives the same sum (75 ion drachmae). On the lavish gifts Nero to him see c. 18, 1, also 14. 53– and on the wealth of Seneca gener- see Mayor on Juv. 10, 16. The sum mentioned is the same as that buted to Pallas (12. 53, 5).

aravisset. In a case like this, where 'paravit' would naturally be used in oratio directa, we should expect the infinitive, as in c. 43, 5; 14. 1, 2, etc. Similar exceptional uses of the subjunctive are noted by Nipp. and Dr. in c. 49, 2; H. 2. 74, 4; 4. 69, 2; also Caesar, B. C. 1. 32, 3 ('si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset'). In all these the question is sharply and emphatically put, and it may be supposed that some one is addressed, as if present, in the second person.

testamenta et orbos, 'wills and childless persons,' i. e. inheritances and legacies, especially from childless persons. Nipp. notes many instances of such hen- diadys, in which a more special is added to explain a more general term, as 'paelice ancilla et consuetudine Actes' (c. 46, 4); 'famam et posteros' (11. 6, 1), etc. On the court paid to childless persons see c. 52, 3; 3. 25, 2, and note; Marquardt, Privatl. 74, 4.

6. **velut indagine**, a figure from the chase (Verg. Aen. 4, 121, etc.); thus a general is said to surround the enemy with a cordon of troops 'velut indagine' (Bell. Gall. 8. 18, 3), or 'indaginis modo' (Agr. 37, 4).

7. **hauriri**, 'are drained.' The story (see Introd. p. 144) connecting the rebel- lion of British tribes described in 14. 29, foll. with his usurious transactions, may perhaps be alluded to, though Tacitus makes no allusion to it in its place.

8. **crimen, periculum, omnia**, 'accu- sation, actual trial, anything' (even exile or death): 'periculum' has often the special sense of a criminal process, as in c. 33, 4, etc.

quam . . . submitteret: so most edd. after Lips. for Med. 'submittere' (which Walth. defends from 3. 3, 2): the use of 'quam' (with the force of 'quam ut') with subjunct. after a future, in ex- pressions with 'potius,' 'prius,' etc. is noted by Dr. as found in Sall. Jug. 106, 3 ('mansurum potius quam . . . vitae parce- ret'), and oftener in Livy (e. g. 4. 2, 9, etc.).

veterem ac domi partam dignationem subitae felicitati sub mitteret.

43. Nec deerant qui haec isdem verbis aut versa in deteri Senecae deferrent. repertique accusatores direptos socios, cu Suillius provinciam Asiam regeret, ac publicae pecuniae pecula tum detulerunt. mox, quia inquisitionem annuam impetraveran brevius visum urbana crimina incipi, quorum obvii testes eran ii acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium ad necessitatem bel civilis detrusum, Iuliam Drusi filiam Sabinamque Poppaeam a mortem actas et Valerium Asiaticum, Lusium Saturninum, Co nelium Lupum circumventos, iam equitum Romanorum agmin damnata omnemque Claudii saevitiam Suillio obiectabant. il

1. **domi partam**: so Halm and Nipp. after Gron., explaining it not exactly in the sense generally given to 'inlustres domi artes' (3. 70, 4), but rather as meaning 'gained by his own study and effort' (as contrasted with the origin of Seneca's wealth). Orelli follows L. Spengel in taking the Med. 'dõ' as an abbreviation of 'dicendo'; Dr. and others (with Doed.) alter 'ac dõ' to 'agendo'; others read 'ac diu' (with Pich.), as a contrast to 'subitae.'

subitae felicitati, 'the success of an upstart.'

5. **provinciam Asiam.** His proconsulate of Asia is probably to be dated towards the end of the rule of Claudius, and is attested by an inscription on a statue base in the Heraeum at Samos, *ὁ δῆμος Πόπλιον* [Σ]*ουίλλιον Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἀνθύπατον Ἥρῃ* (Waddington, Fast. As. 1. 128).

6. **detulerunt**, apparently the right reading of the Med. detuler IX (see Ritt.): others read 'detulere' and 'detulerant.'

inquisitionem annuam, 'a year for collecting evidence,' for which purpose a considerable interval was generally allowed (see c. 52, 2, and note on 3. 70, 1). Cicero, for special reasons, used only fifty days to collect evidence against Verres (Verr. A. 1. 2, 6).

7. **visum.** The persons who so thought must be his enemies in general, as distinct from those who had offered to impeach him for his proconsulate of Asia.

urbana, those relating to his action in Rome. Ern. appears rightly to take the 'sub' preceding this word in Med. as a corruption arising out of a repetition of the last syllable of 'visum.'

8. **Q. Pomponium.** This perso called by Tacitus 'moribus inquies' (18, 2), became cos. suff. on the death Gaius, and in that capacity exhorted t senate to re-establish the Republic (Jo Ant. 19. 4, 5), or at least to set up worthy emperor (Id. B. I. 2. 11, 2); whi may probably have furnished ground accusation against him, and driven hi to join Camillus Scribonianus (see Intro p. 11). Nipp. notes that his name erased where it occurs as consul in t Fasti of the Feriae Latinae (C. I. L. vi. 2015).

9. **Iuliam**: see c. 32, 5.

Sabinam Poppaeam . . . Valeriu Asiaticum: see 11. 1, 1, foll.

10. **Lusium Saturninum.** An inscri tion found at Salonae (C. I. L. iii. 2028) gives the names of Q. Enteli Lusius Saturninus, and M. Seius Veran as coss. (suff.), apparently in one of t later years of Tiberius. He is enumerat among the consular victims under Cla dius in Sen. Lud. 13, 5 (where the te has 'Saturnius'), but nothing more known of him.

Cornelium Lupum, also mention in Sen. l. l. He was cos. suff. with Larg in 795, A.D. 42 (Gaius 3. 63), and h been praetorian proconsul of Crete a Cyrene under Tiberius, as is shown Cretan coins (see Eckh. ii. 302; Bo ghesi, Œuvr. i. 439, and other authorit here cited by Nipp.).

11. **iam**, 'and more,' used with t force of 'iam vero' to point a clima cp. 1. 41, 3; 14. 12, 3; 32, 2.

equitum . . . agmina. Suet. sa (Cl. 29) 'in trecentos amplius equi Romanos animadvertit'; in Sen. Lud. 1 the number is read by Haase as 'C.C

il ex his sponte susceptum, sed principi paruisse defendebat, nec eam orationem Caesar cohibuit, compertum sibi referens commentariis patris sui nullam cuiusquam accusationem ab coactam. tum iussa Messalinae praetendi et labare defensio: enim neminem alium delectum qui saevienti impudicae vocem eberet? puniendos rerum atrocium ministros, ubi pretia scelerum epti scelera ipsa aliis delegent. igitur adempta bonorum parte m filio et nepti pars concedebatur eximebanturque etiam quae tamento matris aut aviae acceperant) in insulas Baleares pelli-, non in ipso discrimine, non post damnationem fractus animo; ebaturque copiosa et molli vita secretum illud toleravisse. ım eius Nerullinum adgressis accusatoribus per invidiam patris crimina repetundarum, intercessit princeps tamquam satis ex-ta ultione.

44. Per idem tempus Octavius Sagitta plebei tribunus, Pontiae lieris nuptae amore vaecors, ingentibus donis adulterium et

defendebat, 'he was pleading in ice;' only here so used by Tacitus, n several places in Cic.

commentariis patris. On these ite journals of the princeps see In- i. iii. p. 15.

coactam, 'had been enforced' on ne: cp. 4. 51, 4; 16. 19, 4; H. 4. .; Cic. de Div. 2. 35, 73.

bare: cp. 'defensio . . . trepida- (3. 14, 1).

vocem praeberet, 'lend himself to e mouthpiece.'

delegent, 'impute'; so in Cic. and

rte, 'half': cp. 3. 18, 8; 4. 20, . It would appear that he was not gatus in insulam' but 'deportatus,' 1 sentence ipso facto involved loss of rty, so that the limitation here men- l (cp. 3. 68, 3, etc.) is a concession: arqu. Staatsv. ii. 287.

filio et nepti. The former would erullinus (12. 25, 1), the latter pro- a daughter of the other son, Caeso- (see 11. 36, 5), who would appear, the absence of any mention of him, ve been dead or in exile.

matris aut aviae, the mother of rmer and grandmother of the latter, e wife of Suillius; whether the same was also stepdaughter of Ovid, is own.

ulas Baleares. These islands d part of the province of Hispania Tarraconensis, and were placed under a 'praefectus pro legato' (Insc. Or. 732).

11. copiosa, 'well supplied': cp. 'artibus honestis copiosum' (3. 66, 5). A liberal 'viaticum' (see note on 3. 17, 8) may have been allowed to him, or he may have been supported by his son and granddaughter.

secretum, 'retirement': cp. 'pari secreto . . . Rhodi secreto' (4. 57, 2, 3); also 14. 53, 3; Agr. 39, 4.

12. adgressis: for the transitive use of a deponent participle in abl. abs. see Introd. i. v. § 31 d.

13. crimina repetundarum. He may have been legatus to his father in Asia, or may have governed a senatorial or Caesarian province of lower rank. His own proconsulate of Asia was not earlier than 823, A.D. 70 (see note on 12. 25, 1).

intercessit, 'interposed his veto': cp. 14. 48, 3, etc.

tamquam: cp. Introd. i. v. § 67.

15. Octavius Sagitta. An inscription found in the Pelignian territory (Henzen 5177 a) is noted by Nipp. as recording some member of this family: Q. Octavio, L. f., Sagittae, quinq(ennali) II, pagus Boedinus.'

Pontiae. In a brief reference to this story in H. 4. 44, 3, the full name (Pontia Postumia) is given.

16. adulterium, etc: cp. the similar

mox, ut omitteret maritum, emercatur, suum matrimonium pr mittens ac nuptias eius pactus. sed ubi mulier vacua fuit, necte moras, adversam patris voluntatem causari repertaque spe ditio coniugis promissa exuere. Octavius contra modo conque modo minitari, famam perditam, pecuniam exhaustam obtesta denique salutem, quae sola reliqua esset, arbitrio eius permitte ac postquam spernebatur, noctem unam ad solacium poscit, q delenitus modum in posterum adhiberet. statuitur nox et Pon consciae ancillae custodiam cubiculi mandat. ille uno cum libe ferrum veste occultum infert. tum, ut adsolet in amore et i iurgia preces, exprobratio satisfactio et pars tenebrarum libid seposita; ex qua quasi incensus nihil metuentem ferro tra verberat et accurrentem ancillam vulnere absterret cubiculoq prorumpit. postera die manifesta caedes, haud ambiguus p cussor; quippe mansitasse una convincebatur, sed libertus su illud facinus profiteri, se patroni iniurias ultum isse. commo ratque quosdam magnitudine exempli, donec ancilla ex vuln refecta verum aperuit. postulatusque apud consules a pa

coordination of an accus. and a clause with 'ut' in c. 8, 1, etc.

1. **emercatur**: cp. 12. 14, 1, and note.

2. **vacua**: so used of a widow in Ov. M. 14, 831.

4. **exuere**: so with 'fidem,' 'pacta,' etc.: see note on 1. 69, 2.

5. **obtestans**, more commonly used with accus. of the person, or quality in a person, to which appeal is made, here of that in himself on which the appeal is grounded: cp. 'necessitudinem nostram . . . obtestans' (Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1. 13, 1).

6. **salutem**, 'his life': cp. 15. 60, 5, etc.

11. **satisfactio**, 'apology': cp. 'satisfactum' (3. 31, 6).

libidini: so most edd. after Rhen. for Med. 'libidine,' which Walther defends; but cp. c. 54, 2; 14. 54, 4; 15. 60, 2.

12. **ex qua quasi incensus**: so Halm for Med. 'et quastim census.' The latter part is read by all as 'incensus'; for the former, Orelli, Nipp., Jacob follow Bekk. in reading 'ex qua' (without 'quasi'); Dr. follows Jac. Gron. in reading 'et quasi'; among other readings are 'ex qua statim' (Walth.), 'qua stimulante' (Ritt.), 'ex qua aestu' (Oberl.). correction 'ex' for 'et' is supported H. 4. 37, 4, etc., and 'ex qua' is simil used in 2. 34, 7. If 'quasi' be read would imply that the murder was re deliberate (a weapon having been brou for the purpose), but committed a under a paroxysm of passion: cp. 'q nescius' (6. 11, 4), 'quasi . . . mem (12. 47, 8).

14. **prorumpit**, so used with sim abl. (as Nipp. notes) in 15. 40, 3; H 34, 7: cp. 'proruptus corpore su (Verg. Aen. 7, 459).

15. **mansitasse**, a rare verb, used in 14. 42, 2; Pl. N. H. 10. 3, 3, 7.

convincebatur, 'he could proved': on the construction cp. 4. 5, and note.

16. **commoverat**, etc., 'he had fluenced the belief of some by so g an example of devotion.' Men could believe that he would take such a cr on himself if he had not committed 'Exemplum' is so used for a deed wo of being taken as an example in 15. 2, etc.

18. **apud consules**, i.e. before senate (1. 73, 3). For their jurisdic in cases of murder see 4. 22, 3, note.

rfectae, postquam tribunatu abierat, sententia patrum et lege icariis condemnatur.

5. Non minus insignis eo anno inpudicitia magnorum rei licae malorum initium fecit. erat in civitate Sabina Pop- ı, T. Ollio patre genita, sed nomen avi materni sumpserat, stri memoria Poppaei Sabini, consulari et triumphali decore fulgentis; nam Ollium honoribus nondum functum amicitia ıni pervertit. huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum ıum. quippe mater eius, aetatis suae feminas pulchritudine rgressa, gloriam pariter et formam dederat; opes claritudini eris sufficiebant. sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium: estiam praeferre et lascivia uti. rarus in publicum egressus, e velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat. ıe numquam pepercit, maritos et adulteros non distinguens; ıe adfectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostendere-

ɔostquam tribunatu abierat. For er instance in which a charge against me was so deferred see note on 1. Other magistrates were not so ted during office under the empire; ve the accusation of a praetor in 4. of an aedile in Suet. Dom. 8.

ɔ, the 'lex Cornelia' of Sulla, prescribed the penalty of deporta- nd forfeiture of all property; for in later times, in the case of meaner als, punishment of death was sub- l (Marcian in Dig. 48. 8, 3, 5). us tried in vain to procure a re- of this sentence twelve years later 44, 2). Lucan is stated by his nous biographer to have composed ch on each side of this 'cause ' as a rhetorical exercise.

abina Poppaea. On her cha- and influence see Introd. p. 61, The only known representations of on medals struck in provincial cities, which probably do not give ıentic portrait (see Visc. Ic. Rom. Cohen, i. p. 216; Bernoulli, p. l., pl. xxxv).

lustri memoria, abl. abs.

paei Sabini: see 1. 80, 1, and

ɔnoribus nondum functum. been quaestor (Suet. Ner. 35); so ıonoribus' is here used of the magistracies: cp. c. 29, 2; H. 2. c., and 'tergeminis honoribus' ɔd. 1. 1, 8).

amicitia Seiani pervertit. His name is not mentioned in the extant narrative of that period. For the expression cp. 6. 29, 4.

9. **mater,** the Poppaea of 11. 2, 1, foll.

10. **supergressa,** 'having exceeded': so in 14. 52, 2; also in M. Seneca, Quint., etc.

11. **comis,** 'winning': so used of 'sermo' (15. 48, 3), 'oratio' (H. 1. 19, 1).

nec absurdum, 'not without brilliancy': so 'neque absurdus ingenio' (H. 3. 62, 3), 'non absurde' (c. 14, 1). The expression is here no doubt taken from Sall. Cat. 25, 5 (see Introd. i. v. § 97, 1); the general description there given of Sempronia being evidently in the mind of Tacitus.

13. **quia sic decebat** (sc. 'eam'), 'because it was becoming to her': cp. Plaut. Most. 1. 3, 10 ('contempla . . . satin' haec me vestis deceat').

14. **non distinguens,** i.e. putting them on the same footing.

15. **neque . . . obnoxia,** 'never influenced by affection in herself or another': cp. 'non odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium' (3. 58, 4).

unde, 'from whatever quarter': cp. 'unde spes maior adfuisset' (Vell. 2. 21, 1). The subjunct. is that of action often repeated (see Introd. i. v. § 52), or is possibly potential.

tur, illuc libidinem transferebat. igitur agentem eam in ma monio Rufri Crispini equitis Romani, ex quo filium genue Otho pellexit iuventa ac luxu et quia flagrantissimus in amic Neronis habebatur: nec mora quin adulterio matrimonium geretur.

46. Otho sive amore incautus laudare formam elegantiam uxoris apud principem, sive ut accenderet ac, si eadem fem poterentur, id quoque vinculum potentiam ei adiceret. sa auditus est consurgens e convivio Caesaris, se quidem ire illam, sibi concessam dictitans nobilitatem, pulchritudinem, omnium et gaudia felicium. his atque talibus inritamentis longa cunctatio interponitur. sed accepto aditu Poppaea prin per blandimenta et artes valescere, imparem cupidini se et fo Neronis captam simulans; mox acri iam principis amore superbiam vertens, si ultra unam alteramque noctem attiner

1. **agentem eam.** Some have thought the pronoun an insertion; but Wölfflin points out (Philol. xxvi. 103) that the feminine pronoun is less easily omitted than the masculine or neuter, and that there is here a transition from her character to facts of her life.

2. **Rufri Crispini,** formerly praefect of the praetorians: see 11. 1, 3; 12. 42, 1; 15. 71, 8.

filium. Suet. states (Ner. 35) that Nero ordered this boy's slaves to drown him while he was fishing. A tradition that Nero himself stabbed him, seems implied in the dream which Poppaea is made to relate in the 'Octavia' (744–747).

3. **Otho pellexit,** etc.: cp. c. 12, 1. The account in the Histories (1. 13, 8) agrees substantially with that of Suet. (Oth. 3), Plutarch (Galb. 19, 106), and Dio (61. 11, 2), that Nero was already a lover of Poppaea while she was the wife of Crispinus, and that Otho, who had married her merely to oblige Nero and to facilitate his intercourse with her, became himself afterwards enamoured of her, and was consequently exiled. It is generally thought that Tacitus is here correcting his earlier view by what appeared to him a truer version.

flagrantissimus, here a strange hypallage for 'flagrantissima in amicitia esse': the word is used with 'vis' (1. 22, 1), 'gratia' (11. 29, 1), 'flagitia' (14. 51, 4), 'libidines' (H. 2. 31, 1).

9. **consurgens . . . dictitans**=' tans cum consurgeret.'

se quidem: so Halm and Dr., Weissenborn, for Med. 'seque,' Walth. retains and defends; most read 'se' with inferior MSS.; Nip 'sese'; Ritt. retains the Med. text, ing a lacuna after 'Caesaris,' whi supposes may have been filled by such words as 'se domi desiderari iuge seque,' etc.

10. **sibi:** so most edd. after Lip Med. 'ubi,' which Pfitzn. retains wi sense of 'apud quam,' comparing (§ 4).

vota omnium et gaudia feli 'what all long for and the for enjoy.' Gron. notes the same thou an inscription (Grut. 637, 5), 'quod rogant sed felices impetrant.'

11. **his . . . inritamentis,** best with Nipp. as an abl. abs.='cum . . . inritamenta essent': 'interpo is taken absolutely ('is allowed to vene'), and is explained by 'accept tu' (sc. 'ad Neronem').

13. **imparem,** 'unable to resist 'quibus flagitiis impares essemu 53, 2).

15. **ultra unam alteramque,** i. yond a second': 'unam alter would be 'one or two' (see note 34, 8). By absence on three cons nights, the 'usus' of matrimon broken, but the marriage itself w dissolved.

tam esse se dictitans, nec posse matrimonium amittere, de-:tam Othoni per genus vitae, quod nemo adaequaret: illum no et cultu magnificum; ibi se summa fortuna digna visere: Neronem, paelice ancilla et adsuetudine Actes devinctum, l e contubernio servili nisi abiectum et sordidum traxisse. itur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu Otho, et postremum, ne in urbe aemulatus ageret, provinciae Lusita- praeficitur; ubi usque ad civilia arma non ex priore infamia integre sancteque egit, procax otii et potestatis temperantior.

7. Hactenus Nero flagitiis et sceleribus velamenta quaesivit. ectabat maxime Cornelium Sullam, socors ingenium eius in

amittere, 'to give up': cp. 2. 71, .. 26, 1; also 'vis me uxorem du- ıanc vis amittere' (Ter. And. 5. 3,

ultu, 'refinement': cp. 'per cul- t munditias' (3. 30, 4).
= 'apud illum' (cp. 'illuc' H. 2), 'there she saw a style worthy highest position': 'visere' = 'to abitually,' as in 6. 26, 3: 14. 1,

aelice ancilla et adsuetudine , a similar hendiadys to that in 7: 'ancilla' is a contemptuous ex- tion, as in c. 13, 1. The ablatives ad as accusatives in Med., which nb. would retain with the insertion r' before 'paelicem.' It has been ıt that Seneca alludes to this taunt Ben. 1. 9, 4, 'si quis nulla se amica nsignem nec alienae uxori annuum t, hunc matronae humilem et sor- ibidinis et ancillariolum vocant.'
ontubernio servili. This expres- o is exaggerated in bitterness; 'con- um' being the term for the union of and female slave, who were in- of contracting legal marriage. arriage of a Roman of senatorial ith a freedwoman was not in itself out could be legalised by special (see Vol. i. App. ii. on 'Lex Papia a,' capp. i, xxxiii).
ngressu et comitatu, 'from at- his levees and accompanying his s': see Introd. i. vi. p. 81.
mulatus ageret = 'aemuli partes et'; on the use of 'agere' cp. c. tc. 'Aemulatus' is probably ἅπ. stands as a v. l. in H. 3. 66, 3; , 2. Walth. and Ritt. (1838) take s the nominative of the participle, eret' as = 'degeret'; but Tacitus does not appear to use the participle thus absolutely.

Lusitaniae. On this province see note on 4. 5, 3: it was governed usually by a legatus of praetorian rank (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 106); but Otho had filled no higher office than the quaestorship ('provinciam administravit quaestorius' Suet. Oth. 3), and was at this time but twenty-six years old. It would appear from Suet. (l. l.) that he was not sent out till after the murder of Agrippina; but see note on 14. 4, 6. Plutarch states (Galb. 20) that Seneca advised the sending him there. Suet. speaks of it as an honourable banishment, and quotes an epigram giving the reason ('uxoris moechus coeperat esse suae').

8. **ad civilia arma.** On the use of 'arma' for 'bellum' cp. 3. 55, 1, and note. Suet. says (l. l.) that he held it for ten years (i.e. 811–821, A.D. 58–68), when he was the first to join himself to Galba.

ex, 'in accordance with.'

9. **integre sancteque,** 'moderatione atque abstinentia singulari' (Suet. l. l.).

procax otii, 'a wanton in respect of his hours of idleness, more self-controlled in respect of his official life.' Such a genit. (see Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ) is found with 'temperans' in Ter. Phorm. 2. 1, 41; Plin. Pan. 52; and, though ἅπ. εἰρ. with 'procax,' is supported by Tacitean usage (see Introd. l. l.). Ritt. treats it as assimilated by error to 'potestatis,' and reads 'otio,' comparing 1. 16, 4; 14. 15, 8, etc.

10. **velamenta,** 'pretexts': the word is used in a similar sense in Sen. Vit. Beat. 12, 4 ('quaerentes libidinibus suis patrocinium aliquod et velamentum').

11. **suspectabat:** cp. 1. 5, 4, and note.

Cornelium Sullam: see c. 23, 1; 12. 52, 1, and note. The description of

contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpreta quem metum Graptus ex libertis Caesaris, usu et senecta Tib abusque domum principum edoctus, tali mendacio intendit. p Mulvius in eo tempore celebris nocturnis inlecebris erat; ven batque illuc Nero, quo solutius urbem extra lasciviret. ig regredienti per viam Flaminiam compositas insidias fat evitatas, quoniam diverso itinere Sallustianos in hortos meaverit, auctoremque eius doli Sullam ementitur, quia f redeuntibus ministris principis quidam per iuvenilem licent quae tunc passim exercebatur, inanem metum fecerant. ne servorum quisquam neque clientium Sullae adgnitus, maxim despecta et nullius ausi capax natura eius a crimine abhorre proinde tamen quasi convictus esset, cedere patria et Massilien moenibus coerceri iubetur.

his character here given may be compared with that in 14. 57, 4.

1. **trahens . . . interpretando.** On this coordination see Introd. i. v. § 91, 6: on the sense of 'trahere' cp. 1. 62, 3, and note.

2. **libertis Caesaris.** He would be Nero's freedman, even supposing that he had been freed by Tiberius (see on c. 12, 1).

3. **abusque**, a correction of Lips. for Med. 'auo usque.' This prep. is used by Tacitus in 15. 37, 5, and is taken from Verg. Aen. 7, 289. On the anastrophe, see Introd. i. v. § 77. 1.

domum . . . edoctus, i.e. trained in arts of intrigue.

intendit, 'increases': cp. 2. 38, 6, and note.

pons Mulvius (also called 'Milvius'), the 'Ponte Molle,' on the via Flaminia, two miles outside the city, mentioned in the Histories (1. 87, 1, etc.) and in other authors.

4. **in eo tempore**, for simple abl.: cp. 11. 29, 1, and note.

celebris nocturnis inlecebris, 'famous for' (or 'crowded with') places of nightly attraction.' The latter interpretation is perhaps best supported by parallel instances in Tacitus (e.g. 4. 67, 6; 14. 33, 1; 15. 22, 4; H. 1. 81, 1). On this form of the masc. cp. 2. 88, 4, and note.

6. **regredienti**, taken with 'compositas insidias,' and used concisely with the force of a hypothetical clause (='si regrederetur'): see Introd. i. v. § 54. They had supposed that he would return l Flaminian way, and had laid a pl cordingly.

7. **Sallustianos.** These gardens the valley between the Quirinal Pincian hills, near the Barberini p in the gardens of which some re taken to be those of the villa, stil (see Middleton, p. 405, foll.). The laid out by the historian Sallust, a herited by his adoptive son (see 3. from whom they had probably to Tiberius. To reach them, Nero turn off from the Flaminian way left (see H. 3. 82, 4).

9. **redeuntibus**, sc. 'per viam F niam.'

iuvenilem. Bekk. and Orelli the Med. 'iuvenalem'; which f generally read in Verg. Aen. 2, 5 475; 8, 163; but Tacitus appears this form only in naming the ga Nero (14. 15, 1, etc.), and elsewh seven places 'iuvenilis' and 'iuve On the practice alluded to see c. foll., Suet. Oth. 2.

12. **ausi**: for this substantive, cp 3, and note.

a crimine abhorrebat, 'was sistent with the charge': the verb h sense in H. 5. 24, 1, and in Cic., Li

13. **proinde**, corrected by Hal others to 'perinde': see c. 21, 3, an

Massiliensium. Other insta this city being a place of real or banishment are seen in 4. 43, 8; For the subsequent fate of Sulla 57, 6.

8. Isdem consulibus auditae Puteolanorum legationes, quas rsas ordo plebs ad senatum miserant, illi vim multitudinis, hi istratuum et primi cuiusque avaritiam increpantes. eaque tio ad saxa et minas ignium progressa ne caedem et arma iceret, C. Cassius adhibendo remedio delectus. quia severi- m eius non tolerabant, precante ipso ad Scribonios fratres ea transfertur, data cohorte praetoria, cuius terrore et paucorum plicio rediit oppidanis concordia.

9. Non referrem vulgarissimum senatus consultum, quo ati Syracusanorum egredi numerum edendis gladiatoribus um permittebatur, nisi Paetus Thrasea contra dixisset prae-

etur, i.e. by mere message from Nero. Puteolanorum, the people of Pute- riginally Dicaearchia, the ancient of Cumae (Strab. 5, 4, 6, 245), now oli. On its status see 14, 27, 2, ote.

ordo plebs. Many read 'ordo plebs- with some inferior MSS. and corr. of , but the asyndeton is suitable to ntrast in the next clause (cp. Introd. § 65). 'Ordo' is so used for the ipal senate, or 'ordo decurionum,' 2. 52, 3, and often in inscriptions. cites one from Capacci, Hist. Puteol. ('splendidissimus ordo et populus anorum'). On the constitution of municipal senates see Marqu. v. i. p. 501, foll.).

senatum. The authority of the s and senate over the Italian com- ties had been expressly guaranteed ro (c. 4, 3), who in another case, the matter was first brought before refers it to the senate (14. 17, 3), must here have so far acted with as to send the cohort mentioned See an instance of similar action e senate in H. 4. 45, 1, and the s in Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1196.

primi cuiusque. The form of ex- n shows that the wealthier citizens eral are meant, not such smaller as are called 'decem primi' (Cic. Am. 9, 25), 'quindecim primi' B. C. 1. 35, 1), etc.

e caedem: so Halm and others, Nipp. for Med. 'necem,' for which and others (after a suggestion of er) read 'ne necem.' The old edd. with G.) 'cumque seditio . . . necem,'

. Cassius: see 12. 11. 4, etc. For al commissioner thus sent to restore order in an Italian community see Liv. 41. 27, 3, and other instances given in Momms. Stsatsr. iii. 1203, 2.

6. **Scribonios fratres**: so named also in H. 4. 41, 3. Their respective surnames were Rufus and Proculus, and they were for some years contemporaneously legati of Upper and Lower Germany. Nero sent for them to Greece in 820, A.D. 67, and compelled them to commit suicide (Dio, 63. 17, 2, foll.).

9. **vulgarissimum**, 'most commonplace' (i.e. most unimportant): cp. 'vulgaribus patrum consultis' (16. 22, 1), 'nihil tam vulgare . . . agebatur' (Plin. Pan. 54); whence Haase (followed by all recent edd. except Ritt.) thus corrects here the Med. 'uulgatissimum,' which would mean 'most generally known.' No comparative or superlative of 'vulgaris' is however elsewhere found. In Dial. 6, 5, to which Ritt. refers, 'vulgaria' is now generally read.

10. **numerum . . . finitum**. Augustus had established the rule in 732, B.C. 22, that in Rome there should not be, except by special decree, more than two public gladiatorial shows in the year, and that the number of gladiators should not exceed 120 (Dio, 54. 2, 4); Tiberius appears to have made some further reduction (Suet. Tib. 34), but the rule was relaxed by Gaius (Dio, 59, 14, 3). The number permitted in Italian towns is not known, but we find as many as thirty and thirty-five pairs contending at Pompeii (Insc. Or. 2530). Requests similar to the present must have been of constant occurrence, as Plin. (l. l.) gives as a type of a common-place question 'de ampliando numero gladiatorum . . . consulebamur.'

11. **Paetus Thrasea**, here first mentioned in the extant narrative. A tablet

buissetque materiem obtrectatoribus arguendae sententiae. enim, si rem publicam egere libertate senatoria crederet, levia consectaretur? quin de bello aut pace, de vectigalibu legibus, quibusque aliis *res* Romana contineretur, suaderet suaderetve? licere patribus, quotiens ius dicendae senten accepissent, quae vellent expromere relationemque in ea po lare. an solum emendatione dignum, ne Syracusis specta largius ederentur: cetera per omnes imperii partes perinde e gia, quam si non Nero sed Thrasea regimen eorum tene quod si summa dissimulatione transmitterentur, quanto m inanibus abstinendum? Thrasea contra, rationem poscent amicis, non praesentium ignarum respondebat eius modi sulta corrigere, sed patrum honori dare, ut manifestum fi magnarum rerum curam non dissimulaturos, qui animum et levissimis adverterent.

50. Eodem anno crebris populi flagitationibus, inmodest

found at Pompeii (see Mommsen in Hermes, xii. 128) shows his full name to have been 'P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus,' and that he was consul with Duvius (or Dubius) Avitus (c. 54, 3) in the latter months of 809, A. D. 56. His name had been previously supposed, from that of his daughter (see on 16. 28, 2), to be Fannius.

1. **arguendae sententiae**, 'for blaming his vote': cp. 'arguens insolentiam sententiae' (3. 59, 2).

3. **consectaretur**: cp. c. 42, 6, on this subjunct., as also 'suaderet dissuaderetve' below (a correction of Lips. for the infin. in Med., which Ritt. retains, thinking that 'vellet' has dropped out after 've').

4. **res Romana contineretur**, 'on which the Roman commonwealth depended': cp. H. 1. 84, 3: 3. 86, 3; Dial. 33, 3; also 'quibus (legibus) . . . respublica continetur' (Cic. Off. 3. 5, 23). Many edd. follow Lips. in reading 'res Romana continetur' for the Med. 'Romana continentur': the further change to 'contineretur' is introduced by Halm (with MS. Bud.), and followed by Nipp., Dr., Jacob. Ritt. reads 'res Romanae continentur,' supporting the plural by reference to 6. 14, 3; 12. 7, 5; 16. 16, 3, etc. The indicative can stand, taken as a parenthesis interposed in the oratio obliqua (Introd. i. v. § 49).

6. **quae vellent expromere**; i. e. 'per egressionem': see c. 26, 2, etc. An ordinary senator had no 'ius tionis,' but had power thus to ca tention to a question, and to ask t should be formally brought befor house by the consuls ('relationem lare').

8. **partes**, 'departments': cp. ' cumque pars (reipublicae) manda (1. 12. 1).

perinde quam si: cp. 1. 73, 5 note.

10. **si summa**, etc., 'if the hi questions are passed over by ign them': for this use of 'dissimulati 'conatus per dissimulationem aluit 4. 18, 1); also Agr. 6, 2; 18, 7; an use of 'dissimulatus' in 4. 19. 4. 'T mittere' is so used in 15. 31, 2, etc.

12. **non . . . ignarum** (sc. 'se'), ' not because he had no perception present situation' (as a whole).

13. **corrigere** = 'corrigenda cens see note on 4. 20, 2.

dare, 'he paid this tribute to' 1. 7, 10, where, as here, the object i plied from the following clause.

14. **curam non dissimulat** 'would not conceal their interest in that they would speak on great m if they thought fit.

16. **crebris flagitationibus**, abl Such complaints generally found e sion at public entertainments, etc.: 13, 1, and note.

licanorum arguentis, dubitavit Nero, an cuncta vectigalia tti iuberet idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium t. sed impetum eius, multum prius laudata magnitudine ni, attinuere senatores, dissolutionem imperii docendo, si tus quibus res publica sustineretur deminuerentur: quippe atis portoriis sequens ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur. asque vectigalium societates a consulibus et tribunis plebei stitutas acri etiam tum populi Romani libertate; reliqua ita provisa, ut ratio quaestuum et necessitas erogationum r se congrueret. temperandas plane publicanorum cupidines,

ublicanorum: see 4. 6, 4, and note: 'inmodestia' ('extortionateness') lained by 'cupidines' below (§ 4), y the regulations laid down (c. 51). bitavit, 'considered the ques-: cp. 4. 57, 5, and note.

ncta vectigalia, 'all indirect ' (opposed to 'tributa' below and 11, 6). The 'portoria,' so far the important class of them as to be oned below as a synonym for the , were the customs or import duties, at the frontiers of the empire and ose of each of its great financial ts (comprising in most cases more one province each), and also minor tolls or dues (see Marquardt, Staatsv. 69, foll.). That Nero contemplated sal free trade throughout the empire ficult to believe; but the words m generi mortalium' point to conception. Merivale, who thinks he proposal was more limited (see l. p. 58, 10), holds that Tacitus have misunderstood the question Rom. ch. 52, p. 105, foll.).

mpetum, 'his impulse': cp. c. 54, . 12, 3, etc.; also 'occidendi regis npetum ceperat' (Curt. 5. 12, 1), tus moriendi' (Suet. Oth. 9).

enatores. The term used would t the explanation that the advice ividual senators, not any corporate of the senate as such, is meant. ere is much to be said for the view s. adopted by Nipp., that 'seniores' be read, and that the question was sed in the private cabinet of the ps. The regulations made are by al edict, without any senatorial (c. 51, 1); and it is a moot point er the transference of the 'vecti- from the aerarium to the fiscus, ly an established fact in the time ian (see Hirschf. 20, 1), had not already taken place, as seems indicated by Plin. N. H. 6. 22, 24, 84 ('Claudii principatu . . . Anni Plocami, qui maris Rubri vectigal a fisco redemerat, libertus').

6. **sequens**, sc. 'esse.' Cic. thus has 'consequens esse' (de Or. 2. 53, 215; Tusc. 5. 8, 21).

tributorum. These denote all direct taxes, not only those paid in money, as poll-tax, etc., but also those levied in kind, as the corn tithe (4. 6, 4), etc. It would be really necessary for the 'tributa' to be vastly increased if 'vectigalia' were abolished; and as Roman citizens paid no tribute, the whole cost of the empire would fall on the subjects.

7. **vectigalium societates**, the 'societates equitum Romanorum' of 4. 6, 4 (where see note). The institution of a 'vectigal' carried with it that of a corresponding 'societas'; and the reason for using this expression rather than 'pleraque vectigalia' may possibly be to remind Nero of the great interests of Roman citizens involved in the collection of these revenues.

a consulibus et tribunis plebei, i. e. by 'leges' or 'plebiscita' proposed by them, especially on occasion of the organisation of the several provinces (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 108, 2). A still earlier instance would be that of the 'lex de vicesima eorum qui manumitterentur' (Liv. 7. 16, 7).

8. **acri**, 'being in full vigour.' Cp. 'acrius servitium' (6. 48, 5). Muretus has been generally followed in placing 'tum' before, instead of (as in Med.) after 'populi Romani.'

9. **quaestuum** = 'redituum,' 'sources of income.'

10. **congrueret.** The final 't' has been lost in Med. before 'temperandas.' Most edd. read 'congruerent,' with G.

plane, concessive, as in 3. 34, 4, etc.

ne per tot annos sine querella tolerata novis acerbitatibus invidiam verterent.

51. Ergo edixit princeps, ut leges cuiusque publici, occu ad id tempus, proscriberentur; omissas petitiones non u annum resumerent; Romae praetor, per provincias qui praetore aut consule essent iura adversus publicanos extra dinem redderent; militibus immunitas servaretur, nisi in quae veno exercerent; aliaque admodum aequa, quae b servata, dein frustra habita sunt. manet tamen abolitio c dragensimae quinquagensimaeque et qua alia exactionibus

1. **acerbitatibus**, 'embitterments': for the plural, cp. 6. 4, 4, and note. Such illegal exactions as those mentioned in c. 51, 2 are referred to.

3. **edixit princeps.** This introduction of these regulations in respect of taxation by a mere imperial edict is perhaps to be explained by a supposition that these were already fiscal revenues (see on c. 50, 2), and is certainly in accordance with later practice (Momms. ii. 1015, foll.); also the reduction of the 'centesima' (2. 42, 6), which belonged to the 'aerarium militare' (1. 78, 2), is given as the ordinance of Tiberius, without mention of any action through the senate.

leges cuiusque publici, 'the regulations respecting each tax,' the contracts into which the publicans had entered respecting it, and the rules by which it was to be managed. For this sense of 'publicum' cp. 'conducere publica' (Hor. Ep. 1. 1, 77), and several other passages in Cic., etc.

4. **proscriberentur**, 'should be posted up,' so that all might read them. By 'occultae,' it is meant that the publicani had hitherto kept this knowledge to themselves.

omissas, etc., 'that revenue claims which had been let drop should not be taken up after a year.'

5. **Romae praetor**, etc. These would be the ordinary judicial tribunals at home and abroad, those of the praetors in the one case, the governors of the senatorial or greater Caesarian provinces in the other. It is to be noted that no mention is made of procurators governing provinces. The jurisdiction in revenue causes under the Republic had belonged to the province of the censor, during the abeyance of whose office the competence of consular or praetorian tribunals was ipso facto revived; but such questions had frequ been committed by the magistrate 'reciperatores' (cp. 1. 74, 7, and n see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 462, 467, 10

6. **extra ordinem**, without m these causes await their regular tu the list for trial: cp. Sen. Ep. 1 'dubitavi utrum differrem te an .. tibi extra ordinem dicerem'; also ' ordinarius reus' (Cic. ad Fam. 8. This rule would appear to have intended to ensure a decision of old c before fresh ones had accrued.

7. **militibus**, etc. Soldiers were to no excise or custom in respect of thing brought from home, or purc for their own use, or taken as booty.

8. **veno**, dative: cp. 'veno de 4. 1, 3 (and note). On the traffic ca on by soldiers see c. 35, 3. It w seem that their immunity had hit extended even to this. 'Exercere used as in such expressions as 'exe faenus.'

9. **frustra habita**, 'were evaded' the sense in which the phrase is use person in c. 37, 2.

quadragensimae quinquagensi que. Nothing is known of these 2 cent. and 2 per cent. duties. They evidently fictions under which the p cans levied illegal exactions, and the must not be identified with any k lawful duties under such names. Se such fraudulent exactions are ment in Cic. Verr. 3. 49, 116; 78, 181; c in Caes. B. C. 3. 32, but rather as l by governors than by publicans.

10. **alia.** It appears that the rig distress or 'pignoris capio' (see on 4) had belonged to publicans unde Republic (Cic. Verr. 3. 11, 27), had been abolished before Gaius (4. 32).

citis nomina publicani invenerant. temperata apud transmarinas rovincias frumenti subvectio, et ne censibus negotiatorum naves lscriberentur tributumque pro illis penderent, constitutum.

52. Reos ex provincia Africa, qui proconsulare imperium illic ıbuerant, Sulpicium Camerinum et Pompeium Silvanum ab-lvit Caesar, Camerinum adversus privatos et paucos, saevitiae agis quam captarum pecuniarum crimina obicientes. Silvanum agna vis accusatorum circumsteterat poscebatque tempus evo-ndorum testium: reus ilico defendi postulabat. valuitque cuniosa orbitate et senecta, quam ultra vitam eorum produxit, orum ambitu evaserat.

53. Quietae ad id tempus res in Germania fuerant, ingenio cum, qui pervulgatis triumphi insignibus maius ex eo decus

:. **temperata,** 'was made easier': cp. nnonam macelli temperandam' (Suet.). 34). The facility given must have sisted in the abolition of dues or other atious regulations, such as are described Agr. 19, 4.

:. **ne censibus,** etc., 'that the ships of rchants should not be assessed in their perty, and that they should not pay perty tax upon them.' Nipp. notes t, as Roman citizens paid no 'tributum,' 'negotiatores' or corndealers (cp. 2. 1; 14. 33, 1) must have been for-ıers. It was no doubt seen that any laid on their ships was added to the of transport.

:. **Africa.** On this province and its consuls see Introd. i. vii. p. 97.

. **Sulpicium Camerinum.** Q. Sul-us Camerinus was cos. suff. in March , A. D. 46, with M. Iunius Silanus (C. . v. 1. 5050), and is often mentioned ng the Arvales in 810–812, A. D. 57– (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2039–2041). He was to death, with his son, by the freed-ı Helius during Nero's absence in ece (Dio, 63. 18, 2). It is stated by (l. l.) that he had the family surname thicus.'

'ompeium **Silvanum:** so read rally after Lips. for the Med. 'pom-um,' on the supposition that the on spoken of is the same who is tioned by Josephus (Ant. 20. 1, 2) os. suff. in 798, A. D. 45, and in the ories (2. 86, 4, etc.) as legatus of natia, and by Frontinus (Aq. 102) urator aquarum in 824–826, A. D. '3. An inscription cited by Nipp. gives him a second consulship of uncertain date.

absolvit Caesar. The trial was probably, as usual in such cases, before the senate. The meaning would probably be that Caesar procured the acquittals by giving the first vote for them (see 1. 74, 7, and note).

8. **tempus,** etc.: see c. 43, 2.

9. **ilico defendi postulabat,** 'was demanding to be heard at once in defence.' A similar construction with 'postulo' is found in 2. 50, 2; H. 4. 2, 3, etc.; also in Cic. Verr. 3. 60, 138, and in other writers.

10. **orbitate:** see c. 48, 7; 3. 25, 2, and note.

11. **quorum ambitu,** 'by whose intercession' (cp. 4. 2, 4, etc.) with the senate and Caesar. The persons hoped to be rewarded in his will, but were baulked by his outliving them. He is called 'dives senex' in H. 2. 86, 4.

12. **ad id tempus.** The last notice of German affairs was under the year 803, A. D. 50 (12. 27–28). The events mentioned in these chapters must however have begun before the current year (see notes on § 3, and on c. 56, 4): it is plain that the narrative extends over some time, and it is probable that, as Schiller (p. 115) thinks, the occupation of the lands by the Frisii and their expulsion belong to the year 810, A. D. 57, and the affairs with the Ampsivarii to that and the following year.

13. **pervulgatis:** on the prodigal distribution of these honours see 11. 20, 5, and note.

sperabant, si pacem continuavissent. Paulinus Pompeius L. Vetus ea tempestate exercitui praeerant. ne tamen segne militem attinerent, ille inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta ann a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit, Vetus Mosella atque *Ararim* facta inter utrumque fossa conectere parabat, copiae per mare, dein Rhodano et Arare subvectae per ea fossam, mox fluvio Mosella in Rhenum, exim Oceanum decu rerent, sublatisque itineris difficultatibus navigabilia inter occidentis septentrionisque litora fierent. invidit operi Aeli Gracilis Belgicae legatus, deterrendo Veterem ne legiones alien provinciae inferret studiaque Galliarum adfectaret, formidolosu

1. **Paulinus Pompeius et L. Vetus.** The latter, on whom see c. 11, 1, and note, had the Upper Province; Paulinus, the legatus of the Lower, is mentioned again as a consular in 15. 18, 4, and was father, or perhaps brother, of Pompeia Paulina, the wife of Seneca (15. 60, 8). Pliny, who mentions him as taking a quantity of plate with him to an army surrounded by savage tribes, states (N. H. 33. 11, 50, 143) that he was the son of a knight of Arelate (Arles). Seneca dedicates his treatise 'De brevitate vitae,' written in or before 802, A. D. 49 (see note on 12. 23, 5), to a Paulinus, who appears from it (18, 3) to have been then 'praefectus annonae,' and may have been the equestrian father mentioned by Pliny.

2. **ne tamen segnem,** etc.: cp. 1. 35, 5; 11. 20, 2.

3. **ante tres et sexaginta annos.** Drusus died in 745, B. C. 9; whence it would appear that the work of Paulinus was taken up in 808, A. D. 55. Vetus, who was consul in that year (c. 11, 1), may have been sent to Germany when his suffectus succeeded him, and appears to have only held his province for a year from that date (see on c. 56, 4).

4. **aggerem.** This dam is that mentioned in H. 5. 19, 3, as constructed to prevent inundations on the Gallic side. Thierry (Hist. des Gaul. iii. p. 439) supposes it to have been constructed at the bifurcation of the old Rhine and the Waal (see 2. 6, 5), and to have been intended to keep up the supply of water in the former, with which the canal of Drusus (2. 8, 1) communicated.

Mosellam atque Ararim. The context shows the name of the latter river (the Saône) to have dropped out.

6. **copiae,** 'merchandise,' product cp. 'provinciarum copiae' (3. 54, 7), e Nipp. notes that the word cannot h mean 'troops,' as these were rather rais in the provinces than despatched in a numbers from Italy. This route from t Mediterranean to the German Oce would be of more importance since t conquest of Britain.

Rhodano et Arare, abl. of dir tion (Introd. i. v. § 25).

7. **Oceanum.** The prep. is left to supplied, as in 2. 68, 1, etc.

8. **navigabilia,** apparently here alo used of coasts connected by internal rou for ships.

10. **Belgicae.** This province, inclu ing all between the Seine and Rhi except what belonged to the 'Germania was governed by a legatus of praetori rank, who resided at Durocortoru Remorum (Rheims): see Marquar Staatsv. i. pp. 115, 122.

deterrendo, etc. The sentences troduced by 'ne' here express not much what he was deterred from doing the arguments urged upon him: cp. 73, 4.

alienae provinciae. The legio of Upper Germany would have to en Belgica in the construction of these wor The provinces were now wholly distin though they had not been always so: Marquardt, i. p. 123.

11. **studia Galliarum.** The Med. ' studia' is taken to be a repetition fr 'inferret.' On the elements of rebelli still supposed to exist in Gaul, cp. 11. 2, etc.

formidolosum, 'alarming': cp. 76, 5, etc. The emperor would consi his position threatened, if such great wo

imperatori dictitans, quo plerumque prohibentur conatus nesti.

54. Ceterum continuo exercituum otio fama incessit ereptum s legatis ducendi in hostem. eoque Frisii iuventutem saltibus t paludibus, inbellem aetatem per lacus admovere ripae agros- e vacuos et militum usui sepositos insedere, auctore Verrito Malorige, qui nationem eam regebant, in quantum Germani gnantur. iamque fixerant domos, semina arvis intulerant utque trium solum exercebant, cum Dubius Avitus, accepta a Paulino ovincia, minitando vim Romanam, nisi abscederent Frisii teres in locos aut novam sedem a Caesare inpetrarent, per- lit Verritum et Malorigem preces suscipere. profectique omam dum aliis curis intentum Neronem opperiuntur, inter quae barbaris ostentantur intravere Pompei theatrum, quo gnitudinem populi viserent. illic per otium (neque enim licris ignari oblectabantur) dum consessum caveae, discrimina

e associated with the name of a mere ıtus.

. **ducendi**: the object is supplied n 'exercituum' in the context.

oque, 'and therefore' (under this suasion).

'risii. This people have been men- ied as compelled in 800, A.D. 47, ccept terms from Corbulo (11. 19, 2), appear here to be independent. bably, as Mommsen suggests (Hist. 15, 2; E. T. i. 126, 2), a distinction is e drawn between the western and ern portion, the Frisii minores and ores of G. 34, 1, the Frisii and iavones of Plin. N. H. 4. 15, 29, 101.

altibus aut paludibus, abl. of ction: cp. Introd. i. v. § 25.

. **lacus**, those now absorbed in the ler Zee: see 1. 60, 3.

pae: that of the old Rhine (cp. 3).

militum usui sepositos. This is ained in c. 55, 3 to be land set t as pasture for the beasts kept for isioning the troops. It is also ent that under this pretext a far ter amount of land than was neces- was reserved, possibly with the ct of keeping the people of the try at a distance from the quarters e army. On the district here spoken e c. 55, 5, and note.

errito et Malorige. Ruperti ; the German names to have been rreit' and 'Malrich.'

7. **in quantum**, etc., 'so far as Germans submit to princes'; cp. 'nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas' (G. 7, 1), and the description (Id. c. 11) of their method of government. 'In quantum' is so used in 14. 47, 1; Dial. 2. 2; 21, 9; 41, 5, also in Ov. M. 11. 71, and in post-Augustan prose. The personal use of 'regnari' (cp. H. 1. 16, 11; G. 25, 3; 44, 1) is also adopted from Augustan poets by Plin. (N. H. 6. 20, 23, 76), etc.: cp. 'triumphari' (12. 19, 3), 'dubitari' (14. 7, 1), 'ministrari' (G. 44, 2).

9. **exercebant**: cp. 11. 7, 4, and note.

Dubius Avitus. In the record of his consulship with Thrasea (see on c. 49, 1) his name is given as 'Duvius,' with the praenomen 'L.' He is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 34. 7, 18, 47) as legatus of Aquitania (which province he would naturally have held before his consulship), and also as nephew of Cassius Salanus, a friend of Ovid (ex P. 2. 5).

11. **perpulit**: on the inf. with this verb, cp. 6. 33, 1, and note.

14. **Pompei theatrum**: see 3. 23, 1, and note.

15. **per otium**, 'while unoccupied.'

neque enim . . . oblectabantur, = 'ignari enim . . . non oblectabantur.' They could not understand the play itself or derive amusement from it.

16. **consessum caveae.** This expression is taken from Lucr. (4, 78) and Vergil

ordinum, quis eques, ubi senatus percontantur, advertere quosdam cultu externo in sedibus senatorum; et quinam forent rogitantes, postquam audiverant earum gentium legatis id honoris datum, quae virtute et amicitia Romana praecellerent, nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse exclamant degrediunturque et inter patres considunt. quod comiter a visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui et bona aemulatio. Nero civitate Romana ambos donavit, Frisios decedere agris iussit atque illis aspernantibus auxiliaris eques repente immissus necessitatem attulit, captis caesisve qui pervicacius restiterant.

55. Eosdem agros Ampsivarii occupavere, validior gens non modo sua copia, sed adiacentium populorum miseratione, quia pulsi a Chaucis et sedis inopes tutum exilium orabant. aderat

(Aen. 5, 340), both of whom use it of the mass of spectators, as distinct from the position occupied by senators, the 'patrum coetumque decorum' of Lucr., the 'ora prima patrum' of Verg.: here it is similarly contrasted with 'discrimina ordinum'; i. e. the knights in the 'quatuordecim ordines' and the senators in the orchestra.

1. **quis** = 'quibus sedibus.'

percontantur, taken by zeugma with 'consessum' and 'discrimina.'

advertere: cp. 12. 51, 5, and note.

4. **amicitia Romana**, 'friendship towards Rome.' This privilege of a seat among the senators had been granted in old times to the Massilians (Just. 43, 5, 10), and that of a similar place in the amphitheatre, in the time of the dictator Caesar, to Hyrcanus and his sons and any ambassadors from them (Jos. Ant. 14. 10, 6). Augustus forbade the introduction of any ambassadors of foreign states into the orchestra (Suet. Aug. 44); but his prohibition had evidently been already set aside. Trajan gave a similar honour to a large gathering of such embassies (Dio, 68. 15, 2).

5. **ante**, 'superior to,' cp. Sall. Cat. 53, 3 ('facundia Graecos . . . ante Romanos fuisse'), and the use of 'ante alios' by Tacitus (1. 27, 1 and note) in sentences in which the idea of a participle of 'sum' is supplied.

6. **inter patres considunt.** Suet. tells the same story as having happened in the time of Claudius (Cl. 25), and makes the ambassadors whom the Germans saw sitting among the senate to have been Parthians and Armenians.

7. **impetus antiqui**, 'a trait of old fashioned impetuosity' (such impulse being generally restrained by civilisation) So Suet. (l. l.) speaks of it as a trait o 'simplicitas' ('frankness'). 'Impetus is so used in c. 50, 2, etc., and 'antiquus and 'antiquitas' are used of characte as terms of praise in 3. 4, 5; 55, 5, etc The genit. 'impetus' is used like 'moris etc.

bona aemulatio: so Halm an Nipp., after Rhen., for the Med. 'aemu latione' (the 'ne' being supposed t have arisen out of a repetition fron the following word). Others retain th Med.; and Dr. compares the coordinatio of a genit. and abl. of quality in Sall. F H. inc. 75 D, 41 K, 2. 21 G ('or probi, animo inverecundo'), and Nep Dat. 3 ('hominem maximi corporis terr bilique facie'). But here the genit. not strictly that of quality, and the ab could hardly be other than causal, an we should have to explain the senten (with Gron.) as 'quasi impetus antiqu esset, et aemulatione bona fieret.'

9. **aspernantibus**, 'treating the ord with contempt': cp. 1. 23, 6, etc.

11. **Ampsivarii.** This name is read b Nipp. and Halm (ed. 4) in 2. 8, 4 (whe see note); 23, 3; 24, 5. Med. has he 'amsibarii,' but in c. 56, 2 'ampsiuari Their name shows them to be local connected with the Amisia (Ems).

13. **Chaucis.** This tribe was powerf and aggressive in the time of Claudi (11. 18–19).

aderat iis, 'pleaded for them so used often of advocates, and he suited to 'orabant' and 'referens.'

ue iis clarus per illas gentes et nobis quoque fidus, nomine oiocalus, vinctum se rebellione Cherusca iussu Arminii referens, ox Tiberio, Germanico ducibus stipendia meruisse, et quinuaginta annorum obsequio id quoque adiungere, quod gentem iam dicioni nostrae subiceret. quo tantam partem campi cere, in quam pecora et armenta militum aliquando transmitterentur? servarent sane receptus gregibus inter hominum mem, modo ne vastitatem et solitudinem mallent quam amicos opulos. Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum et ost Usiporum fuisse. sicuti caelum deis, ita terras generi ortalium datas; quaeque vacuae, eas publicas esse. solem de suspiciens et cetera sidera vocans quasi coram interrogabat,

1. **clarus . . . fidus.** Nipp. notes that ese are taken as in apposition to 'Boiolus' notwithstanding the interposition 'nomine': cp. 2. 74, 2, and note.

2. **rebellione Cherusca,** the rising ainst Varus in 762, A.D. 9. Tiberius d commanded in Germany during the o years after that date, and Germanicus 766–769, A.D. 13–16. The fifty years e reckoned from the time of Varus to e current year.

5. **subiceret,** 'was keeping obedient,' roughout that time generally.

quo tantam partem: so most cent edd., after Lips. for the Med. uotam partem'; 'quo' being taken mean 'with what object,' as 'quo ihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti' Ior. Ep. 1. 5, 12)? Inasmuch as an ject is assigned in the following words in quam'='ut in eam'), the stress to be laid on 'tantam'; the meaning ing 'why does so much more land idle than is needed for this purpose?' pp. retains the Med. 'quotam,' acketing 'iacere' as a gloss, and supying 'esse'; taking the sentence to ean 'how small a portion of the served land is it which is really ever ed for this purpose!'

6. **aliquando,** 'now and then'; cp. 3, 7; 21, 8, etc.

7. **receptus gregibus inter hominum mem:** so recent edd. generally after einsh. and Lips. (with some inferior SS.) for Med. 'receptos . . . famam'; ich Ern. and Walth. are hardly sucssful in endeavouring to explain. The rds are spoken bitterly, and mean serve, if you please, retreats for your cks, while men are left to starve (treat the lives of your flocks as more precious than those of men), only do not reserve so much as to destroy your own interests by surrounding yourselves with a wilderness, instead of with friendly tribes.' For the use of 'inter hominum famem' with the force of 'cum homines interea fame laborarent,' cp. 1. 50, 7, and note. Ritt. adopts the correction 'receptus,' but reads 'modo inter hominum famam,' thinking that 'modo' has been lost through 'modo ne' following, and taking the meaning to be 'so that it be among the voices of men,' within range of human intercourse, and not in a desert.

9. **Chamavorum,** etc. The meaning is that other tribes had formerly occupied these tracts at pleasure. The Chamavi, living apparently further in the interior in the time of Tacitus (see G. 33, 1; 34, 1), are thought to have been a subdivision of the Marsi, on whom see 1. 50, 6, and note. On the Tubantes and Usipi (or Usipetes) see 1. 51, 4, and note. The district here spoken of would appear to be that near Münster (Momms. Hist. v. 115; E. T. i. 126), between the Rhine, the Lippe, and the Ems.

11. **publicas esse,** 'are common property'; not in the usual sense, of that which belongs to the state, but of that which any one might take possession of.

12. **suspiciens:** so most recent edd., after Heins., for Med. 'despiciens': cp. 'caelum suspiciens' (G. 10, 2). The older edd. generally read 'deinde respiciens' (or 'aspisciens'); Ritt. reads 'Solem inde aspiciens,' and, supposing the Sungod alone to be addressed, reads 'vellet' and 'superfunderet.'

vocans. The use of this verb in

vellentne contueri inane solum: potius mare superfunderen adversus terrarum ereptores.

56. Et commotus his Avitus: patienda meliorum imperia id dis quos inplorarent placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romano maneret, quid darent quid adimerent, neque alios iudices quan se ipsos paterentur. haec in publicum Ampsivariis respondi ipsi Boiocalo ob memoriam amicitiae daturum agros. quod il ut proditionis pretium aspernatus addidit 'deesse nobis terra i vitam, in qua moriamur, non potest:' atque ita infensis utrimqu animis discessum. illi Bructeros, Tencteros, ulteriores etia nationes socias bello vocabant: Avitus scripto ad Curtiliu Manciam superioris exercitus legatum, ut Rhenum transgressu arma a tergo ostenderet, ipse legiones in agrum Tencteru induxit, excidium minitans, ni causam suam dissociarent. igitu absistentibus his pari metu exterriti Bructeri; et ceteris quoqu

the sense of 'invoco' is constant in Vergil and other poets.

quasi coram, 'as if face to face,' as if addressing them: cp. 4. 54, 3, and note.

1. **mare superfunderent.** Such an imprecation would naturally suggest itself to a person familiar with the inundations of the Low Countries, though the district here spoken of is far from the sea.

3. **commotus,** 'moved to sympathy.' This is shown by his abstaining from threats, and trying to induce them to submit to the inevitable.

patienda, etc. The verb of speaking can be supplied from the sense (Introd. i. v. § 38); but it is possible that 'ait' may have dropped out, as Ritt. thinks, between 'imperia' and 'id,' or may have been, as Lips. thought, corrupted into the latter word.

6. **in publicum,** 'addressed to them as a people.' The answer was given through Boiocalus; so that 'respondit' is repeated in thought with 'ipsi.'

7. **amicitiae,** his fidelity to Rome (c. 55, 2).

8. **deesse,** sc. 'potest'; so probably in Cic. Fin. 1. 1, 2 'veritus ne movere hominum studia viderer, retinere non posse': see also 12. 64, 6, and note.

terra in vitam: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., with Jac. Gron. for the Med. 'terram uiuam.' Older edd. read 'terra in qua vivamus,' with Rhen. and MS. Agr.; Orelli and Ritt. follow Sillig in preferring 'terra ubi vivamus,' as reading more likely to have been co rupted into the Med. text.

9. **atque ita . . . discessum,** repeat almost verbatim from Agr. 27, 3.

10. **Bructeros:** see 1. 51, 4, and no

Tencteros. This tribe, living ne to the Usipi, and on the Rhine fronti were famed as a race of horsemen (32, 2). In the narrative of the risi of Civilis they are closely joined wi the Bructeri (H. 4. 21, 3; 77, 1), a are seen to have occupied the tract o posite to Köln (Id. 64, 1). They we well known in Caesar's time (B. G. 4. 16), were reduced to temporary su jection by Drusus (Liv. Epit. 138), a continued to be important in lat history.

11. **socias bello,** 'to join them in wa

scripto, not elsewhere used as a abs. Cp. similar rare uses of oth words thus in Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

Curtilium Manciam. His name given in an Arval table of Dec. 8 A.D. 55 (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2037), as Curtilius Mancia; and he was probab at that time cos. suff. with Cn. Lentul Gaetulicus (Hermes, 12. 127). His w is mentioned in Plin. Ep. 8. 18, 4. A cording to Phlegon, De reb. adm. c. (cited by Nipp.), he was already legat of Upper Germany in 809, A.D. 56; whi would make the tenure of L. Vetus have been for one year only (see c. 53,

15. **exterriti,** were scared away fro joining them: cp. c. 37, 1.

iena pericula deserentibus sola Ampsivariorum gens retro ad sipos et Tubantes concessit. quorum terris exacti cum Chats, dein Cheruscos petissent, errore longo hospites, egeni, hostes, alieno quod iuventutis erat caeduntur, inbellis aetas in praedam visa est.

57. Eadem aestate inter Hermunduros Chattosque certatum agno proelio, dum flumen gignendo sale fecundum et conterinum vi trahunt, super libidinem cuncta armis agendi religione sita, eos maxime locos propinquare caelo precesque mortalium deis nusquam propius audiri. inde indulgentia numinum illo amne illisque silvis salem provenire, non ut alias apud gentes

1. **deserentibus**: so Halm and Nipp., th Rhen.; most others retain the Med. efendentibus,' in the sense of 'warding from themselves' (declining to enunter): cp. 15. 38, 8; also 'defende rorem' (Verg. Aen. 10, 105), 'defendit statem' (Hor. Od. 1. 17, 3).

sola, 'isolated.'

2. **Chattos, Cheruscos.** On these bes see 1. 55, 1; 56, 7, and notes.

3. **errore longo,** etc. It seems best take 'errore longo' as an abl. abs., to ppose that the next three words describe a climax their treatment by the various bes which they reached ('first received spitably, then left destitute, then ated as enemies'), and that 'in alieno' ie reading of most edd., after G., for Med. 'in alio') adds a pathetic touch 'caeduntur.' Halm stops the words as to take 'hostes in alieno' closely; pp. puts commas at 'hostes' and at ieno,' and takes the words to mean t they were 'hospites' here, 'hostes' re, 'egeni' and 'in alieno' everyere. The order of the words seems inst this interpretation.

4. **caeduntur,** etc. Tacitus evidently posed them to have been exterminated; are they mentioned in the Germania; a name apparently the same ('Amprii') is noted by Orelli as mentioned Sulpicius Alexander (cited by egory of Tours 2. 9) in the year). 392.

6. **Hermunduros.** On this people, initing parts of Franconia and Thuringia, 2. 63, 6, and note; they are also ationed in 12. 29, 2; 30, 1.

. **dum flumen,** etc. The river is bably the Werra, the eastern branch he Weser, near to which are the salt ings of Salzungen, not far from Meiningen. Some suppose the river to be the Franconian Saale, a tributary of the Main, and the springs those of Kissingen: others have taken it to be the upper part of the Saxon Saale, a tributary of the Elbe. In none of these cases is it strictly true that the river itself is a salt spring.

8. **vi trahunt,** 'they each forcibly appropriate': cp. 'in se trahere' (1. 2, 1).

super libidinem, etc.; i.e. besides their general propensity to decide disputes by the sword, there was a deeply rooted belief which gave each the additional desire to possess what they considered to be hallowed ground.

10. **propius,** 'from a nearer point': cp. 2. 70, 4, and note. Many have supposed that mountain heights are meant, and have endeavoured by this means to identify the site. But no mountains are alluded to in the context, and the physical nearness of such spots to heaven would hardly be spoken of as recognised by faith. It appears therefore better to understand 'propinquare' and 'propius' of mystical nearness. Woods and groves and streams were generally looked upon as the abodes of deities by the Germans (see G. 9, 3, and Schweizer-Sidler ad loc.); and Tacitus appears to say that the presence of such a divine gift as salt in these woods and springs was taken as evidence that they were peculiarly sacred.

11. **non . . . concretum.** Nipp. seems hardly right in taking this to be a note of the writer, forming no part of the oratio obliqua. It would rather seem that the process itself, so strongly contrasted with the common-place mode of obtaining salt from sea water, had added to the belief that a special Providence was traceable.

eluvie maris arescente unda, sed super ardentem arborum stru fusa ex contrariis inter se elementis, igne atque aquis, concret sed bellum Hermunduris prosperum, Chattis exitiosius fuit, q victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere, quo v equi viri, cuncta viva occidioni dantur. et minae quidem host in ipsos vertebant. sed civitas Ubiorum socia nobis malo proviso adflicta est. nam ignes terra editi villas arva vi passim corripiebant ferebanturque in ipsa conditae nuper loniae moenia. neque extingui poterant, non si imbres cader non fluvialibus aquis aut quo alio humore, donec inopia reme

1. **eluvie maris,** 'by means of pools of salt water (cp. 12. 51, 5, and note), as evaporation takes place.' The various places in which salt was found and methods of obtaining it are described at length by Pliny (N. H. 31. 7, 39, 73–105).

super ardentem, etc. Pliny says (l. l. § 82) 'Galliae Germaniaeque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt,' and may possibly have given some fuller description elsewhere, which Tacitus may have followed without seeing that the salt was not obtained from the 'union of opposite elements,' but by employing heat for speedy evaporation. The process described is however so rude, and would yield so little, as to suggest that the description is incorrect, and that the heat may really have been used to boil down the water in pans. In some countries, the burning of wood by itself is described (Varr. R. R. 1. 7, 8; Plin. l. l. 83) as yielding a saline charcoal used by the natives as a substitute for salt.

4. **victores,** 'either side in the event of victory.' Nipp. compares the use of 'victores' in 3. 45, 4; 6. 34, 5; 12. 20, 2; 29, 2. 'Diversam aciem,' 'the army of the enemy,' as in 14. 30, 1, etc.

Marti et Mercurio, the Roman names for the gods Tiu or Ziu and Wuotan or Wodan (see G. 9, 1, and Schweizer-Sidler there). Caesar mentions (B. G. 6. 17, 3) a similar Gaulish practice of devoting their booty to Mars, by slaying what had life ('animalia'), and piling the rest in a heap. In the army of Varus the principal officers were sacrificed (1. 61, 5).

5. **cuncta viva:** so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Danes., for the Med. 'uicta,' which is generally explained to mean 'all that had belonged to the conquered'; but Nipp. seems right in thinking that 'v is required by 'occidioni dantur.'

minae . . . hostiles. These con might be thought to menace the pea the frontier. The Chatti were enemi Rome, the Hermunduri friendly, but might be called 'hostes' in distinctio a race within the Roman empire (' socia nobis'), such as the Ubii. also possible that all the movements scribed from c. 54, are here alluded 'Ipsos' is used as if the preceding ex sion had been 'minae hostium.'

6. **Ubiorum.** On this people s 31, 3, and note. Here the Med. 'uibonum'; but it is plain that the are meant, from the reference to newly founded colony (12. 27, 1), w was so well known as not to need t mentioned by name.

7. **ignes terra editi.** It does seem possible that volcanic action have taken place in that locality; b is probable that the burning of peat m by spontaneous combustion or agency, spreading thence to pastur meant.

10. **fluvialibus,** a poetical word, used also in Col. 6. 22; 8. 15, 5. Med. 'si' before this word is reject most edd. after Ern. as a repetition the line above.

quo = 'quoquam'; so in 14. 3 15. 38, 3; and 'aliamve quam ur Liv. 5. 54, 1.

humore: so Med. here; but in places the MSS. of Tacitus (see Rit 1. 68, 1) have 'umor,' 'umidus' 'umeo,' and Ritt. so alters it in place.

donec, with historical inf. only and in the Med. text of H. 3. 1 where 'fatiscere' is generally alter 'fatisceret.'

n et ira cladis agrestes quidam eminus saxa iacere, dein stentibus flammis propius suggressi ictu fustium aliisque eribus ut feras absterrebant: postremo tegmina corpori epta iiciunt, quanto magis profana et usu polluta, tanto gis oppressura ignes.

8. Eodem anno Ruminalem arborem in comitio, quae octin- os et triginta ante annos Remi Romulique infantiam texerat, tuis ramalibus et arescente trunco deminutam prodigii loco tum est, donec in novos fetus revivesceret.

ira cladis = 'ira ob cladem': so tae virginis ira' (Verg. Aen. 2, 413), raedae amissae' (Liv. 1. 5, 3), 'ira nciae ereptae' (Id. 37. 51, 6).
resistentibus, 'coming to a stand- Nipp. notes that throwing in stones ficient quantity would really check ames, but belief in the efficacy of her means would be a superstition g when the flame burnt itself out.
gressi: this verb, taken by Taci- m Sallust, is so used with 'propius' 2, 2; 14. 37, 1; 15. 11, 1.
s verberibus, 'blows inflicted ther instruments.'
rofana, 'in common use': cp. 'in is usibus pollui laurum et oleam' . H. 15. 30, 40, 135).
Ruminalem arborem in comitio. ficus Ruminalis' was believed to een that under which the wolf was suckling the twins; the name being d from 'rumis' or 'ruma,' an old for 'mamma' (Varr. ap. Fest. s. v. . L. 5. 54), which gave its name to less 'Rumina' (see Seeley, Introd. . B. 1. p. 32). It was believed to riginally stood in the Lupercal, on rt of the Palatine called Germalus, have been miraculously removed us Navius, the augur of Tarquinius Priscus, to the comitium, i.e. the part of Forum nearest to the Capitol, where the bronze group of the wolf and twins stood near it: see Plin. N. H. 15. 18, 20, 72.

octingentos et triginta. The Med. text has 'septingentos et quadraginta,' which must have arisen from an error in copying in words a date originally written in figures. The first word was corrected by the oldest edd. from an inferior MS. (Vat. 1958), the other by Lips., whom some have declined to follow, thinking that Tacitus may have adopted some other legend, making the twins twenty-eight, instead of eighteen years old (Dion. Hal. 1. 79), at the founding of Rome.

8. **ramalibus**, 'its shoots,' a word used by Ov., Pers., Sen.

deminutam, 'mutilated.'

prodigii loco. Plin. (l. l.) speaks as if this occurred not once only but occasionally ('nec sine praesagio aliquo arescit, rursusque cura sacerdotum seritur').

9. **fetus**, 'shoots': cp. 'inseritur . . . fetu nucis' (Verg. G. 2, 69, etc.).

revivesceret. The more common form 'reviviceret' is read by Nipp. and Ritt. after some inferior MSS. Pichena reads 'reviresceret.'

BOOK XIV.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

U. C. 812, A. D. 59. C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Fonteius Capito, coss.

1–13. Murder of Agrippina.

Nero urged against his mother by Poppaea. 2. Story of her schemes for the covery of her influence. 3. Difficulty of perpetrating the murder: a ship contrived r the purpose by Anicetus. 4. Nero receives her at Bauli with great show of fection. 5, 6. Her friends Crepereius Gallus and Acerronia killed; she escapes ith life. 7. Nero in alarm consults Seneca and Barrus. 8. Anicetus, with a body 'classiarii,' kills her. 9. Her burial: prediction of her fate. 10. Nero's terror mposed by his courtiers. 11. Story made up to the senate by Seneca. 12. Servility the senate except Thrasea: persons exiled by Agrippina restored. 13. Nero ceived in Rome with public demonstrations: he plunges into various excesses.

14–19. Affairs at Rome.

. Nero exhibits himself as a charioteer. 15. The Juvenalia: demoralisation of oman society. 16. He composes verses, and listens to disputations. 17. Riot at mpeii. 18. Pedius Blaesus condemned; Acilius Strabo acquitted. 19. Death of omitius Afer and M. Servilius.

. U. C. 813, A. D. 60. Nero Caesar IV, Cornelius Cossus Lentulus, coss.

20–22. Affairs at Rome.

21. Institution of quinquennial Greek games at Rome, and opinions on them: prize of eloquence awarded to Nero. 22. Appearance of a comet: Rubellius lutus induced to go into voluntary exile: illness of Nero ascribed to divine pleasure.

23–26. Affairs in the East.

Corbulo advances from Artaxata and chastises the Mardi. 24. He escapes assination and occupies Tigranocerta. 25. He takes Legerda and receives a ndly embassy from the Hyrcanians. 26. Tigranes sent from Rome and set up king of Armenia: Corbulo retires to the government of Syria.

2 Earthquake at Laodicea: Puteoli made a colony: colonists sent to Antium a Tarentum. 28. Election of praetors arranged: regulation of appeals to senate: ius Secundus condemned.

A. U. C. 814, A. D. 61. **L. Caesennius Paetus, P. Petronius Turpilianus, c**

Ch. 29–39. Affairs in Britain.

29–30. Suetonius Paulinus attacks and overcomes the Druids in Mona. 31. Ca of the insurrection of the Iceni, under Boudicca, and of the Trinovantes. 32. Ca lodunum sacked: the Ninth legion cut to pieces. 33. Suetonius reaches abandons Londinium: great massacre there and at Verulamium. 34–37. (battle: speeches of Boudicca and Suetonius: the Britons defeated with slaughter: suicide of Boudicca by poison, and of Poenius Postumus, in comma the Second legion. 38. Complaint by the procurator Classicianus of the ext severity of Suetonius. 39. Polyclitus the freedman sent to inspect and re Suetonius succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus.

Ch. 40–47. Affairs in Rome.

40, 41. Condemnation of Fabianus, Antonius Primus, and others, on ch connected with a forged will. 42. Murder of Pedanius Secundus, the praef urbis, by one of his own slaves. 43–45. Question respecting the execution o whole household; speech of C. Cassius; the sentence carried out with diffic 46. Condemnation of Tarquitius Priscus for extortion: census held in (47. Death and character of Memmius Regulus: a gymnasium dedicated.

A. U. C. 815, A. D. 62. P. Marius, L. Afinius, coss.

Ch. 48–65. Affairs at Rome.

48, 49. Revival of the law of 'maiestas,' after long interval, against L. Antistiu praetor; Thrasea speaks against the punishment of death; his opinion followe the senate and allowed by Nero. 50. Fabricius Veiento banished for libels venality. 51. Death of Burrus, alleged to be by poison: Faenius Rufus Sofonius Tigellinus made praefecti praetorio in his place. 52–56. The po of Seneca imperilled by accusers; interchange of speeches between him and N his retirement from publicity. 57–59. Murder of Sulla at Massilia and Rub Plautus in Asia at the instigation of Tigellinus: mockery of senatorial ser after their deaths. 60. Divorce of Octavia notwithstanding the break-down c charge against her: marriage of Nero to Poppaea. 61. Popular rising in f of Octavia; alarm of Poppaea. 62–64. New charge fabricated by Anic Octavia banished to Pandateria and there murdered: servile decrees of the s 65. Deaths of Pallas and Doryphorus, supposed to have been poisoned by N charge of Romanus, leading to the conspiracy of Piso.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XIV.

1. GAIO VIPSTANO C. FONTEIO consulibus diu meditatum lus non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii coalita audacia flagrantior in dies amore Poppaeae, quae sibi matrimonium et cidium Octaviae incolumi Agrippina haud sperans, crebris minationibus, aliquando per facetias incusaret principem et pillum vocaret, qui iussis alienis obnoxius non modo imperii l libertatis etiam indigeret. cur enim differri nuptias suas? mam scilicet displicere et triumphales avos, an fecunditatem verum animum? timeri ne uxor saltem iniurias patrum, iram

. **Gaio Vipstano**, etc. The full ies are C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. nteius Capito (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2041; I. N. 3067). The former, probably son or hew of the consul given in 11. 23, 1, requently mentioned among the Ar-s from 810–839, A.D. 57–86 (C. I. L. I. 2039–2064), and was proconsul of ica in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 76, 8). latter, a son apparently of the one itioned in 4. 36, 4, bore an evil name avarice and other vices as legatus of ver Germany in 821, A.D. 68, and was ed by some of his own officers (H. 1. , etc.). Med. reads here 'uipsano' imilar error to that in 11. 23, 1), and ts the praenomen of Fonteius.

coalita: cp. 13. 26, 2, and note.

. **flagrantior**, 'more ardent': cp. pidinibus flagrans' (13. 2, 3): the e of 'flagrantissimus' in 13. 45, 4 is rent.

'oppaeae: see 13. 45, 1, etc.

. **incolumi**, 'while she lived': cp. 3. 5; 4. 7, 2, etc.; also Caes. B. G. 1. 7, etc.

incusaret. Orelli seems hardly right in taking 'quae' here as causal: the subjunct. may well be that of repeated action, so used with 'qui' in 6. 8, 4, etc. (see Introd. i. v. § 52). 'Criminationibus,' as opposed to 'per facetias,' would seem here to denote passionate reproaches, but may be taken of charges against Agrippina and Octavia.

8. **avos**, rhetorical pl. (cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.); only Poppaeus Sabinus (13. 45, 1) being referred to.

fecunditatem. She had a son (13. 45, 4), whereas Octavia was barren.

9. **verum animum**, 'sincere affection.' The neut. 'verum' and 'veritas' are often used of 'right' and 'rectitude,' and 'verus' is sometimes so used of persons, as 'verissimus . . . iudex' (Cic. Rosc. Am. 30, 84). A contrast is implied to Octavia, the 'nurus filio infesta' below.

ne uxor saltem, etc., i.e. lest as a wife she might at least have power enough to open Nero's eyes.

iniurias patrum, 'her oppression of senators': cp. c. 11, 1. On her avarice see 12. 7, 7, etc.

populi adversus superbiam avaritiamque matris aperiat. qu si nurum Agrippina non nisi filio infestam ferre posset, redde tur ipsa Othonis coniugio: ituram quoquo terrarum, ubi audi potius contumelias imperatoris quam viseret periculis eius mixta. haec atque talia, lacrimis et arte adulterae penetran nemo prohibebat, cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam ma et credente nullo usque ad caedem eius duratura filii odia.

2. Tradit Cluvius ardore retinendae Agrippinam potent eo usque provectam, ut medio diei, cum id temporis Nero vinum et epulas incalesceret, offerret se saepius temulento com tam et incesto paratam. iamque lasciva oscula et praenunt flagitii blanditias adnotantibus proximis, Senecam contra mu bres inlecebras subsidium a femina petivisse, inmissamque Ac libertam, quae simul suo periculo et infamia Neronis an deferret pervulgatum esse incestum gloriante matre, nec tole turos milites profani principis imperium. Fabius Rusticus Agrippinae, sed Neroni cupitum id memorat eiusdemque liber astu disiectum. sed quae Cluvius, eadem ceteri quoque aucto prodidere, et fama huc inclinat, seu concepit animo tantum manitatis Agrippina, seu credibilior novae libidinis meditatio ea visa est, quae puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido

3. **Othonis.** He had been probably already got out of the way to Lusitania: see 13. 46, 5, and note on c. 4, 6.

quoquo terrarum. This use of 'quoquo' with a genit., analogous to 'ubi,' appears to be taken from Plaut. Merc. 5. 2, 17; Ter. Phorm. 3. 3, 18.

4. **viseret** = 'continuo videret' (13. 46, 4).

periculis . . . inmixta: so in H. 4. 85, 6.

5. **penetrantia**, sc. 'animum Neronis': cp. 'Tiberium . . . penetrabat' (3. 4, 3).

7. **duratura**, 'that his hatred would steel him': cp. 1. 6, 3, and note.

8. **Cluvius**: see 13. 20, 3.

ardore, etc. The order of words seems an affectation of style similar to that noted in 1. 67, 1, and may here be designed to make the statement more impressive in recitation.

9. **medio diei . . . id temporis**: cp. 11. 21, 2; 12. 8, 2, and notes. That Nero constantly feasted from midday is stated in Suet. 27; nor was such a practice unknown in earlier times (Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 2; Ep. 1. 14, 34): cp. note on 11. 37, 2. It was usually the time of 'p dium' (see Marq. Privatl. 266, 1).

13. **inmissam**: cp. the similar m phor in 4. 19, 1; 11. 1, 1. On Act 13. 12, 1, and note. To her, any res tion of the ascendancy of Agrip would no doubt be fatal.

16. **profani**, 'impious,' one who raged divine law: cp. 'profanos r (2. 85, 5); also H. 5. 5, 6, etc.

Fabius Rusticus: see 13. 2 His version appears to be followe Suet. (Ner. 28).

18. **disiectum**, 'the plot was br up': so 'consilia . . . disiecit' (Li 14, 3); 'disice compositam pacem' (Aen. 7, 339).

19. **fama huc inclinat**, repeated H. 1. 42, 2. Tacitus declines to a the truth of the story, as does also (61. 11, 4). Suetonius (c. 28), in his manner, gives the story (in the adopted by Rusticus) as an undo fact, and even adds to it.

21. **puellaribus annis.** She was about twenty-four years old, and had more than ten years married: 'puel

minationis admiserat, pari cupidine usque ad libita Pallantis ovoluta et exercita ad omne flagitium patrui nuptiis.

3. Igitur Nero vitare secretos eius congressus, abscedentem in rtos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum laudare, quod um capesseret. postremo, ubicumque haberetur, praegravem us interficere constituit, hactenus consultans, veneno an ferro qua alia vi. placuitque primo venenum. sed inter epulas ncipis si daretur, referri ad casum non poterat tali iam Britani exitio; et ministros temptare arduum videbatur mulieris usu lerum adversus insidias intentae; atque ipsa praesumendo nedia munierat corpus. ferrum et caedes quonam modo

l of a very young married woman in 4, 1.

epido. Nipp. would insert the enomen 'M.,' which may easily have pped out; but the Lepidus here spoken vas no doubt well known to those who the complete work of Tacitus. He ld himself claim descent from Augus- (see the pedigree, Introd. i. ix. p.), and had been husband of Agrip- 's sister Drusilla, and was associated many of the worst outrages of Gaius, put him to death in 792, A. D. 39, as nected with the conspiracy of Lentulus tulicus (see Introd. pp. 8, 18).

pe dominationis. Gaius is said ave contemplated making Lepidus his (Dio, l. l.); but the reference is here bably to the conspiracy above men- ed.

admiserat, 'had incurred the guilt so often used with 'scelus,' 'faci-' etc. in a sense slightly different from of 'committere': cp. 'admissum us' (c. 62, 3), and the subst. 'ad- a' (11. 4, 7).

provoluta, 'prostrating herself to,' d by Dr. as in this sense ἅπ. εἰρ. On adultery with Pallas see 12. 25, c.

xercita = 'exercitata': cp. c. 56, 5; , 2; 4. 11, 2; H. 4. 4, 4, and many r places. This meaning seems hardly e found earlier than Tacitus, who also s the word in the more regular sense f harassed' (1. 17, 7, etc.).

atrui nuptiis. On the incestuous acter of this union see 12. 5, 1, etc.

Igitur, i. e. in consequence of the esentations of Acte (c. 2, 2).

cretos congressus, 'private in- ews with her.'

vel, here subordinate to 'aut'; the true opposition being between 'in hortos' (probably the gardens of Lucullus, 11. 1, 1) and 'in agrum' (some place in the country wholly removed from Rome); Tusculum and Antium being alternative places of rural resort. The latter of these, an ancient colony (see c. 27, 3, and note), the birthplace of Gaius and of Nero (Suet. Cal. 8; Ner. 6), was a favourite imperial residence at this time (cp. c. 4, 3; 15. 23, 1; 39, 1) and long afterwards; and the most important ruins on the spot, believed to have belonged to the Neronian villa, have been the place of discovery of famous works of art, especially the Apollo Belvedere, and the so-called Gladiator in the Louvre.

5. **capesseret:** so all recent edd. after Heins. for the Med. 'lacesseret,' which appears to give no satisfactory sense. Cp. the frequent expressions 'capessere honores,' 'imperium,' etc.

haberetur, so used of persons more or less in custody: cp. 2. 58, 1, and note.

6. **hactenus consultans,** 'deliberating on this question only': for this use of 'hactenus' cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.

7. **vel,** here subordinate to 'an,' as above to 'aut.' The use of the sword or any other open violence is opposed to insidious assassination by poison.

9. **ministros temptare,** i. e. to get her own servants to poison her at her own house, which was now distinct from Nero's (13. 18, 6).

10. **praesumendo,** here in the literal sense, as in Ov. A. A. 3, 757 ('neve domi praesume dapes'). Suet. (Ner. 34) is so circumstantial as to state that three vain attempts to poison her were actually made.

11. **ferrum et caedes,** generally taken

occultaretur, nemo reperiebat; et ne quis illi tanto facin delectus iussa sperneret metuebant. obtulit ingenium Anice libertus, classi apud Misenum praefectus et pueritiae Nero educator ac mutuis odiis Agrippinae invisus. ergo navem po componi docet, cuius pars ipso in mari per artem soluta eff deret ignaram: nihil tam capax fortuitorum quam mare; e naufragio intercepta sit, quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleri adsig quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? additurum principem defunc templum et aras et cetera ostentandae pietati.

4. Placuit sollertia, tempore etiam iuta, quando Quinquatru festos dies apud Baias frequentabat. illuc matrem elicit, feren parentium iracundias et placandum animum dictitans, quo morem reconciliationis efficeret acciperetque Agrippina, fa

as a hendiadys; but the latter, as a more general word, seems to answer to 'vel qua alia vi' above.

2. **metuebant**, sc. 'Nero et conscii.' The presence of advisers is implied in 'consultans,' 'nemo reperiebat,' etc.

obtulit ingenium. Nipp. gives several instances (e.g. H. 4. 25, 5) in which a verb acquires by such a position a force as if 'tum' had preceded it. For the sense of 'ingenium' cp. 12. 66, 5, and note.

3. **classi**, etc.: see 4. 5, 1, and note. The 'praefectus' was usually a knight (cp. 13. 30, 2; Introd. i. vii. p. 108); but a freedman is found in this position under Claudius (Plin. N. H. 9. 17, 29, 62), and another of similar rank just after Nero's death (H. 1. 87, 2): see the full list of 'praefecti' in Hirschf. Unters. 124, foll.

4. **educator**: cp. 11. 1, 2, and note.

mutuis . . . invisus, 'hating Agrippina and hateful to her.'

navem. Suet. gives a story (l. l.) of a previous plan to make the ceiling of her bed-chamber fall, which was frustrated by betrayal. Dio says (61. 12, 2) that the idea of a ship falling to pieces was taken from one seen on the stage.

6. **ignaram**: cp. 11. 35, 1, and note.

tam capax, 'giving so much room for': with the genit., the word is generally used of persons (as in H. 1. 49, 8), or personal qualities (as in 13. 47, 4).

7. **intercepta**: so used of unnatural death in 2. 71, 3, etc.

8. **additurum**, 'would further ordain' (besides reaping the fruit of this explanation of her death). Nipp. notes that 'defunctae' does not depend on the participle, but is taken closely with 'temp et aras' (cp. 12. 41, 3; 15. 23, 3, e and 'ostentandae pietati' with 'cet (cp. 'cetera expugnandis urbibus' H 20, 4).

10. **sollertia**, i. e. the plan of Anic was preferred to open violence.

iuta = 'adiuta': this participle only found here, unless read in 3. 35,

Quinquatruum. This festival Minerva was held March 19–23; name being (acc. to Varro, L. L. 6 14, and Fest. 254, Müll.) a Tusculan w for 'quintus,' and denoting that the f began on the fifth day (reckoned in sively) from the Ides (Gell. 2. 21). O who erroneously derives the name f its lasting five days, describes it as esp ally a festival for workers in the (Fast. 3, 809, foll.) and for children Hor. Ep. 2. 2, 197). For an accoun its ceremonies see Marquardt, Staatsv 435.

11. **frequentabat**, 'he used to atte Nipp. notes that the word is used single person viewed as part of a g gathering: cp. 15. 35, 1, also 'spons aut nuptias frequentavi' (Pl. Ep. 1. 9 'illustrium exequias . . . frequenta (Suet. Tib. 32). The subject is sufficie indicated throughout the passage to m it needless to follow Ritt. in inser 'Nero.'

12. **animum**, i. e. his own: 'dictit would imply that he kept saying thi those about him, intending it to be ported to Agrippina.

13. **facili . . . ad gaudia**: so 'f civitate ad accipienda . . . omnia n (H. 1. 19, 4); a similar sense to tha

ninarum credúlitate ad gaudia. venientem dehinc obvius in ora (nam Antio adventabat) excepit manu et complexu ducit-e Baulos. id villae nomen est quae promunturium Misenum ter et Baianum lacum flexo mari adluitur. stabat inter alias vis ornatior, tamquam id quoque honori matris daretur: ippe sueverat triremi et classiariorum remigio vehi. ac tum vitata ad epulas erat, ut occultando facinori nox adhiberetur. tis constitit extitisse proditorem, et Agrippinam auditis insidiis, crederet ambiguam, gestamine sellae Baias pervectam. ibi

cilis' with a dative (cp. 2. 27, 2, and e).

2. **Antio**: cp. c. 3, 1; she came thence ship. Dio states (61. 12, 3) that Nero k her up and brought her with him by , using the ship which had been pre-red for the murder, in order to ac-tom her to it. According to the ount of Suet. (Ner. 34), she had arrived a ship of her own, which Nero caused be disabled, as if by an accidental lision, so as to oblige her to use for return from Baiae to Bauli the one ich he had prepared for her.

3. **Baulos.** The situation of this villa hown in the context to have been just ond Baiae in the direction of Misenum. had belonged to the orator Hortensius, afterwards to Antonia (Plin. N. H. 9. 81, 172), through whom it became perial property. The name of the ce was believed to be derived from its ing been the resting-place (βοαύλια) Hercules and the herds of Geryon mm. Ep. 1. 1); whence it has the het 'Herculei' in Sil. 12, 156. We to understand the version here given be that Nero conducts her from the ling-place to this villa as her resi-ce during her stay, and invites her to with him at another villa at Baiae note and reading on § 6), that the ily decorated ship was awaiting her val, and was supposed to be placed at disposal during her visit as a mark of our, that she went on to Baiae in a r, but was afterwards induced to use ship for her return. So Suet. (l. l.) saying 'Baias evocavit,' makes the wreck happen 'repetenti Baulos.'

Baianum lacum. This must mean innermost portion of the bay, that osed between Baiae and Puteoli. It is impossible to take it, with Nipp. other recent commentators, to be the same as the Lucrine lake (see note on c. 5, 7).

flexo mari, 'by a bend of the sea' (a creek). On the anastrophe of 'inter' see Introd. i. v. § 77, 2.

6. **sueverat.** This appears to refer to the time before her estrangement from Nero (13. 18, 4). The ship in which she had arrived appears from Suet. (Ner. 34) to have been not a trireme but a 'liburnica.'

classiariorum. The marines of the fleet were a more select class than the ordinary 'remiges,' but were not usually Roman citizens (Introd. i. vii. p. 108).

7. **invitata ad epulas.** Tacitus knows nothing of the story (Suet. Oth. 3) that Otho acted as nominal host, which, if true at all, may possibly be referred to some previous attempt on Agrippina's life. See notes on 13. 46, 5; c. 1, 4.

8. **satis constitit**; so used of a well-established belief in 13. 35, 3.

auditis, 'having been reported': cp. 4. 23, 2, and note.

9. **ambiguam,** 'doubting': cp. c. 33, 2; 2. 67, 1, etc.

gestamine sellae, genit. of definition: cp. 15. 57, 3, 'lecticae gestamine' (2. 2, 5), and 'gestamine' alone (11. 33, 3).

Baias (see note on § 3): so nearly all edd. after Put. for 'Baulos' (Med. and other MSS.), which Pfitzn. and Ritt. retain, the latter marking a lacuna before 'Baulos' in § 3, and thinking that 'ducitque Baias, inde Baulos' should there be read. The Med. text would be so far in accordance with the version of Dio, who makes the feast to take place at Bauli and last several days. The difficulty with this reading lies in the word 'ducit' (§ 3), which can hardly be taken of even an imperfect or contemplated action on Nero's own part (for if he had

blandimentum sublevavit metum: comiter excepta superq ipsum collocata. iam pluribus sermonibus, modo familiarita iuvenili Nero et rursus adductus, quasi seria consociaret, tra in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem, artius oculis pectori haerens, sive explenda simulatione, seu periturae mat supremus aspectus quamvis ferum animum retinebat.

5. Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam qu convincendum ad scelus di praebuere. nec multum erat p gressa navis, duobus e numero familiarium Agrippinam co tantibus, ex quis Crepereius Gallus haud procul gubernacu adstabat, Acerronia super pedes cubitantis reclinis paenitenti filii et reciperatam matris gratiam per gaudium memorab cum dato signo ruere tectum loci multo plumbo grave, press

purposed to accompany her on the ship she would have felt safe), and could only have some such meaning as 'ducendam committit,' which Tacitus would probably have expressed more plainly. Nor can we see to what place of residence she was returning by ship from Bauli after the feast, unless the supposition that she had a villa of her own on the Lucrine lake (see on c. 5, 7) be adopted.

1. **excepta . . . collocata.** According to the stopping here adopted by Halm, Orelli, and Dräger, after Heins., 'est' would be supplied; Nipp., who places only a comma after 'metum,' takes the words as a nominative in apposition to 'blandimentum,' the participles being equivalent to a concise statement of fact, as in 3. 9, 3, etc. Others, with Walther, take the words as abl. abs., with 'ea' supplied.

superque ipsum. Probably these two occupied the 'lectus medius' alone: see note on 3. 14, 2.

2. **iam**: so Halm, Orell., Nipp., Dr., after Heins., for the Med. 'nam,' which Walther, Jacob, and others retain, and which could be explained by taking 'excepta,' etc. as abl. abs., and the incidents denoted by 'sermonibus' and 'tracto . . . convictu' as explanatory of 'blandimentum.'

modo . . . rursus, for 'modo . . . modo.' Dr. compares H. 3. 20, 3, and notes that Tacitus is preceded in this usage by Propert. (1. 3, 41), and that he also coordinates 'modo' with 'aliquando,' 'nunc,' 'saepius,' but only in the Hist. and Ann.

3. **adductus,** 'grave,' apparently nowhere else used of persons. The m ing is equivalent to that of 'add vultu' in Suet. Tib. 68 (cp. 'vul adducet' Sen. Ep. 57, 4). In 12. etc. the metaphor is different.

4. **in longum**: so in 3. 27, 4, and a somewhat different sense) in 1. 6 Dr. notes the phrase as originatin Verg. Ecl. 9. 56 ('in longum amores').

oculis, dat., like 'pectori' (printing kisses on them'). So Dio (61. 13, 2) περιλαμβάνει τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ στέρνον προσαγαγὼν καὶ φιλήσας κα ὄμματα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας: Suet. Ner. 34 digressu papillas quoque exosculatus.

5. **explenda simulatione.** Few followed Lips. in altering the case dative; but the abl. is very difficu explain. In the passages generally ferred to (3. 19, 2; 6. 32, 6), re editors have mostly inserted 'in,' and sense is somewhat different. It is per possible to take it as somewhat bet an abl. abs. and causal abl., with force of 'dum explet simulationem.'

8. **convincendum,** 'to prove': c 13. 2, and note.

11. **Acerronia.** Dio (l. l.) gives he name as Acerronia Polla. It is gested that she may probably have a daughter of the consul of 790, A. (6. 45, 5).

reclinis: cp. 13. 16, 5. She sitting on a lower seat and leaning the feet of Agrippina, who lay or couch.

13. **cum . . . ruere.** On this use c historical inf. see Introd. i. v. § 46 b

tectum loci, apparently the

e Crepereius et statim exanimatus est. Agrippina et Acerlia eminentibus lecti parietibus ac forte validioribus, quam ut eri cederent, protectae sunt. nec dissolutio navigii sequebatur, batis omnibus et quod plerique ignari etiam conscios impedient. visum dehinc remigibus unum in latus inclinare atque ita vem submergere: sed neque ipsis promptus in rem subitam isensus, et alii contra nitentes dedere facultatem lenioris in re iactus. verum Acerronia, inprudentia dum se Agrippinam e utque subveniretur matri principis clamitat, contis et remis quae fors obtulerat navalibus telis conficitur: Agrippina silens que minus adgnita (unum tamen vulnus umero excepit) nando nde occursu lenunculorum Lucrinum in lacum vecta villae suae ertur.

cabin on the deck ('camarae ruina' :. l. l.). This contrivance appears ave been intended to be put in action as proved to be the case) the sea too calm to make the dissolution of ship seem accidental, and resembles earlier plan, mentioned also by Suet. note on c. 3, 6).

ressus, = 'oppressus' ('was hed'). This verb is often used for compounds: cp. c. 64, 3; 15. 64, 1; 9, 4, and several other instances cited by Nipp.

parietibus, the sides or framework e the actual couch.

plerique ignari. The plot had confided to only a few of the crew, were intended to carry it out.

inclinare, sc. 'se,' 'to throw their ht.'

sed neque, etc., their own action not sufficiently in concert to deal the emergency, besides being hin-l by the counter effort of others 'ignari' mentioned above); the t being that Agrippina and Acer- slipped gently overboard, instead ing thrown out with violence.

inprudentia, causal abl. (as in H. 1, 2), or modal. She did not see ntention to destroy Agrippina, and l to be helped the more by passing er.

m, only here used by Tacitus in rophe, but analogously to the use bi' (12. 51, 2), etc.: see Introd. i. 8.

lenunculorum, used of small in Caes. B. C. 2. 43, 3, and in Sall. I. 2. 66 D, 75 K, 88 G. The 'lenunclarii' (probably fishermen) of the Tiber were a corporation (Or. Inscr. 4054, 4104).

Lucrinum. This lake, now reduced to a small marshy pool by the volcanic action of 1538, was separated from the northern recess of the bay of Baiae by a sandy bar, through which a passage had been made and secured by masonry; as well as a further passage from this lake to that of Avernus. The 'portus Iulius,' for the construction of which these works had been undertaken by Octavianus and Agrippa (Verg. G. 2, 161; Hor. A. P. 64), appears to have soon fallen into disuse.

villae suae infertur. Sir E. Bunbury (Dict. of Geog. s. v. 'Bauli') and Professor Holbrooke take this to mean that she had a villa of her own on the Lucrine lake, to which she hastily retreated, and where all that followed took place; but it seems really that she must have returned by land to the villa at Bauli, which, if really Nero's, might be called hers as being her temporary residence. Her tomb was evidently near Bauli or between that and Misenum (c. 9, 3); nor can it be doubted that the site of this was also that of her funeral pile, and that the latter, by reason of the haste used (c. 9, 2), must have been close to the villa to which she fled and in which she was murdered. It is easy to suppose that considerations of safety led her to take an opposite direction to that which the ship had taken, and thus to land at the Lucrine lake, obtaining thence a litter to convey her back through Baiae to Bauli.

6. Illic reputans ideo se fallacibus literis accitam et hon praecipuo habitam, quodque litus iuxta, non ventis acta, r saxis inpulsa navis summa sui parte veluti terrestre machi mentum concidisset, observans etiam Acerroniae necem, sin suum vulnus aspiciens, solum insidiarum remedium esse *sensi* non intellegerentur; misitque libertum Agerinum, qui nuntiaret f benignitate deum et fortuna eius evasisse gravem casum; or ut quamvis periculo matris exterritus visendi curam differr sibi ad praesens quiete opus. atque interim securitate simul medicamina vulneri et fomenta corpori adhibet; testament Acerroniae requiri bonaque obsignari iubet, id tantum non simulationem.

7. At Neroni nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti adfer evasisse ictu levi sauciam et hactenus adito discrimine, ne auc dubitaretur. tum pavore exanimis et iam iamque adfore testans vindictae properam, sive servitia armaret vel mili

3. **summa sui parte.** The abl. is that of the part affected: on the use of the genit. of the personal pronoun see Introd. i. v. § 33 a.

veluti terrestre machinamentum, 'as any mechanism on dry land might act,' i.e. that the sea could have had nothing to do with it. Such contrivances were used on the stage (see on c. 3, 6); also at the feasts of rich men the ceiling was made sometimes to fly asunder and shower presents on the guests (Petron. 60; Suet. Ner. 31).

5. **sensit.** Halm, Or., Dr., Jacob follow Bezzenb. in inserting this verb; which might easily have been lost between 'esse' and 'si.' The sense of such a verb might no doubt be supplied from the context (see Introd. i. v. § 38 a); but the following 'misitque' appears here to presuppose a preceding verb.

si non intellegerentur; i.e. the only escape from the plot was to seem unconscious of it: cp. 1. 11, 5, and note; H. 4. 86, 1.

7. **fortuna eius,** 'by his happy star': so 'fortuna publica' (c. 11, 2), 'fortuna populi Romani' (Liv. 1. 46, 5), are used of occurrences from which great public good results. The expression is a compliment to her son, and implies that he would have regarded her death as a calamity.

10. **fomenta,** 'restoratives,' generally.

11. **id tantum,** etc., 'in this a acting without pretence.' She was p ably aware that she was Acerronia's and the avarice which was her r passion (see 12. 7, 7, etc.) even at moment asserted itself.

13. **opperienti,** so used of an expectation in 2. 69, 4.

14. **hactenus . . . ne,** 'she had far enough in peril to have no as to the instigator': for the sen 'hactenus,' cp. 2. 34, 5; 16. 15, 4, for that of 'auctor,' 4. 11, 2. Th of 'ne' (for 'ut non') appears to nowhere else in an assertion of fact can hardly, as Dr. suggests, be jus by such analogies as 'fieri ne,' 'fore but it is not impossible to suppose, Mr. Frost, that some ironical idea o pose is conveyed, i.e. that the plot se to have been expressly arranged to Nero's guilt. The reading is th an inferior MS. (G); Med. omits (lost in the syllable preceding it) reads 'dubitaret.' For the passive bitor' cp. 3. 8, 4: the use with a sonal subject is noted as occurring where only in poets (Ov. ex P. 2. etc.).

15. **obtestans:** cp. 12, 5, 4, and

16. **vindictae,** probably genit. 11. 26, 4, and note.

vel, subordinate to 'sive': cp. 1, and note.

cenderet, sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet, naufragium vulnus et interfectos amicos obiciendo, quod contra subsidium bi? nisi quid Burrus et Seneca; quos expergens statim civerat incertum an et ante gnaros. igitur longum utriusque entium, ne inriti dissuaderent, an eo descensum credebant, *ut*, si praeveniretur Agrippina, pereundum Neroni esset. post neca hactenus promptius, *ut* respiceret Burrum ac sciscitaretur,

. **quod contra**, etc. Here both 'fore' l a verb of asking are omitted. The struction appears to be designedly lamatory, as in 1. 41, 2, etc. The pping here given is that of Nipp. l makes 'sive servitia . . . obiciendo' protasis to 'quod . . . sibi,' by which struction the difficulty is avoided of king 'sive ad senatum,' etc. (an action plying her immediate return to Rome) t of the epexegesis of 'adfore . . . dictae properam.'

.. **nisi quid Burrus et Seneca; os expergens**, etc. This reading, that Pfitzn., has the merit of making no her change in the Med. text than transposition of the two latter words; omission of a verb being explained, in the preceding sentence, as rhetori- y suited to the character of the pas- e. All the events from the close of feast (c. 4, 8; 5, 1) to the burning he body (c. 9, 2) are comprised in one nt; and the hour may well have been enough for Seneca and Burrus to e been asleep when Nero summoned n. 'Expergens' is bracketed by . as a gloss, and altered by many er the suggestion of a friend to Pich.) expedirent.' Halm follows Wölfflin ilol. 27. 114) in thinking that the reading is 'experiens' ('trying r fidelity'), and that this word should e between 'incertum' and 'an.' The nce of a verb with 'nisi quid' would be explained as above; but 'ex- ens' stands in no good contrast to following words. Nipp. reads 'in- im an aperiens ('disclosing his plot') nte ignaros' (to which latter words force of 'incertum an' is not to be nded); the supposed uncertainty being arently as to whether the facts were osed in the message that summoned n. Other suggested restorations are n in the critical notes of Walther, n, Baiter, and Ritter.

gnaros. This correction of the l. 'ignaros' seems required by the preceding 'et' ('et ante' = καὶ πρότερον, as in 2. 87, 2; 15. 55, 4, etc.); 'incertum an' having the affirmative sense of 'perhaps,' as in 6. 50. 5; 11. 18, 5, etc. The knowledge which it is suggested that they may have possessed would have been that of the plot of Nero, not that of its failure, which had only just hap- pened. The statement of Dio (61. 12, 1) that Seneca had previously urged the mur- der seems improbable (see Introd. p. 64).

igitur. Nipp. takes this to refer to 'ante ignaros' (as read by him) and to their being thus taken by surprise. With the reading above given it may be referred, with Jacob, to 'pavore exanimis,' etc. The excitement of Nero made them hesitate to dissuade him from the murder, lest it should be useless. An alternative reason is suggested as possible, though less likely, in the fol- lowing words.

5. **inriti**, 'to no purpose': cp. 1. 59, 7; 15. 25, 4, etc.

an . . . credebant, 'or perhaps they were really of opinion.' In several edd., the sentence is put as a question ('were they of opinion?'); the suggestion in either case being that they believed the murder to be necessary but shrunk from openly advocating it. For 'eo descensum' ('the crisis had come to this') cp. 'non eo ventum' (11. 26, 2, and note). 'Ut' is here wanting in Med., but inserted from other MSS.

6. **praeveniretur**: cp. 'praeventus' in Sall. Jug. 71, 5, and the act. with accus. in 16. 13, 3.

7. **hactenus promptius**, sc. 'egit,' 'was so far more resolute' as to put the thought of murder into the form of a suggestion. The conjecture of Heraeus, 'prompsit,' is supported by 15. 60, 4, and is advocated by Wölfflin (Philol. 27. 114), who compares ἐς τοσοῦ- τον παρεγύμνου (Hdt. 8. 19, 2). All recent edd. follow Doed. in here again inserting 'ut': older edd. generally read 'respicere,' as an inf. hist., and take 'scis-

an militi imperanda caedes esset. ille praetorianos toti Caesar domui obstrictos memoresque Germanici nihil adversus p geniem eius atrox ausuros respondit: perpetraret Anicetus p missa. qui nihil cunctatus poscit summam sceleris. ad e vocem Nero illo sibi die dari imperium auctoremque t muneris libertum profitetur: iret propere duceretque promp simos ad iussa. ipse audito venisse missu Agrippinae nunti Agerinum, scaenam ultro criminis parat, gladiumque, dum m data perfert, abicit inter pedes eius, tum quasi deprehenso vi inici iubet, ut exitium principis molitam matrem et pudore prehensi sceleris sponte mortem sumpsisse confingeret.

8. Interim vulgato Agrippinae periculo quasi casu evenis ut quisque acceperat, decurrere ad litus. hi molium obiectus proximas scaphas scandere; alii, quantum corpus sinebat, va in mare; quidam manus protendere; questibus, votis, clam diversa rogitantium aut incerta respondentium omnis ora c pleri; adfluere ingens multitudo cum luminibus, atque ubi

citaretur' as a suggestion addressed to Nero (that he should ask this question of Burrus), or alter it to 'sciscitari.'

1. **militi**, the praetorians in attendance.

toti . . . domui. That the 'sacramentum' so far extended to the imperial house generally as to protect the person of its members is shown here and from the statement of Philo (Leg. ad Gaium 5) that Gaius ordered young Tiberius Gemellus to kill himself, *ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοκράτορος ἀπογόνους πρὸς ἑτέρων ἀναρεῖσθαι*: see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 819, 6, and note on c. 11, 1. Here however 'obstrictos' seems rather to denote attachment, as in H. 1. 70, 2.

4. **summam sceleris.** The addition of 'poscit' suggests that this is best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'the chief part in executing the crime': cp. 'summa expeditionis' (H. 1. 87, 2), 'summa rerum' (H. 2. 33, 4, etc.), 'summa belli' (H. 4. 68, 1). Others take it to mean the 'accomplishment' of the crime undertaken but hitherto uncompleted: cp. 'summa pacis' (13. 38, 1) and note.

6. **libertum,** in contrast to Seneca and Burrus.

8. **scaenam ultro criminis parat.** He thinks that Agerinus is the bearer of an accusation from Agrippina, and instead of awaiting it turns the tables ('ultro') and accuses her, 'making up a stage effect to sustain a charge.' Caelius in Cic. ad Fam. 8. 11, 3 ('sc rei totius haec'); Suet. Cal. 15 (minore scaena').

dum mandata perfert, 'whil delivers his message': cp. 1. 23, 5, note.

9. **deprehenso . . . deprehensi.** repetition is apparently an inadverte cp. 1. 81, 1, and note.

12. **vulgato . . . quasi,** etc., 'r known as the result of an accident.' narrative is taken up from the en c. 5.

13. **ut quisque acceperat,** 'as had heard the news.'

molium obiectus = 'obiectas les'; the genit. being similar to t noted in Introd. i. v. § 32. 'Obiectu elsewhere used by Tacitus only in (4. 67, 3; H. 3. 9, 2; 5. 14, 3), an an abstract sense, as in Verg. Aen. 1, Those who suppose her villa to been on the Lucrine (see on c. 5, 7), w take the expression to mean the sandy at that time strengthened by mas between that lake and the bay of B described by Strabo (5. 4, 6, 245) as a a mile long and broad enough for a riage road, which was the means of communication between Puteoli Baiae. But it is plain from Horace 2. 18, 20) that embankments to rec

lumem esse pernotuit, ut ad gratandum sese expedire, donec pectu armati et minitantis agminis disiecti sunt. Anicetus lam statione circumdat refractaque ianua obvios servorum ripit, donec ad fores cubiculi veniret; cui pauci adstabant, teris terrore inrumpentium exterritis. cubiculo modicum lu-en inerat et ancillarum una, magis ac magis anxia Agrippina, od nemo a filio ac ne Agerinus quidem: aliam fore laetae rei iem; nunc solitudinem ac repentinos strepitus et extremi mali licia. abeunte dehinc ancilla 'tu quoque me deseris' pro-uta respicit Anicetum, trierarcho Herculeio et Obarito cen-ione classiario comitatum: ac, si ad visendum venisset, refotam ntiaret, sin facinus patraturus, nihil se de filio credere; non peratum parricidium. circumsistunt lectum percussores et or trierarchus fusti caput eius adflixit. iam in mortem centu-ni ferrum destringenti protendens uterum 'ventrem feri' ex-mavit multisque vulneribus confecta est.

l from the sea were common in that lity.

ut ad gratandum. This use of ' like that of 'tamquam' or 'quasi' Introd. i. v. § 67), need not neces-y imply that the intention was insin-(cp. 3. 74, 5; 12. 52, 1), but merely such intention was to be inferred the act. It is possible, as Nipp. ests, that 'ut' may be an insertion ng from a repetition of the preceding

obvios servorum, partitive genit.

abripit, seizes and drags away, that should not give the alarm.

exterritis, 'frightened away' (cp. 6, 5, and note). For the pleonasm ore exterritis,' Nipp. compares 'pa-erruit' (H. 1. 63, 1), 'formidine i' (Agr. 22, 1).

anxia, abl. abs. The following nces are exclamatory; 'veniret', supplied with 'quod nemo,' and with 'solitudinem': cp. c. 7, 2; 2, etc.

laetae rei: so all recent edd. Bezzenb. for the Med. 'lataeret,' ted by some other MSS. to 'litore,' o 'fore' by some to 'fere.' Various emendations are collected in er's note.

t . . . indicia: no other signs ap-o have been present; whence Dr. ts 'et' as an insertion, and would indicia' as predicate.

10. **respicit**, 'she looks behind her and sees': cp. c. 7, 4; also 'respexit . . . Basiliden' (H. 4. 82, 2), and several places in Vergil, e.g. Aen. 5, 168; 666; 10, 269.

trierarcho. This title and that of 'navarchus' (15. 51, 2) occur frequently in inscriptions as those of the commanders of triremes or 'liburnicae.'

11. **classiario.** On the 'classiarii' see c. 4, 5, and note. He had brought these soldiers because the praetorians could not be counted on (c. 7, 5).

refotam nuntiaret. Both 'esse' and 'iussit' are supplied.

14. **in mortem**, 'for the death-blow.' Med. has 'nam morte,' with 'ī' ('in') written above. The correction to the accus. is adopted by all, that of 'nam' to 'iam' (Faern.) by recent edd. generally.

15. **ventrem feri.** Dio (61. 13, 5) makes her add the reason, *παῖε ταύτην, ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν*: cp. also Pseudo-Sen. Oct. 369, foll., a passage which, from having been apparently cited in the margin of an earlier MS. of Tacitus, was adopted almost verbatim into the text of several of the inferior MSS. and in the earlier editions down to that of Lips. It is necessary to suppose that the centurion's action of drawing the sword and her exclamation and gesture had preceded the blow on the head, and this seems to be indicated by 'iam.'

9. Haec consensu produntur. aspexeritne matrem exanim Nero et formam corporis eius laudaverit, sunt qui tradiderint, su qui abnuant. cremata est nocte eadem convivali lecto et exsequ vilibus ; neque, dum Nero rerum potiebatur, congesta aut clau humus. mox domesticorum cura levem tumulum accepit, vi Miseni propter et villam Caesaris dictatoris, quae subiectos sin editissima prospectat. accenso rogo libertus eius cognomer Mnester *se* ipse ferro transegit, incertum caritate in patronam metu exitii. hunc sui finem multos ante annos crediderat Agr pina contempseratque. nam consulenti super Nerone respo derunt Chaldaei fore ut imperaret matremque occideret ; atc illa 'occidat' inquit, 'dum imperet.'

10. Sed a Caesare perfecto demum scelere magnitudo e intellecta est. reliquo noctis modo per silentium defixus, saep pavore exsurgens et mentis inops lucem opperiebatur tamqu

1. **aspexeritne.** Instead of the natural construction with accus. and inf., a form of expression is used as if 'incertum est' followed. See the similar anacoluthon in 12. 52, 3, and note. Dio (61. 14, 2) makes him gaze on the body and remark *οὐχ ᾔδειν ὅτι οὕτω καλὴν μητέρα εἶχον*, nor does Suet. (Ner. 34) leave the question as open as it is left by Tacitus. The state of terror in which Nero is described as being (c. 10, 1), and the haste with which her burial was hurried over, make strongly against the truth of the story.

3. **convivali,** a couch taken from the dining-room, instead of a proper 'lectus funebris.'

4. **congesta aut clausa,** 'either raised in a mound or enclosed in a stone tomb.' That some sort of 'tumulus' marked her burial-place would appear from c. 10, 5. 'Mox' is used of a time some years later, as in 1. 13, 3; 32, 5; 4, 31, 6; and the 'levis tumulus' then erected was probably a small structure of stone (Nipp. notes the use of the term of stone structures in 3. 4, 1; 4. 44, 6; etc.).

5. **domesticorum,** 'those of her household,' her freedmen and slaves.

6. **propter:** for a similar position of the prep. after its case and a dependent genit. cp. 3. 1, 1; 13. 15, 8.

villam Caesaris dictatoris. Seneca notices (Ep. 51, 11) that Marius, Pompeius, and Caesar, had all villas on the heights overlooking Baiae, and supposes that such commanding situations especially pleased a military mind.

7. **prospectat,** so used of situatio 4. 67, 3, a sense found in Tibull., Phae and M. Seneca.

8. **se ipse:** so Halm, Dr., after N Others insert 'se' after 'ipse,' where loss is more easily explained; but N notes this as the usual form of expres (c. 37, 6; 4. 30, 3; 6. 18, 4).

incertum . . . an: cp. c. 51, 1 11, 7, etc.

10. **contempserat,** 'had made ligh it': cp. 15. 57, 2, and note.

11. **Chaldaei:** see 2. 27, 2, and n The prediction is also given by (61. 2, 2) without any name of astrologer, but may be that referred by Tacitus in 6. 22, 6, as given by son of Thrasyllus.

13. **perfecto demum,** 'not till it completed.' The substitution of an abs. for the genit. is here more requ by the sense than in the other pass quoted: see 16. 14, 6; 17, 4, and o instances given by Nipp. here, and Dr., who shows (Synt. und Stil, § that the usage is common in Caes. Livy, and found in Cic. and Sall.

14. **reliquo noctis:** so 'm iam noctis' (H. 3. 79, 1), 'obscu noctis' (H. 2. 14, 6): cp. 'medio (c. 2, 1).

per silentium defixus: for the of 'per silentium' as = 'silentio' cp 37, 5; for the sense of 'defixus' ('ro to the spot,' 'paralysed') cp. 1. 6 and note. Livy has 'silentio defixus 7, 21).

itium adlaturam. atque eum auctore Burro prima centurionum ounorumque adulatio ad spem firmavit, prensantium manum tantiumque quod discrimen inprovisum et matris facinus sisset. amici dehinc adire templa, et coepto exemplo proxima mpaniae municipia victimis et legationibus laetitiam testari: e diversa simulatione maestus et quasi incolumitati suae insus ac morti parentis inlacrimans. quia tamen non, ut honum vultus, ita locorum facies mutantur, obversabaturque ris illius et litorum gravis aspectus (et erant qui crederent itum tubae collibus circum editis planctusque tumulo matris liri), Neapolim concessit literasque ad senatum misit, quarum ma erat repertum cum ferro percussorem Agerinum, ex inis Agrippinae libertis, et luisse eam poenas conscientia, quasi us paravisset.

1. Adiciebat crimina longius repetita, quod consortium im-

centurionum tribunorumque, of the praetorians in attendance, constituted his chief source of danger , 5). Dio alone mentions (61. 14, gift of money to the praetorians, h may have been given to those preonly.

municipia, used generally, like niae' in 3. 2, 2 (where see note), of talian towns.

diversa simulatione, 'an opposite nce,' that of assumed grief: cp. 'di- fama' (16. 2, 2). The famous sayf Julius Africanus, as spokesman of ulish legation on this occasion, red by Quint. (8. 5, 15), adapts itself s air of sorrow ('rogant te, Caesar, ae tuae, ut felicitatem tuam fortiter).

facies: cp. 'faciem loci' (4. 67, 3), . 49, 1, and note.

sonitum tubae, σαλπίγγων δή τινων ικόν τι καὶ θορυβῶδες (Dio, 61.

aulo, local abl. (see Introd. i. v.), answering to 'collibus.' It is ver not unlikely that 'e' may have ed out after 'que,' and Or. and so read.

percussorem, in apposition, 'as a rer,' i.e. with intent to murder. In enting Agrippina's death as an act cide, he follows the plan indicated , 7.

poenas: so Nipp., Dr., Ritt., Pfitzn., ed. 'poenam,' which Halm (ed. 4) and Baiter retain, but which seems an error of assimilation to 'eam': cp. 3. 16, 6; 6. 25, 4; 12. 54, 6; 13. 35, 9; H. 2. 54, 2 (an exception is to be noted in 6. 4, 1).

conscientia, 'from a sense of guilt'; causal abl., as in 1. 57, 2.

quasi scelus paravisset, explanatory of 'conscientia,' 'as having plotted murder.' 'Quasi' is here used obviously of a supposed real motive (see Introd. i. v. § 67). The word is here a correction of Halm, followed by Nipp. and Dr., for the Med. 'qua,' which most others retain, but which hardly gives a satisfactory sense. Other suggestions are 'quia,' 'quale,' 'quantum,' etc. The meaning is that expressed in c. 7, 7 by 'pudore deprehensi sceleris.'

15. **repetita**, 'traced back': cp. 3. 24, 2, etc.

consortium imperii. The terms 'consors' and 'particeps imperii' are used to designate such an almost full equality as that of Titus to Vespasian (Suet. Tit. 6), or other less definite and more honorary positions of successors designate (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1148, 3); and Tiberius is more exactly described as 'collega imperii (sc. 'proconsularis'), consors tribuniciae potestatis' under Augustus (1. 3, 3). What 'consortium regni' was promised by Seianus to Livilla (4. 3, 3), or what 'spes dominationis' was held out by Lepidus to Agrippina (c. 2, 4), cannot be known;

perii iuraturasque in feminae verba praetorias cohortes idem dedecus senatus et populi speravisset, ac postquam frustra hal sit, infensa militi patribusque et plebi dissuasisset donativum congiarium periculaque viris inlustribus struxisset. quanto labore perpetratum, ne inrumperet curiam, ne gentibus exte responsa daret. temporum quoque Claudianorum obliqua sectatione cuncta eius dominationis flagitia in matrem transt publica fortuna exstinctam referens. namque et naufragi narrabat: quod fortuitum fuisse, quis adeo hebes inveniretur crederet? aut a muliere naufraga missum cum telo unum, cohortes et classes imperatoris perfringeret? ergo non iam N

but the term is plainly referred in this place, not to such powers or privileges as she had actually exercised (see Introd. p. 53), but to what she had hoped for but never obtained, a formal recognition of joint sovereignty in the 'sacramentum.'

1. **iuraturas in verba**: cp. 1. 7, 3, and note. That the force of the 'sacramentum' extended in some measure to all members of the imperial family has been already noted (see on c. 7, 5); and Gaius had already expressly included the names of his sisters in the oath taken to himself (see Suet. Cal. 15); but the expression here used appears to mean more than even this, and to charge her with contemplating an independent oath of allegiance to herself, coordinate with that taken to her son.

idem dedecus, that of taking the oath to her. That the 'sacramentum in nomen principis' was taken by senate and people, as well as by the soldiers, is seen in 1. 7, 3.

2. **frustra habita sit.** Recent edd. have generally read 'habita,' after Muret., (cp. 13. 37, 2) for the Med. 'ablata.' The older edd. generally follow inferior MSS. in reading 'optata sint' or 'oblata sint,' and several other emendations are given in Walther's note.

3. **donativum et congiarium.** The former would apparently be that on his accession (12. 69, 3), the latter probably that in his second consulship (13. 31, 2). Those on his assumption of the 'toga virilis' (12. 41, 3) are evidently not here meant.

4. **pericula . . . struxisset**: so most recent edd. after Ritt. (1838) for Med. 'instruxisset,' which can be defended by the use of 'instruere fraudem' (Li 35, 14), or 'insidias' (Catull. 21 Tacitus, however, as Ritt. shows, is stant in the use of 'struere' to d plotting or contriving (e.g. 1. 13, 65, 5; 4. 10, 3; 28, 2; 68, 3; 11. 12. 3, 2). The 'viri inlustres' answ 'patribus' above, and her oppositi the 'donativum' and 'congiarium quoted in proof of her hostility to so and people.

5. **perpetratum, ne,** noted by ἅπ. εἰρ. (as is also 'perpetratum ut' i 58, 1): for other instances of 'ne' for 'ut non' cp. c. 7, 1; 14, 5; 2 3. 38, 5. The attempts of Agrippi those described in 13. 5, 2, 3; bu attempt 'inrumpere curiam' is found.

6. **temporum quoque Cla norum.** We should have expected ' dianorum' to stand first. Nipp. n other such inversions, as 'legatis q consularibus' (Agr. 7, 4).

8. **publica fortuna**: cp. 'fo eius' (c. 6, 1).

namque, etc. The thought is it was no wonder that he represente good fortune of Rome as having le to what he called her suicide, f even added that similar divine favou endeavoured to rid Rome of h drowning.

9. **fuisse**: so Rhen. and subse edd. for Med. 'fuisset,' which is re by Pfitzn., but cannot be satisfa explained.

11. **cohortes et classes,** rhet plurals (cp. 1. 10, 3) for the one torian cohort in attendance, and th of Misenum (4. 5, 1).

ius inmanitas omnium questus anteibat, sed Seneca adverso more erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset.

12. Miro tamen certamine procerum decernuntur supplicanes apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus apertae sidiae essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur; aureum Minervae nulacrum in curia et iuxta principis imago statuerentur; dies talis Agrippinae inter nefastos esset. Thrasea Paetus silentio l brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus exiit n senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initium n praebuit. prodigia quoque crebra et inrita intercessere. guem enixa mulier, et alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exanita: iam sol repente obscuratus et tactae de caelo quattuecim urbis regiones. quae adeo sine cura deum eveniebant, multos post annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit.

omnium questus anteibat, 'was ond all terms of remonstrance': 'an-' is often thus used of persons (3. 47, 56, 5, etc.), here of a quality belonging person.

lverso rumore erat, so in H. 2. 4; Liv. 27. 20, 9: cp. 'secundo ru-e' (3. 29, 5), 'claro rumore' (15. 48, The 'rumor' is that of popular opi-; the abl. here is that of quality (see od. i. v. § 29), as is also 'multo ore' (3. 76, 2).

quod oratione tali, etc. The was so flimsy that the letter was ere confession of matricide. That public utterances of Nero were com-d for him by Seneca is seen in 13. (see also note on 13. 17, 4). Quin- mentions this speech (8. 5, 18) as riptum Senecae,' and quotes from it vords 'salvum me esse adhuc nec nec gaudeo.'

supplicationes apud omnia inaria. This usual formula occurs c. Cat. 3. 10, 23, and denotes that ice was offered in every temple ich a 'lectisternium' (to gods) or sternium' (to goddesses) was held. Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. I. 2042) the day to have been the Nones of April, and to have been again emorated in the following year.

4 **Quinquatrus**: see c. 4, 1. On hange of construction in 'utque' 15, 4, and note; 13. 44, 1, etc.

5 **Minervae**, as the goddess to whom stival belonged (l. l. note).

6. **dies natalis**, Nov. 6 (viii. Id.): see the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 2039), and Kal. Ant. (C. I. L. i. p. 329; Orell. ii. p. 403). It appears to have been celebrated up to the previous year (C. I. L. vi. I. 2041).

7. **Thrasea Paetus**: see 13. 49, 1. This is not the only place in which his conduct receives some censure from Tacitus (see Introd. p. 80, 12); but it is difficult to see how a more explicit protest, such as would have expressly charged the emperor's letter with falsehood, could reasonably have been expected of any senator at such a time.

8. **transmittere**, 'to let them pass': cp. 1. 13, 5, and note, and the similar use of 'transire' in H. 2. 59, 2.

10. **inrita**, 'purposeless,' explained by 'sine cura deum' below.

12. **sol . . . obscuratus.** This eclipse took place on April 30, and is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 2. 70, 72, 180), who says that it was seen in Italy soon after midday, and by Corbulo in Armenia, three hours later. On the force of 'iam' cp. 13. 43, 3, and note.

quattuordecim, 'the fourteen,' i. e. all: cp. 15. 40, 4.

13. **sine cura deum**, 'without divine forethought,' i. e. the sequel showed that they were not true portents, not sent as warnings of any impending divine judgment. On the belief of Tacitus respecting these indications see Introd. i. iv. p. 22.

ceterum quo gravaret invidiam matris eaque demota auct lenitatem suam testificaretur, feminas inlustres Iuniam et C purniam, praetura functos Valerium Capitonem et Licini Gabolum sedibus patriis reddidit, ab Agrippina olim pul etiam Lolliae Paulinae cineres reportari sepulcrumque exs permisit; quosque ipse nuper relegaverat, Iturium et Calvisi poena exsolvit. nam Silana fato functa erat, longinquo ab ex Tarentum regressa labante iam Agrippina, cuius inimicitiis c ciderat, vel mitigata.

13. Tamen cunctari in oppidis Campaniae, quonam m urbem ingrederetur, an obsequium senatus, an studia plebis periret anxius: contra deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia re fecundior extitit, invisum Agrippinae nomen et morte eius censum populi favorem disserunt: iret intrepidus et ven tionem sui coram experiretur; simul praegredi exposcunt. promptiora quam promiserant inveniunt, obvias tribus, f cultu senatum, coniugum ac liberorum agmina per sexum aetatem disposita, exstructos, qua incederet, spectaculo gradus, quo modo triumphi visuntur. hinc superbus ac pu

1. **gravaret**, 'to aggravate': cp. 'gravatum aes alienum' (Liv. 42. 5, 9); 'fortunam . . . parce gravare meam' (Ov. Tr. 5. 11, 30).

2. **feminas**, etc. The banishment of Iunia Calvina was mentioned in 12. 8, 1; that of Calpurnia in 12. 22, 3: nothing is known of Valerius Capito or Licinius Gabolus. Lollia Paulina had been put to death in exile (12. 22, 4); Iturius and Calvisius had been banished at the same time as Silana; hence their restoration suggests the statement respecting her ('nam' being used elliptically, as in c. 11, 3, etc.). Tacitus appears to know nothing of the story of Nero's supposed guilt in respect of the death of Domitia (see on 13. 19, 4), which seems to have taken place at some time in this year.

3. **praetura**, the correction of Lips. for 'praefectura,' which would require description.

6. **permisit**, with accus. and inf.: cp. 1. 72, 2, and note.

7. **longinquo**. This can hardly be used here of time (cp. 1. 53, 3, and note), as she had only been exiled for four years, and must therefore be taken of distance.

10. **Tamen cunctari**: so Nipp., Jacob, after Halm.: Med. has ' (='tamen') before 'mitigata' a Baiter, who follows Bekk. in reading 'tandem,' here inserts 'at N which does not seem to be require he was mentioned as 'ipse' in § c. 12, and is the subject of se verbs above. Ritt. reads 'tantum gata,' and 'cunctari dein.' The seems to have been one of at least months (see note below on § 3).

quonam modo, dependent 'anxius'; 'an . . . an' are not opp but merely a rhetorical repetition phora).

14. **venerationem sui**: cp. 'f fama sui' (2. 13, 1); also 12. 37, 4 note.

15. **praegredi exposcunt**, 'the mand to go before him': 'exp takes a simple inf. in Verg. Aen. ('audire labores Exposcit'), the accu inf. in Aen. 9, 144.

16. **obvias tribus**: cp. 3. 4, 2 note.

18. **spectaculorum gradus**, 'ti seats': 'spectaculum' is so use Cic. Sest. 58, 124; Liv. 1. 35, 8, etc

19. **publici servitii victor**,

vitii victor Capitolium adiit, grates exsolvit, seque in omnes idines effudit, quas male coercitas qualiscumque matris reve-tia tardaverat.

14. Vetus illi cupido erat curriculo quadrigarum insistere, nec nus foedum studium cithara ludicrum in modum canere. con-tare equis regium et antiquis ducibus factitatum memorabat, que vatum laudibus celebre et deorum honori datum. enimvero tus Apollini sacros, talique ornatu adstare non modo Graecis urbibus sed Romana apud templa numen praecipuum et escium. nec iam sisti poterat, cum Senecae ac Burro visum,

ing his triumph over the servility ome.' The idea suggested by 'Capi-m adiit' and 'quo modo triumphi ntur' is carried out. He had con-ed and crushed the national morality. b compares the words of Plin. in ribing the entrance of Trajan into e (Pan. 22) 'non de patientia nostra dam triumphum, sed de superbia cipum egisti.' It is mentioned by . (Ner. 39) and Dio (61. 16, 2) notwithstanding this outward show, oons and other abuse of Nero were ent in Rome.

Capitolium adiit. The date of is uncertain; as the Acta Arvalium I. L. vi. 1. 2042) give two days, 23 and Sept. 11, on which sacrifice offered in this year 'pro salute et a Neronis.' It seems best to suppose Nipp.) that the former of those is that here spoken of, and that latter was after some subsequent ice.

libidines. The term is taken in de sense (cp. 13. 31, 5, and note), clude the extravagances mentioned e next chapter.

cupido erat: most edd. follow in reading 'cupido' for Med. a.' The old edd. read 'cura.' inf. is used with 'cupido est' in Aen. 6, 133, with 'cupido cepit' n. ap. Cic. Tusc. 3. 26, 63. These of Nero were formed 'puerilibus ' (13. 3, 7).

riculo = 'currui': cp. 15. 44, urriculo biiugi (Suet. Cal. 19).

5 **udicrum in modum,** 'after the n of the stage,' i.e. in public and professional, not merely in private, amateur: cp. 'ludicrae artes' , 1); 'ludicra deformitas' (16. 4, t is for this reason called 'foedum m.'

concertare equis: so Halm (followed by Nipp. and Dr.) for the Med. 'cum celaret (corrected above to 'cenaret') qs' ('quis'). The older edd. generally read 'cum coenaret, quod regibus,' etc., which Kiessl. and Walther alter to 'quod is regium.' That Nero played the harp and sang after dinner is attested by Suet. (Ner. 20, 22), but it seems plain that the context here refers to chariot-driving; the defence of his musical tastes being taken up in 'enimvero,' etc. Ritt. combines these texts by reading 'cum cenaret. Certare equis,' etc., but gives a somewhat forced explanation of the corruption; Baiter reads 'curru et equis certare.' It should be noted that 'concertare,' though a classical word, is not elsewhere found in Tacitus.

6. **regium.** Greek princes competed personally in the chariot-race at the funeral games of Patroclus (Il. 23, 287, foll.), and later despots, as Hieron, Theron, Arcesilaos, sent to the games chariots entered in their names. By 'ducibus,' such persons as Alcibiades (see Thuc. 6, 16, 2) are meant.

7. **vatum,** Pindar, and other lyric poets.

deorum honori datum, the chariot-race was itself a part of the worship of the gods to whom the games were held.

enimvero, used as elsewhere (cp. 2. 64, 5, and note), to lay stress on what follows. If chariot-driving was sanctioned by the example of kings, music could plead that of gods.

8. **tali ornatu,** that of a 'citharoedus,' assumed by Nero in coins (Eckh. vi. 275, 276; Cohen, p. 292, nos. 191, 196, etc.).

9. **in . . . apud,** interchanged for variety, as in 6. 22, 2.

10. **nec iam sisti poterat,** 'nor could

ne utraque pervinceret, alterum concedere. clausumque v Vaticana spatium, in quo equos regeret, haud promisco spe culo. mox ultro vocari populus Romanus laudibusque extoll ut est vulgus cupiens voluptatum et, si eodem princeps tra laetum. ceterum evulgatus pudor non satietatem, ut reban sed incitamentum attulit. ratusque dedecus molliri, si pl foedasset, nobilium familiarum posteros egestate venales scaenam deduxit; quos fato perfunctos ne nominatim trad maioribus eorum tribuendum puto. nam et eius flagitium

he be longer withstood.' This inf. is probably personal in 15. 39, 1, certainly so in H. 2. 11, 5; 3. 71, 4; 5. 21, 1; impersonal in 3. 52, 3, and in Plaut. and Liv.

1. **utraque**, accus.: cp. 12. 59, 4, and note.

valle Vaticana, local abl. (see Introd. i. v. § 25). The circus commonly called that of Nero was built or begun by Gaius, and is called by the names of both emperors in Plin. N. H. 36. 11, 15, 74. It stood in some part of the space now occupied by St. Peter's and its surroundings, and was adorned by Gaius with the obelisk (Plin. l. l. and 16. 40, 76, 201) which still stands in the Piazza.

2. **haud promisco spectaculo**, abl. abs., 'the sight not being open to all': cp. 'promiscas scaenas' (15. 33, 1), also the use of 'promiscus' in 4. 16, 5; 16. 16, 4, etc. Suet. states (Ner. 22) that his first appearances were before 'servitia et plebem sordidam.'

3. **ultro vocari**, were not only admitted, but invited.

5. **evulgatus pudor**, 'the publicity of his shame': 'evulgare' is used in 13. 9, 7; 19, 3; H. 1. 4, 2; elsewhere only in Liv. 9. 46, 5 ('civile ius . . . evulgavit').

6. **molliri**, 'would be mitigated'; so used of 'invidia' (4. 30, 1), 'ignominia' (11. 25, 6).

7. **nobilium familiarum posteros**, It is shown by Friedländer (ii. p. 281, foll.) that it was not altogether a new thing at this date for persons of rank to appear on the stage, in the circus, or in the amphitheatre. Besides the knight Laberius, one or two decayed nobles had thus exhibited themselves under the dictator Caesar (Suet. Iul. 39); and isolated cases (Friedl. l. l.) are recorded under Augustus, who ever generally upheld the prohib senatorial decree (Suet. Aug. 43), whose successor sternly exiled (Tib. 35) even the scapegraces of families who took to the arena last resource (see Hor. Ep. 1. 18, Prop. 5. 8, 25). Even under G such exhibitions of persons of were in the main professedly (Dio, 59. 10, 4; 13, 2) or excepti (Suet. Cal. 16); and Claudius shown a desire to repress the cu (Dio, 60. 7, 1). The games w Dio speaks of (61. 17, 2) as give this time ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, are made him to mark quite a new departu this respect, in that men of eques and even senatorial rank and also wo belonging to such families appeare all kinds of entertainments, as music dancers, tragic and comic actors, cha eers, bestiarii, gladiators, οἱ μὲν λονταί, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντες. description appears to combine the e tainment here mentioned with tha the Iuvenalia (c. 15), and perhaps e gerates both (but see note on 15. 3 Suet. (see note below) seems to ref a still earlier occasion.

egestate venales. On the po of some senators at this time see 34, 2.

8. **ne nominatim tradam.** Di less reticent, and gives the name Furii, Fabii, Porcii, Valerii, and that the provincials present pointe scorn to the descendants of their querors: see also Juv. 8, 191. 'N 'ut non,' as in c. 11, 2, etc.

9. **nam et** = 'nam accedit etiam q giving another reason for not na them, that the outrage was tha Nero rather than their own.

ıi pecuniam ob delicta potius dedit quam ne delinquerent. ɔtos quoque equites Romanos operas arenae promittere subegit ɔnis ingentibus, nisi quod merces ab eo, qui iubere potest, vim ;cessitatis adfert.

15. Ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, instituit dos Iuvenalium vocabulo, in quos passim nomina data. non ɔbilitas cuiquam, non aetas aut acti honores impedimento, quo inus Graeci Latinive histrionis artem exercerent usque ad gestus ɔdosque haud viriles. quin et feminae inlustres deformia

. **operas**, 'their service,' as gladiators bestiarii. Suet. (Ner. 12) appears to e that this had already been the case the show of 810, A.D. 57 (see 13. 1), and would even assert (if his :ds are strictly taken) that on that asion Nero brought into the arena senators and 600 knights, 'quosdam unae atque existimationis integrae.' :n if he can be supposed to be here ıking of the total number of such sons who appeared in the amphi- ıtre during the whole of the Neronian od, the first number appears to be edible and thereby to cast discredit :he second.

ıbegit, with inf. as in c. 26, 1; ;9, 4; also in Plaut., Sall., Verg.,

nisi quod, 'were it not that,' .ifying something implied but not essed, i. e. that it is hardly right to that he induced them by gifts, when power to compel lurked behind the e. Cp. 1. 33, 6, and note; 6. 24, 2, note. Macrobius remarks (Sat. 2. 7) :he story of Caesar and Laberius, estas, non solum si invitet, sed n si supplicet, cogit.'

Ne tamen, etc. This semblance rivacy was kept up for several years 15. 33, 1). Several other instances of private or quasi-private entertain- :s given by emperors are collected in ıuardt, Staatsv. iii. 490.

Iuvenalium. The name (*νεανισκεύ-* Dio, 61. 19, 1) would signify the performers were young men, ;gh it is seen below that such was not ısively the case. According to Dio the occasion celebrated was that of rst tonsure of his beard, an occasion h had been of old a family festival g Romans: see Dio, 48. 34, 3; and passages collected by Lips. (Exc. c.). Gaius had previously added a 'dies Iuvenalis' to the Saturnalia (Suet. Cal. 17); a similar festival was held by Domitian at Alba (Dio, 67. 14, 3), and festivals under such a name are mentioned at a later date (vit. Gord. 4; Sid. Ap. Narb. 307, foll. cited in Lips. Exc.). Such a festival, according to the idea of it given above, would occur but once in the same person's lifetime; but it is evident from 15. 33, 1, that Nero kept up one so styled, held in his own private grounds, for several years, as an exhibi- tion, not professedly public, of his singing powers: also that he was offended by absence from, or lukewarmness at it (16. 21, 1).

nomina data, 'persons gave in their names,' as ready to perform. The phrase, as in 15. 48, 1, is a metaphor from soldiers answering to the conscription (H. 2. 97, 3, and often in Livy). Suet. says (Ner. 21) that at a later date Nero inscribed his own name on the roll of citharoedi.

non nobilitas, etc.: see c. 14, 5.

8. **Graeci . . . histrionis.** Greek tragedies, modified so as to consist of gesticulation and song, were often acted on the Roman stage (see Friedl. ii. 406); and Suet. gives (c. 21) the names of several Greek parts sustained by Nero, and quotes a Greek line sung by him as Oedipus (c. 46). An epitaph of a girl named Eucharis (Orelli 2602), probably of this date, makes her say 'modo nobi- lium ludos decoravi choro, et Graeca in scaena prima popolo apparui.' On the use of 'histriones' to denote pantomimists cp. 1. 54, 3, etc.

9. **modos**, 'songs'; so in Cic., Liv., Hor., etc.

deformia meditari, 'studied de- grading parts': cp. 'libidines meditatum' (1. 4, 4). Dio (61. 19, 2) says that Aelia Catella, a woman of wealth and rank, danced at the age of eighty. On his statement (see note on c. 14, 5) that

meditari; exstructaque apud nemus, quod navali stagno circ posuit Augustus, conventicula et cauponae et posita veno in menta luxui. dabanturque stipes, quas boni necessitate, temperantes gloria consumerent. inde gliscere flagitia et famia, nec ulla moribus olim corruptis plus libidinum circ dedit quam illa conluvies. vix artibus honestis pudor retine nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia aut modestia aut q quam probi moris reservaretur. postremum ipse scaenam cedit, multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans adsiste bus phonascis. accesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribuni et maerens Burrus ac laudans. tuncque primum conscripti

women also appeared at this date in the circus and arena see 15. 32, 3, and note.

1. **navali stagno**, the Naumachia on the Trans-Tiberine side: see 12. 56, 1, and note.

2. **conventicula**, 'places of resort.' The word is rare and appears to have this sense elsewhere only in very late authors.

veno: cp. 13. 51, 1, and note; for 'luxui' a genit. would be more usual in classical prose (see Introd. i. v. § 19).

3. **stipes**, 'largesses,' given by Nero to be spent then and there. It seems best so to take it, with Ern.; but Marquardt (iii. 142) prefers to follow Lips. in taking it to mean contributions from the public, which is certainly the usual sense of the word.

necessitate, because it was expected of them so to spend the gift (causal abl.). Suet. mentions (Aug. 98) a largess given by Augustus to his friends with a command to spend it in a particular way.

4. **gloria**, 'from vanity'; so used in causal abl. in 1. 8, 2. Nipp. and Dr. take it as a modal abl. ('ostentatiously'); but it seems best to make it correspond to 'necessitate.'

5. **nec ulla**, etc. It is plain that Tacitus does not mean to compare this 'conluvies' with others, but with other causes of corruption. Hence Madvig (Adv. Supp. p. 232) thinks that 'vis' or 'pestis' should be inserted before 'plus.' The text may however be taken, with Nipp., as an instance of attraction (for 'neque quidquam'), though somewhat harsher than the instances which he gives (e. g. Sen. Ben. 2. 1, 2 'cum in beneficio iucundissima sit tribuentis voluntas').

circumdedit: so 'circumdare gratiam' (c. 53, 5), 'famam' (H. 4. 11, 3). Dr. notes that the expression is equivalent to such Greek phrases as *περιτιθένα* *ἀτιμίαν*, etc.

6. **conluvies**, so used in c. 44, 55, 1; H. 5. 12, 3; also (with 'rer H. 2. 16, 6. The same form of the is found in Col., Luc., Pl. ma., bu more usual form is 'conluvio.'

artibus honestis, 'by honou accomplishments': cp. 3. 66, 5; A 2; Dial. 28, 7.

8. **probi moris**: on this use o singular cp. 1. 4, 1, and note.

postremum; probably the co Med. text (see Ritt.), which most o read as 'postremus' ('after all the oth

incedit, with accus. of place 1. 61, 2, and note.

9. **praemeditans**, 'preluding,' or haps 'trying his voice.' The word not appear to be elsewhere so used.

10. **phonascis**. Recent edd. gene follow this reading of Muret. for 'facies'; the supposition being tha word was originally written 'fōascis,' which the 'ō' had dropped out, and correction being supported by Suet. 25, who describes him, apparently in time, as never speaking to soldie other gatherings 'nisi astante phona The oldest edd. read 'familiaribus;' o retain the Med. text, placing a full after 'adsistentibus' (which is taken concise abl. abs.), and taking 'facie mean 'a remarkable appearance' (c 41, 1; H. 2. 89, 3, etc.). Madvig (Supp. p. 233) would take the passag the same way, but place the stop b 'adsistentibus.' Ritt. brackets 'adsi tibus facies' as an exclamatory interpolated into the text. 'Access is read by all edd. after Lips. for 'abscesserat.'

11. **maerens . . . ac laudans**, 'gri and yet applauding.' On this q

uites Romani cognomento Augustianorum, aetate ac robore nspicui, et pars ingenio procaces, alii in spem potentiae. ii es ac noctes plausibus personare formam principis vocemque um vocabulis appellantes; quasi per virtutem clari honoratique ere.

16. Ne tamen ludicrae tantum imperatoris artes notescerent rminum quoque studium adfectavit, contractis quibus aliqua ngendi facultas necdum insignis erat. hi cenati considere nul, et adlatos vel ibidem repertos versus conectere atque sius verba quoquo modo prolata supplere, quod species ipsa

ersative force of a copulative conjunc- cp. c. 65, 2; 1. 13, 2, and note; H. o, 3, etc.

. **Augustianorum.** Nipp. thus cor-s the Med. 'Augusttanorum' from t. Ner. 25, and from the evidence of ral inscriptions. The term does not ear to belong exclusively to this date ill. p. 134). Dio (61. 20, 4) calls n Αὐγούστειοι, and speaks of them as ύστημα ἐς πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας. s complete organisation appears from . Ner. 20 to be of later date, and to consisted only in small part of the hts here mentioned. The people owed their lead (16. 4, 4), and the iers coerced those who were slack or of time (16. 5, 1).

alii in spem potentiae (sc. 'pro-s'), 'with a view to the hope of influ-.' Halm, Nipp., and Dr. so read, Acid.; Orelli reads 'spe,' after ct.; others retain the Med. 'in spe' which Walth. would supply the of ὄντες). 'In spem potentiae' rs in H. 4. 42, 2, and similar expres- are found in c. 63, 1; H. 3. 47, 2; 24, 1; also 'in spem . . . multitu-' (Liv. 1. 8, 4), 'in quorum spem' 21. 45, 4), etc.

personare, 'kept up a din'; so in 4, 4; also 'non loquuntur solum, n etiam personant' (Cic. pro Cael. 7), etc.

deum vocabulis appellantes, ng him by names of gods.' Dio (61. 20, 5) that they could be heard g out ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ γστος, εἷς ὡς Πύθιος· μά σέ, Καῖσαρ, οὐ-ε νικᾷ. Again, after his return from e (Id. 63. 20, 5), men would cry, Νέ-τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, Νέρωνι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ερὰ φωνή. That men offered sacrifice caelesti voce' is seen from 16. 22, 1.

5. **agere** = 'se gerere.'

6. **ludicrae**: cp. c. 14, 1.

7. **adfectavit,** 'he made pretence to a taste for poetry.' The context seems in favour of taking the word in this sense, and supposing Tacitus to mean that this was merely assumed to divert attention from his stage performances. Cp. 'imitationem antiquitatis adfectant' (Quint. 11. 3, 10), 'crebrum anhelitum adfectant' (Id. 11. 3, 56), 'adfectata aliis castitas, tibi ingenita' (Plin. Pan. 20). Nipp. takes the word to denote a bona fide aspiration, which is its more usual sense. On the general subject of Nero's poetry see Teuffel, 281, 7–9.

8. **necdum insignis,** etc.: so Halm, who adopts 'hi cenati' from Haase. The corrupt Med. text, 'necdum insignis aetatis nati considere' (with full stop before 'necdum'), has given rise to a variety of emendations. Those of older scholars are collected by Walther, the more recent by Baiter and Halm; Ritt. follows Med. in placing a full stop before 'necdum,' and reads 'e senatu' for 'nati'; Madvig (Adv. Supp. p. 234) suggests a comma at 'insignis,' followed by 'aetatis venia (or possibly 'vena,' in the sense of 'exuberance') uti; ii considere.' Nipp. reads 'necdum insignis claritas. Hi considere'; Dr. has 'necdum insignis ars erat, hi cenati considere.' None of these emendations have found acceptance; but the general sense seems to be made out, that he chose those who had poetic skill, but who had not made a name for themselves, and whose style would not be detected so as to prevent his taking the credit of their joint compositions.

10. **species ipsa . . . docet.** The judgment of Tacitus appears to be founded on a critical study of the extant poems. Suet. (Ner. 52) maintains them to be

carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu nec ore uno flue etiam sapientiae doctoribus tempus impertiebat post epu utque contraria adseverantium discordia frueretur. nec deer qui ore vultuque tristi inter oblectamenta regia spectari cupere

17. Sub idem tempus levi initio atrox caedes orta in colonos Nucerinos Pompeianosque gladiatorio spectaculo, qu Livineius Regulus, quem motum senatu rettuli, edebat. quip oppidana lascivia invicem incessentes probra, dein saxa, postre ferrum sumpsere, validiore Pompeianorum plebe, apud q spectaculum edebatur. ergo deportati sunt in urbem mult Nucerinis trunco per vulnera corpore, ac plerique liberorum

Nero's own composition, on no better ground than that of having seen original rough copies, all in his own handwriting, and full of corrections.

1. **non impetu**, etc., 'not running with vigour or inspiration, nor with uniformity of style': 'impetus' and 'instinctus' (cp. H. 1. 57, 5) are often so used by Cic.; and 'ore uno' would appear here to mean 'ore eiusdem poetae.' 'Fluens' (for 'fluentium') is a similar enallage to that in G. 5, 1 ('terra pecorum fecunda sed plerumque improcera'): cp. 'purpurarum sidere clarior . . . usus' (Hor. Od. 3. 1, 42).

2. **tempus impertiebat**, an expression taken from Cic. (pro Balb. 1. 3; Att. 9. 11. A. 3): cp. 'aures . . . impertire' (c. 21, 5).

3. **utque**, etc. The text as it here stands is best explained, after Spengel, by taking 'utque' closely with 'post epulas,' as if it had been 'sed tantum post epulas, utque.' Nipp. follows Rhen. in reading 'ut;' Ritt. thinks that after 'frueretur' some such words as 'sententiae diversos adhibebat' have dropped out. The correction 'adseverantium' for Med. 'adseverant. tum' appears in some of the earliest printed texts; that of 'discordia frueretur' for Med. 'discordiae rueretur' has been adopted by all recent edd. from Bezzenb. A number of older emendations are collected by Walther.

4. **ore vultuque tristi**, 'with gloomy features and expression.' These words are sometimes distinguished, as in 'nihil metus (v. l. 'impetus') in vultu: gratia oris supererat' (Agr. 44, 2). These appear to have been Stoics of a low type, who, for the honour of being invited at all, were willing 'inter oblectamenta regia spectari,' i. e. to parade their seriousness for the jest of the court. Philosophers were frequently attached to the house of emperors and g citizens, but usually in an honoured p tion (see Introd. p. 83; Friedl. iii. 6 Schiller p. 593).

6. **Nucerinos.** On Nuceria, see 13 2, and note. 'Graffiti' found at Pom allude to this quarrel, and impre curses on the Nucerians: see C. I. L 1293, 1329, 2183 (Wilm. 1963 a. b. Henzen 5161). Nipp. also notes that wax tablets lately found there (see on 49, 1) show that in consequence of t disturbances a 'praefectus iuri dicun was appointed, besides two new 'duov (Hermes xii. 125).

7. **Livineius Regulus**, probably a of the one mentioned in 3. 11, 2. account of his expulsion from the se is lost, and nothing is known of him f other sources.

8. **oppidana**, 'usual in country tow Nipp. thinks that it is here intended contrast them with the rural peasan but the term is generally used of Ita towns in contrast to Rome, as in 6. 1 and apparently in Cicero's account (Planc. 12, 30) of an act of violence in day ('quod dicitur Atinae factum . vetere quodam in scaenicos iure maxi que oppidano'). It is probable t from the presence of the guard, the spe tors were more under control at R than in these towns.

invicem incessentes, 'taunting other.' On the omission of 'se' cp. 2, 2, and note.

9. **sumpsere**, used by zeugma 'probra.'

apud quos, in the large amphithe of that town.

10. **in urbem**, to Rome, as eviden

11. **plerique**, 'very many,' as in 2, etc.

rentum mortes deflebant. cuius rei iudicium princeps senatui, iatus consulibus permisit. et rursus re ad patres relata, pro-iiti publice in decem annos eius modi coetu Pompeiani col-iaque, quae contra leges instituerant, dissoluta; Livineius et alii seditionem conciverant exilio multati sunt.

18. Motus senatu et Pedius Blaesus, accusantibus Cyrenensi-; violatum ab eo thesaurum Aesculapii dilectumque militarem tio et ambitione corruptum. idem Cyrenenses reum agebant ilium Strabonem, praetoria potestate usum et missum dis-tatorem a Claudio agrorum, quos regis Apionis quondam :os et populo Romano cum regno relictos proximus quisque

relata, 'a consulibus.' They in-:d into the facts, and left the senate ıx the penalties. Such a mode of edure resembles that mentioned in 3. :. On the jurisdiction exercised over an towns by the senate under the .re in connection with the magisterial liction of the consuls see 13. 4, 3, note; Momms. Staatsr. iii. 1196, 1,

publice, 'as a community' (cp. 4. , and note): by 'eiusmodi coetu,' atorial shows are meant.

llegia . . . dissoluta. The legi-e associations of individuals under name became so by special enact- (e.g. Liv. 5. 50, 4), or perhaps as :d in accordance with some general powers. Illicit associations usurp-he title were a recognised danger the Republic as instruments of n (see Cic. pro Sest. 15, 34; in Pis. and were at times suppressed by the :, and in a much more wholesale er under the first Caesars (Suet. Iul. Aug. 32). In later times the em-ient of illicit 'collegia' for any was a grave offence, punishable by itation, or even severer modes of (Ulp. in Dig. 47. 22, 2). It would 'er seem that the infliction of such ies was rare; and the enormous :r of such associations legalised or :ted to exist is most abundantly d by inscriptions: see Henzen, Ind. 30; Wilm. Ind. 630–644; Boissier, .om. 3. 3.

Pedius Blaesus. This person was d to his rank by Otho (H. 1. 77, yrene was united with Crete as a rial province of the second rank 70, 1, and note).

ısantibus, aoristic participle (cp. 11. 35, 3, etc.). Dr. notes that this verb takes the accus. and inf. (see Introd. i. v. § 44) elsewhere only in Just. 39. 3, 6; the nom. and inf. in 4. 22, 4. Cp. 'incusare' in 3. 38, 4.

7. **thesaurum Aesculapii.** A temple at Cyrene to this deity is mentioned in Paus. 2. 26, 9. Its school of physicians was celebrated in early times (Hdt. 3. 131, 3).

8. **pretio et ambitione**, 'by laying himself open to bribery and solicitation' from those who wished to be exempted.

9. **praetoria potestate usum.** This may be a variation for the usual expression 'praetorius' or 'praetura functus,' or may imply that he held such temporary rank for this purpose. For instances of such special 'legati' or commissioners sent out for a particular occasion see 2. 47, 5 (and note); 4. 56, 4.

10. **Apionis . . . avitos**: so Halm, Or., and others, after Heins. for the Med. 'habitos'; these words being confused in the Med. text of 11. 35, 2; 13. 34, 3; 56, 1; and 'avitos agros' being found in c. 22, 5. Many have followed Lips. in reading 'regi Apioni habitos' ('possessed by'. The Med. text could only mean 'reputed to have belonged to.' Ptolemaeus Apion, the last king of Cyrene, died in 658, B.C. 96, and left the Roman people his heirs (Liv. Ep. 70; Just. 39. 5, 2). The legacy was not accepted at the time, and the province was not constituted till 680, B.C. 74, which has caused some confusion of dates: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 299, foll.; Sir E. Bunbury in Dict. of Biog. s.v. 'Ptolemaeus Apion.' These lands were included in the sweeping project of sale intended by the law of Servilius Rullus (Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 19, 51).

possessor invaserant, diutinaque licentia et iniuria quasi iur aequo nitebantur. igitur abiudicatis agris orta adversus iudi invidia; et senatus ignota sibi esse mandata Claudii et co lendum principem respondit. Nero probata Strabonis senter se nihilo minus subvenire sociis et usurpata concedere rescri

19. Sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri e Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Rom celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem effecit, ut par inge ita morum diversus.

20. Nerone quartum Cornelio Cosso consulibus quinquen

1. **possessor**, in apposition.

2. **abiudicatis**, 'taken away by decision' (from the occupants).

5. **usurpata**, 'what they had occupied.' The sense of illegal occupation, or, in our sense, 'usurpation,' though found occasionally in post-Augustan Latin (see Nipp.), does not seem to be required in any instance in Tacitus; and in one place, where that meaning is clearly intended (3. 60, 5), 'falso' is added.

rescripsit, sc. 'senatui,' as in full in 12. 27, 6.

6. **Sequuntur . . . mortes.** The verb may probably here be used only to connect events in order of narration; the deaths of eminent persons being often thus mentioned at the close of a year (1. 53, 1; 3. 75, 1; 76, 1; 4. 44, 1, etc.); but in the similar expressions in 15. 38, 1; 60, 3, sequence in time is intended. It may be noticed that Tacitus gives no support to the statement of Dio (61. 19, 4), *πολλοὶ ἄνδρες τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐτελεύτησαν, ὧν ἐνίους καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπιβουλεύειν αἰτιαθέντας οἱ στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἐλιθοβόλησαν.*

Domitii Afri: see 4. 52, 1, and note.

M. Servilii, sc. 'Noniani,' on whom see 6. 31, 1; Introd. i. iii. p. 12.

9. **celebris**: on this masc. form see 2. 88, 4, and note.

elegantia vitae, 'refinement of life'; so in Nep. Att. 19, 2. Tacitus elsewhere has 'elegantia morum' (5. 8. 4; H. 3. 39, 3). The expressions are used in a good sense, and imply not only high rank in the social scale, but also the cultivation of the higher tastes and pleasures.

clariorem. The context shows that the comparison is with the career of Domitius, who was an accuser Tiberius, and saved his life by flat Gaius.

ingenio . . . morum. The abl genit. are thus interchanged in 13 6. For the genit. with 'diversus' c 26, 2.

11. **Cornelio Cosso**, given in the ' Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2042) as ' Lentulo, Cossi filio.' He would a to have been son of the one tioned as cos. in 4. 34, 1, and pro father of the vestal virgin mention 15. 22, 4.

quinquennale ludicrum, that the 'Neronia' (Dio, 61. 21, 1), similar names (Suet. Ner. 21; Vit on which see Friedl. ii. 436, foll. says (Ner. 12) 'instituit et quinque certamen primus omnium Romae Graeco triplex, musicum, gymn equestre'; the innovation on forme cedents (see c. 21, 2, and note) cons mainly in the combination, and i prominence which his own tastes le to give to the musical contest, with poetry and rhetoric were also inc (see § 5; c. 21, 8). In 16. 4, 1 called 'lustrale certamen,' and the there given of its repetition would that he intended the period to be t a Roman 'lustrum,' not that of a *πενταετηρίς* (which really recurred fourth year). His design would se be to celebrate each 'quinquennium' principate, as his predecessors had brated their 'decennia imperii' (se 57. 24, 1, etc.), with the additional vation of adapting the celebration great Greek games, and with the tion that it should be perpetuate appears to have been dropped after death, but to have been revived

crum Romae institutum est ad morem Graeci certaminis, a fama, ut cuncta ferme nova. quippe erant qui Gnaeum que Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent, quod man- ım theatri sedem posuisset. nam antea subitariis gradibus scaena in tempus structa ludos edi solitos, vel si vetustiora ətas, stantem populum spectavisse, ne, si consideret theatro, totos ignavia continuaret. spectaculorum quidem antiquitas aretur, quotiens praetores ederent, nulla cuiquam civium essitate certandi. ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios mores litus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpi

ıer form in the 'Agon Capitolinus' omitian, and more directly under the Gordian (Friedl. l. l.). Many ls are in existence inscribed 'certam. |. Romae con(stitutum), S. C.' (see n, i. p. 282, 47-65).

quippe erant, etc. The adverse ons are stated in the remainder of chapter, the favourable, in the fol- g.

ıaeum Pompeium. On his theatre . 23, 1 (and note); 13. 54, 4, etc.

nam antea, etc. Tertullian (de . 10) says that the censors used to oy the temporary theatres, and that peius, fearing a similar fate for his placed a temple of Venus above A permanent theatre was in course ection in 599, B.C. 155, but was oyed by order of the senate, on the n of the consul and chief pontiff ornelius Scipio Nasica (Liv. Epit. Vell. 1. 15, 3; Val. Max. 2. 4, 2; B. C. 1. 28; Aug. de Civ. D. 1. 31). same authorities mention that the oition of sitting at games was then ed and enforced.

oitariis. This term is so used of ngs in 15. 39, 2, of hasty levies of rs in Liv. 3. 4, 11, etc. It is ht that the change from mere stand- om to temporary seats may have in with the games held by Mum- (see c. 21, 2). Such seats appear ve been of old permitted in the (Liv. 1. 35, 9; Dion. Hal. 3. 28).

ne, si. All recent, and many older after Ryck., follow MS. Agr. in g here the 'ne,' written in Med. continuaret'; which has also been l in other ways. Walth. endeavours essfully to defend the Med. text.

atro, local abl., 'ignavia,' modal l. i. v. §§ 25, 28). This stopping is preferable to that of Nipp., who places the comma before 'theatro,' which seems somewhat awkwardly to bring the two ablatives into the same sentence.

7. **continuaret**, 'should spend the whole of'; so in 16. 5, 2; G. 22, 2.

spectaculorum quidem. The speakers here pass from the subject of permanent theatres and seats, which have become a fixed institution, to the character of the exhibitions themselves, as affected by this new institution. 'As for the exhibitions, let their ancient character be preserved, whenever the praetors celebrate them, no citizen being under compulsion to compete.' This compulsion is implied to be one mischievous innovation, the addition of Greek gymnastic contests (contrasted by 'ceterum') to be the other and principal one. The allusion to the praetors seems to contain another thrust, and to imply that no new games at all were needed; the old ones held annually by the praetors being sufficient. The presidents of these games were consulars chosen by lot (Suet. Ner. 12). Most recent edd. follow Lips. in reading 'praetores ederent' for the Med. 'praetor sederet,' which is not altogether indefensible (cp. Juv. 11. 193); Ritt. reads 'praetor praesideret.'

10. **funditus**, opposed to 'paulatim' (the gradual change to permanent theatres, etc.).

accitam, 'imported' (from Greece). Nipp. points out that 'ut' denotes not mere consequence but the assumed intention of the promoters.

corrumpi et corrumpere, so joined in G. 19, 3. The introduction of Greek exercises appears to have been very repugnant to Roman sentiment. Lucan (7, 270) makes Caesar sneer at it; Pliny the elder (N. H. 35, 13, 47, 167) speaks of sand

et corrumpere queat, in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis ternis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercen principe et senatu auctoribus, qui non modo licentiam vitiis p miserint, sed vim adhibeant, *ut* proceres Romani specie o tionum et carminum scaena polluantur. quid superesse, nisi corpora quoque nudent et caestus adsumant easque pugnas militia et armis meditentur? an iustitiam auctum iri et decur equitum egregium iudicandi munus *melius* expleturas, si frac sonos et dulcedinem vocum perite audissent? noctes quoc dedecori adiectas, ne quod tempus pudori relinquatur, sed co promisco, quod perditissimus quisque per diem concupiverit, tenebras audeat.

21. Pluribus ipsa licentia placebat, ac tamen honesta nom praetendebant. maiores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculor

used 'ad debellanda corpora palaestrae studiis'; and his nephew quotes with approval (Ep. 4. 22, 3) the opinion of a senator objecting to the restoration of such games at Vienna, 'vellem etiam Romae tolli posset.' See also Sen. Ep. 88, 18 ('luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam expello ex his studiis liberalibus'), and other references given by Mayor on Juv. 3. 68, and in Friedl. ii. 440–443. The contrast implied is to the military exercises forming the genuine training of Roman youth (§ 6).

2. **exercendo**, taken by zeugma with 'gymnasia' in the sense of 'colendo' or 'frequentando.'

6. **corpora quoque nudent**. The games included gymnastic contests of all kinds, but 'proceres Romani' took part this time in the musical contest only, in which 'honestissimus quisque contenderat' (Suet. c. 12): amongst them Lucan is stated by his biographers to have made his first public appearance as a poet.

7. **militia et armis**: these are generally taken as a hendiadys; but 'arma' may include military drill as distinct from actual service.

an iustitiam auctum iri: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., after Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 553), for the Med. 'ius titia augurii,' which others alter, with Lips., to 'iustitiam augeri.' Ritt. brackets 'decurias equitum' as a gloss, and reads 'an iustius augurii et egregium . . . expleturos.'

decurias equitum. This term is used here and in 3. 30, 2; Suet. Tit. for the 'decuriae iudicum,' which pr ably at this time consisted to so large extent of knights as to make the te practically interchangeable (see Intro vii. p. 87).

8. **expleturas**: so Halm and Dr. Seyffert. Others retain the Med. ' pleturos,' which Nipp. defends as a ' structio ad sensum,' giving many insta (e.g. 2. 52, 5; 4. 29, 2; 48, 5; 62, in none of which, however, are the w so closely taken together as here. ' lius,' inserted by Halm after Pram might have dropped out after 'mu and seems required to answer to 'auc iri.'

fractos. This term is not appare used in the sense of the 'fracti sonitus t rum' of Verg. G. 4, 72, but of effemi or falsetto strains: cp. 'musice . . . nunc in scaenis effeminata, et inpu modis fracta' (Quint. 1. 10, 31); κατακεκλασμένα μέλη (Dion. Hal. Comp. 25, 398).

9. **perite**, 'as experts.'

noctes, etc. That the festival la through the night (c. 21, 6), was n novelty, but had been the case on se previous occasions (see Friedl. ii. and was always so at the Saturnalia.

10. **adiectas** = 'adsumptas': cp. 2, and note.

sed = 'sed ut.'

13. **Pluribus**, 'the majority.'

nomina, 'pretexts'; so in 2. 33, 6

14. **quoque non** = 'ne . . . quid cp. 3. 54, 11, and note.

lectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuscis accitos striones, a Thuriis equorum certamina; et possessa Achaia siaque ludos curatius editos, nec quemquam Romae honesto o ortum ad theatrales artes degeneravisse, ducentis iam annis L. Mummii triumpho, qui primus id genus spectaculi in urbe ebuerit. sed et consultum parsimoniae, quod perpetua sedes eatro locata sit potius, quam immenso sumptu singulos per nos consurgeret ac destrueretur. nec perinde magistratus rem niliarem exhausturos aut populo efflagitandi Graeca certamina nagistratibus causam fore, cum eo sumptu res publica fungatur. torum ac vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis adlaturas; cuiquam iudici grave aures studiis honestis et voluptatibus

oblectamentis, probably abl. (see 4, 3, and note); the case is similarly otful in H. 4. 55, 3; 5. 24, 1. The abl. early used in Curt. 6. 7, 11 ('crimine orrens'), the dat. in Liv. 2. 14, 1 catae profectioni abhorrens mos').

ro fortuna, etc., 'in proportion he wealth of that time': 'quae tum '='tum existente,' being no part of oratio obliqua.

Tuscis, etc., in 390, B. C. 364: see 7. 2.

a Thuriis. Tacitus follows an other-unknown tradition, opposite to that ivy 1. 35, 10, where horseracing is e to have been introduced to Rome Etruria in the days of Tarquinius us, before the date of the foundation hurii. Sybaris, the predecessor of city, is recorded, in the days of perity before its destruction, to have able to show processions of 5000 ts (Athen. 12. 17, p. 519).

ssessa, 'taken under dominion,' ably here, and in H. 2. 12, 1; 3. 8,), 1, to be taken (as Nipp. suggests) 'possido.' The Roman adminis-n of Achaia dates from the fall of ith in 608, B. C. 146, that of Asia 625, B. C. 129, after the defeat and re of Aristonicus.

curatius, 'more elaborately': = ratius,' as in 2. 27, 1; 16. 22, 6; 13, 7, and note.

4 **ad theatrales**, etc., 'had stooped come a professional player': such rances on the stage as that of ius, or those noted in c. 14, 5, are ed as amateur performances.

centis, a round number for 205 (see above).

5. **id genus**, Greek performances; perhaps more especially those of the stage; for Greek athletes appear to have exhibited at Rome in the games given by M. Fulvius Nobilior, in 568, B. C. 186 (Liv. 39. 22, 2). Those given at the triumph of Mummius seem not to be elsewhere mentioned; but several other instances during the Republic are collected in Friedl. ii. p. 433. For the Actian games instituted by Augustus, see 15. 23, 3, and note.

6. **sed et** = 'sed etiam,' so used where the idea of a preceding 'non tantum' is implied in the context, as in G. 17, 3; 45, 4, etc. Here it is left rather to be gathered; the sense being that a permanent theatre was so far from being an extravagance as to be in the long run even an economy.

7. **quam** = 'quam ut,' a construction more commonly found after a future (cp. 13. 42, 8, and note).

8. **destrueretur**: so all recent edd., after Nodell, for the Med. 'struereetur,' which would be a weak synonym with 'consurgeret.'

perinde, 'as much as formerly.' The 'Neronia,' like the 'ludi Augustales' (1. 15, 4), were given at the cost of the treasury, whereas public entertainments in general were given at the cost of the magistrates; and it is implied that pressure was apt to be put on them by the people to include Greek games in their programme.

12. **iudici**, alluding to the 'decuriae equitum' (c. 20, 7).

grave, 'burdensome' or 'degrading': cp. 2. 36, 2; 6. 26, 2, etc.

concessis impertire. laetitiae magis quam lasciviae dari pauc totius quinquennii noctes, quibus tanta luce ignium nihil inlicitu occultari queat. sane nullo insigni dehonestamento id spectac lum transiit. ac ne modica quidem studia plebis exarsere, q redditi quamquam scaenae pantomimi certaminibus sacris p hibebantur. eloquentiae primas nemo tulit, sed victorem e Caesarem pronuntiatum. Graeci amictus, quis per eos d plerique incesserant, tum exoleverunt.

22. Inter quae et sidus cometes effulsit, de quo vulgi opi est, tamquam mutationem regis portendat. igitur quasi i

1. **concessis**: cp. 13. 2, 2. The expression 'impertire aures,' formed on the analogy of 'impertire tempus' (c. 16, 3), for 'praebere,' is noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ.

2. **noctes**, alluding to c. 20, 8.

5. **redditi quamquam**. Their expulsion had been mentioned in 13. 25, 4. For the anastrophe of 'quamquam' cp. 5. 9, 1, etc.

certaminibus sacris. The Neronia were so styled, after the example of the Greek ἱεροὶ ἀγῶνες, which were strictly religious festivals.

6. **primas**, sc. 'partes' (cp. 'secundas' Hor. Sat. 1. 9, 46), 'the prize of eloquence' (cp. 'facundiae coronam' 16. 4, 1). The meaning is that it was awarded to none of the competitors, but to Caesar, who had shown no performance. Suet. states (c. 12), 'deinde in senatum orchestramque descendit, et orationis quidem carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit, citharae autem a iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit ferrique ad Augusti statuam iussit.'

7. **quis**: so all recent edd. after Grosslot, for the Med. 'q' (with 'o' inserted above, and generally read as 'quo').

8. **exoleverunt**: so Halm, Nipp., Ritt., after Heins., for the Med. 'exoleverant,' which may probably be an error of assimilation to 'incesserant.' The meaning would seem to be that during the games Greek dress had been worn not only (as might be expected) by Nero and by the performers, but by most or many of the spectators ('plerique'); and that the costume, thus vulgarised, then dropped out of fashion. The pluperf. would seem to be best taken to mean that Greek dress had alre dropped out of fashion, but that games revived it temporarily. It app to have been a court fashion at ti in the days of Claudius (Dio, 60. 6, and was worn by Domitian and ot at his games (Suet. Dom. 4).

9. **sidus cometes**. This is the co spoken of by Seneca (Qu. Nat. 7. 17 21, 3; 29, 3) as unaccompanied by evil ('cometis detraxit infamiam'), as having been visible for six mon Pliny, who speaks (N. H. 2. 25, 23, of a comet 'adsiduum prope ac saev throughout Nero's principate, seems have supposed it to have lasted on the appearance in 817, A.D. 64 47, 1). The adjectival 'cometes' oc again in that passage, also 'stella come in Just. 37. 2, 2.

de quo. Dr. notes the construc with 'tamquam' as a novelty; the u sequence after such a sentence being accus. and inf., as in Cic. Clu. 28, Att. 1. 13, 4.

10. **regis**, here a general term u which the Roman princeps is com hended. Orelli and Jacob read 'reg as suggested by Bentley, from L 1, 529 ('mutantem regna comet and Sil. 8, 637 ('regnorum everso cometes'). The same belief ap in Stat. Theb. 1, 708 ('mutent sceptra cometae') and in Suet. Ne ('summis potestatibus exitum porte putabatur'). The occurrence of a c just before the death of Claudius (l. l.) must have given the more vi to this idea, which had been sugg to Romans by that which appeare the death of Julius Caesar. T himself evidently regards it as 'vanitas' (§ 3).

pulso Nerone, quisnam deligeretur anquirebant. et omnium e Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex lia familia. ipse placita maiorum colebat, habitu severo, casta secreta domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famae eptus. auxit rumorem pari vanitate orta interpretatio fulguris. m quia discumbentis Neronis apud Simbruina stagna *in villa,* Sublaqueum nomen est, ictae dapes mensaque disiecta erat, que finibus Tiburtum acciderat, unde paterna Plauto origo, ac illum numine deum destinari credebant, fovebantque multi, bus nova et ancipitia praecolere avida et plerumque fallax bitio est. ergo permotus his Nero componit ad Plautum eras, consuleret quieti urbis seque prava diffamantibus subtraet: esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inbida iuventa frueretur. ita illuc cum coniuge Antistia et icis familiarium concessit.

Rubellius Plautus: see 13. 19, 3. **placita** = δόγματα. He was also sciple of the Stoic philosophy (see , 2).

secreta, 'secluded.'

cultior, 'avoiding publicity.'

vanitate, 'credulity,': cp. 16. 1, 1.

terpretatio: so Put. and all edd. G.; Med. has 'Intra et atio.'

discumbentis, used of one person, 3. 14, 2; 11. 2, 5, etc.

villa; so inserted by most recent after Bezzenb., on the analogy of , 2; 6. 50, 2. Med. has a full stop 'stagna'; others insert 'villae' oco,' after 'cui,' or alter 'cui' to ' and take the sentence as parenal. Ritt. doubts whether any villa existed, and thinks that the feast out of doors, like that in 12. 57, 3, would consequently bracket 'cui queum nomen est,' as a note intered into the text. The existence of la Neronis Sublacensis' is attested rontinus (Aq. 93); and from the ce of any earlier mention of the as also from the way in which is mentions it as if it were not ally known, it is inferred that no of Sublaqueum (Subiaco) as yet l (see Sir. E. Bunbury in D. of Geog.). name is taken from its position the three lakes ('Simbruina stagna') l by the Anio: see 11. 13, 2; also N. H. 3. 12, 17, 109 ('Anio in monte norum ortus tres lacus amoenitate nobiles qui nomen dedere Sublaqueo defert in Tiberim').

7. **ictae dapes**, etc. The portent is amplified by Dio (61. 16, 5) and Philost. (vit. Ap. 4. 43), who make the lightning burn up everything placed on the table and strike the cup in Nero's hand.

8. **unde**, etc. On the origin of his family from Tibur see 6. 27, 1.

9. **hunc illum**: cp. 'quis ille,' etc., (12. 36, 2); also 11. 7, 1, and note. The form of expression here seems suggested by Verg. Aen. 7, 255, 272.

10. **praecolere**, 'to court prematurely.' The sense is ἅπ. εἰρ. and the verb apparently only used elsewhere in the past participle. For other such words in Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 3.

12. **quieti urbis**: so all edd. after Pich. for the Med. 'q ('qui') e turbis.'

prava diffamantibus, 'those spreading evil reports.' The verb is more commonly used with a personal accus. (cp. 1. 72, 4, and note), but is used of the report spread in Ov. Met. 4, 236 ('vulgat adulterium, diffamatumque parenti Indicat'), and occasionally in late Latin.

13. **per Asiam**, etc. Several notices of the large possessions of Roman nobles in the provinces are collected in Friedl. i. 219.

inturbida, a Tacitean word: cp. 3. 52, 1, and note, and other analogous words in Introd. i. v. § 69, 2.

14. **Antistia**, in full 'Antistia Pollitta,'

Isdem diebus nimia luxus cupido infamiam et pericul Neroni tulit, quia fontem aquae Marciae ad urbem deduc nando incesserat; videbaturque potus sacros et caerimoniam corpore loto polluisse. secutaque anceps valetudo iram de adfirmavit.

23. At Corbulo post deleta Artaxata utendum recenti ter ratus ad occupanda Tigranocerta, quibus excisis metum host intenderet vel, si pepercisset, clementiae famam adipiscere illuc pergit, non infenso exercitu, ne spem veniae auferret, ne tamen remissa cura, gnarus facilem mutatu gentem, ut segn ad pericula, ita infidam ad occasiones. barbari, pro ing

daughter of Antistius Vetus (13. 11, 1), with whom she suffered death (16. 10–11), three years after the death of her husband (c. 59, 3).

1. **nimia luxus cupido,** 'an excess of wantonness.'

2. **fontem,** the source or main stream. That to bathe in this was an outrage, is not disproved by the evidence that water from the purest aqueducts was apparently supplied to baths or otherwise used for bathing purposes in Rome. Cp. Mart. 6. 42, 18 ('cruda Virgine Marciave mergi'); 11. 47, 6; 14. 163, 2: also Sen. Ep. 83, 5 ('auspicabar in Virginem desilire').

aquae Marciae. This aqueduct, beginning from a point in the Sabine hills near the 36th milestone on the via Valeria (Front. Aq. 7), was constructed by L. Marcius Rex, as praetor, in 605, B.C. 149, and was restored by Agrippa (Plin. N. H. 31. 3, 21, 41; 36. 15, 24, 121) and augmented by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 4. 11). Many of its arches are preserved, and its specus can be seen where it passes over an arch of Augustus at the porta S. Lorenzo (see Middleton, p. 469). Both Pliny and Frontinus (91) speak of its water as the best and purest in Rome; and it still, under the name of 'Aqua Pia,' forms part of the supply of the city.

3. **incesserat**: cp. c. 15, 6.

caerimoniam loci. The sanctity attached to such places is described by Seneca (Ep. 41, 3); 'magnorum fluminum capita veneramur, subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet, coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quaedam vel opacitas vel inmensa altitudo sacravit.' The younger Pliny records that no ship or boat was allowed on lake Va (Ep. 8. 20, 5), and that bathing forbidden above a certain point o Clitumnus, at the source of which temple, which he describes (Ep. 8. 8

4. **anceps valetudo.** Schiller sug (p. 159) that the illness may have first and that the cold baths may been prescribed for it, according t practice of Charmis (see Plin. N. H. 4, 10).

6. **At Corbulo,** etc. This nar is taken up from 13. 41, and ap to belong to the two years 812, A.D. 59, 60 (Introd. p. 112). O locality of Tigranocerta see 12. 5 and note; and on the whole li march see Introd. p. 114.

recenti terrore. The terror c by its destruction would be recent, if we suppose that he had rested for a winter after its surrender Introd. p. 114, 2).

8. **intenderet** = 'augeret': cp. 6, etc.

vel, si pepercisset. This corresponds in sense to 'quibus exc 'quibus' (in the dative) being agair plied. The variation of construct analogous to others noted in Introd § 91.

9. **infenso,** 'in hostile fashion' 'infenso agmine' (15. 9, 2).

10. **mutatu,** a rare supine, foun here and in H. 2. 63, 5: cp. 'resc (4. 40, 2) and other Tacitean forms collected by Dr. in Synt. un § 218.

11. **ad occasiones,** sc. 'defection ripiendas,' as above 'ad pericula 'capessenda'): cp. 11. 36, 4; 16. etc.

sque, alii preces offerre, quidam deserere vicos et in avia redi; ac fuere qui se speluncis et carissima secum abderent. ur dux Romanus diversis artibus, misericordia adversus sup- ces, celeritate adversus profugos, inmitis iis qui latebras in- erant, ora et exitus specuum sarmentis virgultisque completos i exurit. atque illum fines suos praegredientem incursavere rdi, latrociniis exerciti contraque inrumpentem montibus ensi; quos Corbulo inmissis Hiberis vastavit hostilemque aciam externo sanguine ultus est.

24. Ipse exercitusque ut nullis ex proelio damnis, ita per piam et labores fatiscebant, carne pecudum propulsare famem cti. ad hoc penuria aquae, fervida aestas, longinqua itinera ducis patientia mitigabantur, eadem pluraque gregario milite rantis. ventum dehinc in locos cultos demessaeque segetes, ex duobus castellis, in quae confugerant Armenii, alterum etu captum; qui primam vim depulerant, obsidione co-

diversis artibus. Nipp. and Dr. ır rightly to take this as a very ;e use (even for Tacitus) of the of quality (see Introd. i. v. § 29); ricordia' and 'celeritate' are in ition with it, and the construction a varied to 'inmitis.'

igni exurit. Such an act of cruelty ad its counterpart in very modern The complacency with which ıs records it may be compared with nilar sentiments noted on 1. 51, 2.

egredientem = 'praetergredien- see note on 2. 6, 5.

Mardi. This race (called also 'A- ') are coupled by Strabo (11. 13, , etc.) with the Κύρτιοι, as a widely robber race both in Persia and ia; their habitation in the latter y being Mt. Niphates. From this t, as also that of Ptolemy, who them east of Gordyene (5. 13, 20), ppears to be no doubt that they n the mountains east and north ke Van, and were the ancestors present Kurds. The name is still ed in that of Mardistan.

iberis. These people (on whom see and note) were among the volun- ies of Corbulo through animosity Armenians (see 12. 44, 1; 13. 37,

avit. This use of 'vastare ali- for 'alicuius terram' is found in c. 38, 2; 15. 1, 2; H. 2. 87, 5; Agr. 22, 2. Nipp. compares also 'ita sumus devastati' (Liv. 23. 42, 5).

9. **externo sanguine**, without sacrifice of Roman lives. Besides thus sparing the blood of the legions, he was consulting Roman policy by embittering barbarian races against each other.

11. **fatiscebant**, 'were becoming exhausted': cp. 3. 38, 1, and note.

carne pecudum, that of the flocks of sheep of the country. To a Roman soldier, corn meal was the great necessary of life, and animal food in any large quantity prejudicial. Caesar (B. G. 7. 17, 3) speaks in the same way of meat as famine diet ('ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, et pecore . . . extremam famem sustentarent'). Prof. Holbrooke notes a recent instance (in the Zulu campaign of 1879) in which an exclusive meat diet told injuriously even upon English soldiers. On the use of 'adigere' with inf. cp. 4. 29, 3, and note.

12. **ad hoc**: cp. 12. 20, 2, and note.

penuria aquae: see Introd. p. 114, 9.

13. **pluraque . . . tolerantis**: so all recent edd. after F. Jacob and Ern. for the Med. 'plura quam' and 'toleranti'; which Walth. endeavours to defend, but which gives no satisfactory sense.

14. **locos cultos**, probably the level tract of Melazgerd and Liz (see Introd. p. 114).

guntur. unde in regionem Tauraunitium transgressus inp visum periculum vitavit. nam haud procul tentorio eius ignobilis barbarus cum telo repertus ordinem insidiarum se auctorem et socios per tormenta edidit, convictique et puniti s qui specie amicitiae dolum parabant. nec multo post le Tigranocerta missi patere moenia adferunt, intentos popul ad iussa: simul hospitale donum, coronam auream, tradeb accepitque cum honore, nec quicquam urbi detractum, quo pr ptius obsequium integri retinerent.

25. At praesidium Legerda, quod ferox iuventus claus non sine certamine expugnatum est: nam et proelium pro m ausi erant et pulsi intra munimenta aggeri demum et inrum tium armis cessere. quae facilius proveniebant, quia Pa Hyrcano bello distinebantur. miserantque Hyrcani ad pr pem Romanum societatem oratum, attineri a se Vologesen pignore amicitiae ostentantes. eos regredientes Corbulo Euphraten transgressi hostium custodiis circumvenirentur,

1. **Tauraunitium,** not elsewhere mentioned. Strabo (11. 14, 5, 528) gives a Ταρωνῖτις somewhere in Armenia, and the name points to a district in the country belonging to the Taurus range. Egli takes it to be the district of Mush, west of Lake Van; where the name Daron or Tarôn appears still to be preserved. It is not clear whether the name here is appositional acc. sing. or gen. pl., but it is perhaps best to take it, with Nipp., as the latter.

5. **nec multo post,** etc. Frontinus (Strat. 2. 9, 5) gives a story that Tigranocerta was resisting his siege, but that he flung into the town from a ballista the head of one of the megistânes whom he had executed, and thus terrified them into submission. The conspirator here mentioned may have been of that rank.

6. **Tigranocerta,** abl. as in 15. 5, 2: cp. the corresponding accus. in 15. 4, 2; 5, 5. In all of these Ritt. alters the reading so as to make the form throughout plural, as found in c. 23, 1; 15. 6, 2; 8, 1, probably also in 12. 50, 2; but the analogous variations in form of 'Artaxata' (see note on 2. 56, 3) make this needless.

patere moenia. Nipp. compares the use of 'moenia clausa' (for 'portas clausas') in Luc. 3, 373.

intentos . . . ad iussa; for s expressions, cp. 11. 29, 3, and note.

7. **coronam aaream.** A s Eastern gift is mentioned in 2. 57,

10. **Legerda.** The Med. text 'le was corrected by Puteol. and his succ to 'regium,' but to the present te Bezzenb., in accordance with the m in Ptolemy (5. 13, 20) of Λέγερδα read as Ἠλέγερδα, Κλέγερδα, and γερδα) as a place in the district be the sources of the Tigris and those Euphrates, and thus apparently w north-west of Tigranocerta.

11. **pro muris,** 'outside the w cp. 2. 80, 5, and note.

12. **aggeri:** so all recent edd Boett., for the Med. 'aggeris,' whic have taken with 'munimenta' (afte omitting 'et'). Ryck would read ribus,' on the supposition that a s has dropped. The 'agger' mean offensive work to command the such as is described in 4. 49, 3.

13. **proveniebant,** 'were succe cp. 1. 19, 4, and note.

14. **Hyrcano bello:** see 13. 37 this sense of 'distineri' cp. 11. 12, note.

15. **oratum.** Dr. compares Pis. 31, ('oratum obsecratumqu rant').

aesidio ad litora maris rubri deduxit, unde vitatis Parthorum ibus patrias in sedes remeavere.

26. Quin et Tiridaten per Medos extrema Armeniae intrantem, aemisso cum auxiliis Verulano legato, atque ipse legionibus s, abire procul ac spem belli amittere subegit; quosque nobis ersos animis cognoverat, caedibus et incendiis perpopulatus, ssessionem Armeniae usurpabat, cum advenit Tigranes a

maris rubri, the Persian Gulf 2. 61, 2, and note). We should erstand, with Walther, that they were back by the commercial road passing Syria along the west bank of the hrates to the sea; whence they might back to Hyrcania by some route nd the eastern limit of the Parthian er. An enormous circuit would ar to be required for this purpose; ll greater one for that suggested by Rawlinson (Sixth Oriental Monarchy, 71, note), who even supposes them to to the Indian Ocean and up the s. We do not know enough of the rn and south-eastern limits, at that of the Parthian power, or of the it to which this Hyrcanian war had affected it, to be able to say what oute from the Persian Gulf to Hyr- then existed. The supposition of (approved by Schiller, p. 123), that Caspian is meant, and that 'maris should be read, hardly lessens the ulty, as we do not know that the ans had any access to the Caspian, y means of navigating it.

Quin et. Nipp. would refer this uae facilius proveniebant'; but the s appear more naturally to point to 'at praesidium,' etc., and to mark her military success. Dr. follows ggestion in Madvig's 'Adversaria,' eads 'quieti' (with 'remeavere'); ich a word would be rather used of who remain at home, than of those journey is unobstructed.

Medos: see 13. 41, 2.

Verulano. Ritt. thinks that 'Severo' n old abbreviation 'seūo') has ed out between this and the preced- ord; the person being apparently me who is mentioned in 15. 3, 1, lso (as 'L. Verulanus Severus') in scription cited by Nipp., showing o have been consul in one of the ears of Nero.

', 'by his own appearance': ma atque ipso Artabano' (6. 44, 3).

5. **citis**, 'in forced marches': cp. 11. 1, 3, and note.

amittere, 'to give up': this sense of the word is sufficiently supported by 2. 71, 8; 4. 3, 3; 13. 46, 3, to make it unnecessary to follow Orelli and others in reading 'omittere' (after MS. Agr.). It is also possible to take the word (with Nipp.) to mean that his hopes were not so much given up as simply annihilated by the course of events.

subegit, with inf.: cp. c. 14, 6.

6. **aversos animis**: so Halm and Dr. after Bekk. The Med. 'ab re (corrected in the same hand to 'rege') animis' has given rise to many conjectures. The old editions generally read 'ob regem aversos animis.' Orelli follows Nipp. in reading 'nobis adversantis' (referring to 1. 2, 1: H. 4. 66, 1; 84, 1); the reading of MS. Agr. ('alienos animis') has suggested to Ritt. the alteration of the Med. 'animis' to 'alienos' (with 'ab rege' bracketed as a gloss). The general sense is clear, but the actual words used appear to be incapable of recovery.

perpopulatus, a word taken from Livy (22. 3, 10, etc.).

7. **advenit.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 115) that this is probably to be taken here and in other doubtful passages in Tacitus (as G. 16, 5) as a perfect; it being the author's rule (exceptions are noted in 14. 58, 4; 15. 59, 7) to use this verb in the perf. and pluperf. and 'advento' in pres. and imperf. He notes the same rule in the use of 'obicere' and 'obiectare,' but the reverse in that of 'occulere' and 'occultare.'

Tigranes: see 15. 1–6. We find from Jos. Ant. 18. 5, 4, that he was son of Alexander, and nephew of the Tigranes mentioned in 6. 40, 2, and in the note on 2. 4, 3, with whom the account of his descent here given would confuse him. 'Nepos' must therefore be taken to mean 'pronepos,' but need not be altered to that word (with Nipp.); as the analogous use of other such terms of relationship

Nerone ad capessendum imperium delectus, Cappadocum nobilitate, regis Archelai nepos, sed quod diu obses apud urb fuerat, usque ad servilem patientiam demissus. nec conse acceptus, durante apud quosdam favore Arsacidarum. at pleri superbiam Parthorum perosi datum a Romanis regem maleb additum ei praesidium mille legionarii, tres sociorum coho duaeque equitum alae, et quo facilius novum regnum tuere pars Armeniae, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Polemoniqu Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere iussae sunt. Corbulo in riam abscessit, morte Ummidii legati vacuam ac sibi permiss

27. Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea more terrae prolapsa, nullo *a* nobis remedio, propriis opi

(cp. 2. 27, 2; 43, 6; 4. 12, 6, etc.) appears sufficiently to support its being so taken.

2. **nobilitate**, 'the royal family' (cp. 12. 20, 1). Tacitus ignores his descent (given in Josephus, l. l.) from Herod the Great, probably (as Nipp. suggests) because the family of his grandfather Alexander, son of that king, had renounced Judaism (Jos. l. l.), and had probably broken off all connection with the Jews and made their home in Cappadocia. On Archelaus see 2. 42, 2.

3. **nec**, corr. of Put. for Med. 'ne.' Ritt. reads 'neque,' comparing 15. 4, 5; 6, 6.

4. **Arsacidarum.** It would appear from the statement in Mon. Anc. (quoted on 2. 4, 3) that the family of Tigranes was also related to the old Arsacid royal family of Armenia; but they must have represented a less pure stock than the Parthian Tiridates.

6. **ei**: so Halm and Dr., after Heins., for the Med. 'et,' which others retain, and which can be taken for 'etiam,' with the sense that this protection was added to his popularity.

7. **quo facilius . . . tueretur.** His power of self-defence would be strengthened by giving these kings an interest in the protection of his frontier.

8. **pars Armeniae**, etc. The Med. text is here very corrupt ('pars Armenia eunt cuique finitima pars nipulique'); the correction 'Armeniae ut' was made by Put. and all subsequent editors; while J. F. Gron. has been also generally followed in taking 'pars nipulique' to be a corruption of 'Pharasmani Polemonique.' Madvig (Adv. ii. 553) thinks it unlikely that Polemo, who had no previous connection with these events, and w support would not be equally neces should here be mentioned, and tha whole corruption probably represents the name of Pharasmanes. I hav followed Halm (with whom M agrees) in reading 'partes,' as the p predicate 'iussae' seems capable of fication by supposing 'pars' to be rately understood with each dative. aptly compares Cic. ad Fam. 10. ('commemoratio tua . . . necessitu benevolentiaeque . . . ceterarumque r . . . laetitiam attulerunt'). On Ph manes, see 12. 45, 2, etc.; on Anti and Aristobulus, 13. 7, 1, 2. Po who belonged to the Thracian royal f (see on 2. 67, 4), was king of Pontu 3. 47, 1) and part of Cilicia (Jos. 20. 7, 3).

10. **Ummidii**: cp. 12. 45, 6, etc. is called 'left to itself' ('sibi permiss because Anteius, appointed five before as successor to Ummidius, been detained in Rome (13. 22, 2).

11. **Laodicea.** On this city see 3, and note.

tremore terrae, an expression viously found in Sen. and Pl. ma. probably taken from the Vergilian ' tremor terris' (G. 2, 479). On th quency of earthquakes in Asiatic see Friedl. iii. 178; on a subvention to this city by Augustus after a pre disaster of the kind see Strab. 12. 579; and for other such subventions Tiberius see 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1.

12. **propriis opibus**, an evidence wealth of the chief Asiatic cities a time. 'Revalescere' is found in H. 2, and previously in Ov. H. 21, 231

valuit. at in Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli ius coloniae et cognoentum a Nerone apiscuntur. veterani Tarentum et Antium scripti non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere, dilapsis ribus in provincias in quibus stipendia expleverant; neque niugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine steris domos relinquebant. non enim, ut olim, universae

. **Puteoli**: see 13. 48, 1, and note. olony of 300 Roman citizens had been ady settled there in 560, A.D. 194 . 34. 45, 1); the town is styled a ny a century later (Or. Insc. 3697; . Max. 9. 3, 8), and appears to have again colonised by Augustus (cp. teoli, Colonia Augusta. Augustus uxit' Front. de Col. 139, cited by s.). It is thus difficult to account for implied assertion here that it had not erto attained that rank. If we supwith Madvig (Opusc. i. p. 293), that ow only received an infusion of new nists, to whom portions of ager pubs were assigned, the language of itus must be inaccurate. It appears Gell. 16. 13 that a colony might have n become a municipium; but a more able explanation is that of Lips. ported by Nipp.), that the 'vetus idum,' the old community, existing, municipal status only, side by side the colony within its limits (cp. mpeianorum colonorumque dissensio' pro Sull. 21, 60), was now raised to nial rank. The distinction between niae and municipia had now no real rtance in Italy, and was considered obscure point when Gellius wrote).

ognomentum. It added to its e the title of 'Colonia Claudia Aua Neronensis' (C. I. L. iv. 2152, I. R. 07*: cp. Wilm. 1964), which is subently changed for that of 'Colonia ia Augusta' (Henzen 5519 = Wilm.). On the exclusive power of the ceps to grant such titles and privileges Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 889.

apiscuntur. Nipp. notes that the , as used with 'oppidum Pompei' . 22, 4, is more usual.

terani . . . adscripti. 'Adscri' is the regular word (Liv. 32. 7, 3, for the enrolment of additional rs to an already existing colony. ntum had become a colony in 632, 122 (Vell. 1. 15, 4); Antium, an old colony of 287, B.C. 467 (Liv. 3. 1, as resettled in 416, B.C. 338 (Liv. 8. 14, 8); from which date it is spoken of as a maritime, or Roman colony (Liv. 27. 38, 4; 36. 3, 6). Nero viewed it with especial favour as his birthplace. Suet. says (Ner. 9) 'Antium coloniam deduxit adscriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilarium; ubi et portum operis sumptuosissimi fecit.'

3. **infrequentiae locorum.** On the scanty population of most parts of Italy see notes on 3. 54, 6; 12. 43, 4, and many other authorities quoted in Introd. i. vii. p. 93, and in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 454.

4. **stipendia expleverant**, a phrase formed on the analogy of 'explere annos' (H. 1. 48, 1), etc. On the usual length of the term of service see 1. 17, 3, etc.

neque coniugiis suscipiendis, etc. The general prohibition to soldiers to marry during service (Dio, 60. 24, 3, etc.) must have begun with the institution of standing armies, and received no relaxation till the time of Septimius Severus (Herodian 3. 8, 5). The 'conubium' granted on discharge (see the 'diplomata militaria,' e. g. Henzen 6857, foll.) must often have legitimatized unions already existing; but the majority appear to have been unwilling to undertake the duties and burdens of married life.

5. **orbas sine posteris.** In this passage 'orbas' might be ambiguous without the explanatory addition, notwithstanding the common use of the term in this sense (13. 42, 7, etc.). Nipp. notes an inscription recording one L. Veratius Afer, a veteran, afterwards decurio and quaestor of Antium, of whose four heirs three are of other families and of the praetorian guard.

6. **ut olim.** This old custom, noticed by Hyginus (Grom. pp. 160, 176), prevailed from the time of Sulla to Augustus, who had himself been greatly helped by the *esprit de corps* subsisting among the Campanian military colonies of the dictator, and would naturally desire to preclude future revolutionary leaders from thus raising whole armies at a stroke.

legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et s cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rem publica efficerent, sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, si adfectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repente unum collecti, numerus magis quam colonia.

28. Comitia praetorum arbitrio senatus haberi solita, quonia acriore ambitu exarserant, princeps composuit, tris, qui sup numerum petebant, legioni praeficiendo. auxitque patru honorem statuendo ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatu provocavissent, eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent, cuius qui imperatorem appellarent; nam antea vacuum id solutumq

For the political importance of such bodies see App. B. C. 2. 120; 3. 81.

1. **sui cuiusque ordinis** 'of their own distinct century,' i. e. grouped in their proper centuries. The construction appears to be that of a genitive of quality, answering to the abl. of quality ('diversis manipulis') below. The construction of 'suus quisque,' taken as one word, in the sense of 'distinct' or 'several,' is illustrated by Madvig, on Cic. de Fin. 5. 17, 46 ('cuiusque partis . . . sua quaeque vis'), by reference to Id. Acad. 2. 7, 19 ('in sensibus sui cuiusque generis'), etc. Nipp. adds here several other instances, as Caes. B. C. 1. 83, 2 ('cohortes . . . suae cuiusque legionis'), Liv. 25. 17, 5 ('motibus . . . suae cuique genti adsuetis'), etc.

3. **sine adfectibus mutuis**, answering to 'consensu et caritate.'

5. **collecti**, a participle; 'deducebantur' being supplied as the verb.

numerus, 'a mere aggregate': cp. 'nos numerus sumus' (Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 27).

6. **arbitrio senatus.** On the election of the magistrates of the state by this body, since the first year of Tiberius, see 1. 15. 1, and note. Their real power of election would be limited to the filling of those places in the praetorship (probably eight) to which no candidates were 'commended' by the princeps (see 1. 14, 6; 15, 2, and notes); and the 'ambitus' would be exercised among the senators themselves. Pliny gives a lively description (Ep. 2. 9, 5) of his active canvas on behalf of a friend.

7. **tris**, etc. The usual number of praetors was twelve (1. 14, 6), and there were fifteen candidates. To three of these he gave the command of legions, and thus reduced the number of competitors to that of the vacancies. The office of 'legatus legionis' might be held bef or after the praetorship (see 2. 36, 1, a note); and those now appointed to would doubtless be praetors in a sub quent year, and some of those now elec praetors would become 'legati legionu afterwards.

9. **a privatis iudicibus**, 'from c tribunals.' We gather that the app from them might lie either to Caesar to the senate. Augustus had institu an appeal in civil causes, in the case Roman suits, to the city praetor; in p vincial suits, to a consular assigned the purpose to each province (Suet. A 33). Under the arrangement here m tioned, the senate appear to sit, as criminal trials, as 'in consilio' with consuls (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 106).

10. **eiusdem pecuniae.** The cauti money to be lodged on appeal was fi at one third of the sum at which action was laid, and this was forfei if the original judgment was confirm (Paul. Sent. Rec. 5. 33, 7). The abse of any such caution in appeals to senate would render them especially lia to frivolous appeals, and their dign would thus gain by this change. S seems to have strangely misconceived bearing of this enactment in saying (N 17) 'cautum . . . ut omnes appellatio a iudicibus ad senatum fierent.'

si: so Halm for Med. 'is,' for wh others read 'ii' (with G.): Baiter thi 'is' no more than a repetition from end of the preceding word.

11. **appellarent**: so Halm, after Ma (Adv. ii. 554) for Med. 'appellave which others (with the reading 'ii') tain; but we should certainly expect imperf.

vacuum, 'an open field': cp.

ena fuerat. fine anni Vibius Secundus eques Romanus accu-ntibus Mauris repetundarum damnatur atque Italia exigitur, graviore poena adficeretur, Vibii Crispi fratris opibus enisus.

29. Caesennio Paeto et Petronio Turpiliano consulibus gravis des in Britannia accepta, in qua neque A. Didius legatus, ut emoravi, nisi parta retinuerat, et successor Veranius modicis cursibus Siluras populatus, quin ultra bellum proferret, morte hibitus est, magna, dum vixit, severitatis fama, supremis testa-

;8, 2, and Sall. Fr. H. 1, 10 D, K, 12 G ('simultates exercere vacuum ').

. **accusantibus Mauris.** On the two vinces of Mauretania see Introd. p. 31. ius had been procurator of one of n. He would appear to be the same he 'C. Vibius Secundus' mentioned ne of the 'quattuorviri' of Narnia in inscription five years before this date nzen 5129; Wilm. 2096). An allu- in H. 2. 10, 4 would show that he been also accused by Annius Faustus, arently after this time.

ne = 'ut non': cp. c. 11, 2, and note. **ibii Crispi.** An inscription (C. att. iii. 1. 619) gives his praenomen Nipp. notes that he was cos. suff. r near the year 810, A.D. 57 (or per-s, as thought by Borghesi, Œuvr. iv. in 814, A.D. 61), and (according to right reading of Front. Aq. 102) ator aquarum' in 821–824, A.D. 68– ind proconsul of Africa (Plin. N. H. , 4). Tacitus speaks of his fame as rator, also of his evil repute as an ser (H. 2. 10, 2, 6; 4. 42, 6). He intimate with Domitian, and author e witticism 'ne musca quidem' (Suet. 1. 3). Juvenal, who mentions him as ning the age of eighty under that e, speaks not ungently of him (4. 3). Quintilian, whose work was ished in 846, A.D. 93, speaks of him tely dead (10. 1, 119), and often ions him.

Caesennio Paeto et Petronio piliano. The former name is so by all modern edd. after Nipp. for Med. 'Cesonio' (read in older edd. sonio'), on the supposition that he ntical with the person mentioned in , 4, etc., and (as 'L. Caesennius is') in Dio, 62. 20, 4, and Phleg. de c. 20 (ὑπατευόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ποπλίου ωνίου Τουρπιλιανοῦ καὶ Καισεννίου ων): see also an inscription cited on c. 39, 4. Nipp. also points out that another inscription, in which the name is read 'Caesonius' (Grut. 62, 7), is of doubtful genuineness, and that the existence of two names so similar is very unlikely. The other consul was probably son of the P. Petronius of 3. 49, 2, and is mentioned in c. 39, 4; 15. 72, 2; also (as 'curator aquarum' in A.D. 63–64) in Front. 102, and (as put to death by Galba) in H. 1. 6, 2. For the addition of 'et' see 4. 68, 1, and note.

5. **A. Didius**: see 12. 15, 1, and note. The name is here restored by Lips. from 12. 40, 1 for the Med. 'hauitus' (Nipp. omits the praenomen). In Agr. 14, 3 his administration of Britain is similarly described: 'Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur.' On the date of his appointment see note on 12. 40, 1.

ut memoravi: see 12. 40, 7, in which chapter a more full account of his actions is given.

6. **Veranius**: see 12. 5, 1, and note. It appears from Agr. 14, 3 that he died in his first year of command, and that Suetonius had held the province for two years before his expedition to Mona. The year of Veranius will thus be 811, A.D. 58.

7. **Siluras**: see 12. 32, 4.

quin. Dr. notes the use here of this word for 'quominus,' with 'prohibere,' as ἅπ. εἰρ., and compares 'obsistere quin' in Apul. Met. 9. 20, 631. On the opposite use of 'quominus' for 'quin' cp. 1. 21, 4, and note.

8. **magna . . . fama**, abl. of quality: 'severitas' appears here to mean 'self-control,' as opposed to 'ambitio.'

testamenti, probably best taken, with Nipp. and Dr., as an explanatory genit. ('his last words, as expressed in his will'): cp. 'supremis tabulis' (6. 38, 2; 16. 14, 5, etc.

menti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe multa in Nerone adulatione addidit subiecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si bienn proximo vixisset. sed tum Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Brita nos, scientia militiae et rumore populi, qui neminem sine aemu sinit, Corbulonis concertator, receptaeque Armeniae decus aequa domitis perduellibus cupiens. igitur Monam insulam, incolis va dam et receptaculum perfugarum, adgredi parat, navesque fabric tur plano alveo adversus breve et incertum. sic pedes; equit vada secuti aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis tramisere.

30. Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, i

1. **ambitionis manifestus**, 'betraying vanity': for the genit. cp. 2. 85, 3; 12. 51, 5, etc.; for the sense of 'ambitio,' 12. 24, 1; 16. 17, 3. The point of the reference here is not his flattery of Nero, but his empty boast which could not be tested, and which implied that his successor, if he did not achieve the conquest, was of inferior capacity.

2. **subiecturum ei provinciam**, 'he would complete the subjection of the province,' by overcoming the resistance in the west and north. 'Provinciam' is a correction of Lips. for the Med. 'provincias,' as Britain was only a single province till the time of Septimius Severus (Herodian 3. 8, 2); the expression *Βρεττανία ἡ ἄνω*, in Dio, 55. 23, 6, being used only in reference to an arrangement still existing in his own time.

3. **Paulinus Suetonius**, here first mentioned. He had been legatus, after his praetorship, in Mauretania, where he put down a rebellion, and led an army as far as Atlas, in 794–795, A.D. 41–42 (Dio, 60. 9, 1; Pl. N. H. 5. 1, 14). He is not recorded as consul till 819, A.D. 66 (16. 14, 1), but it is hardly possible to suppose that he was legatus of Britain without having already attained that rank; and Borghesi notes (Œuvr. v. 324) that he is called 'vetustissimus consularium,' in comparison with several others, in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 2. 37, 2). Borghesi thinks he may have been cos. suff. in July 795, A.D. 42. He took a conspicuous part in the civil war on the side of Otho (H. l. l. etc.). His memoirs are noted in Pl. l. l.

5. **concertator**; *ἅπ. εἰρ.*: for other such words introduced by Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 1 a.

6. **perduellibus**, an archaic word, found here alone in Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 69): it occurs in Cic. and Liv., but chiefly in citations from older wr ings.

Monam, Anglesea (see Agr. 14, 18, 4), the *Μῶνα* or *Μῶννα* of Dio, 8, 1, the *Μόνα* of Ptol. 2. 2, 12. In Jo de reb. Get. 2 ('in extrema Britann parte Memma, quam Cornelius eti annalium scriptor narrat, metallis p rimis copiosam, herbis frequentem,' etc Lips. would read 'Mona'; but the wor contain no reference to any extant pa sage in Tacitus. The Mona of Ca (B. G. 5. 13, 3) would appear to be M the Monapia of Pl. N. H. 4. 16, 30, 10

8. **plano alveo**, 'flatbottomed': 'planae carinis' (2. 6, 2).

breve et incertum, sc. 'maris,' t shallow and shifting (i. e. 'tidal') dept cp. 'brevia' (1. 70, 3, and note). T substantival use of these adjectives somewhat harsher here than in the oth instances given (see Introd. i. v. § 4 Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 7, 2); whence son have thought, with Madvig and othe that 'mare,' 'litus,' or 'fretum' h dropped out. Ritt. retains 'incertum but reads 'brevia.'

9. **vada secuti**: so Halm, after J. Gron. for the Med. 'vados (when Nipp. reads 'vadosa') secuti.' M others follow G. in reading 'vado secut and compare 'vado transitur' or 'tr ducit' (Caes. B. G. 1. 6, 1; B. C. 37, 1); 'secuti' being taken to mean th they crossed after the infantry, not th they took the same direction; as t boats would naturally follow the deep water.

adnantes, 'swimming beside': 'comes lateri adnatat' (Sen. Ag. 452).

10. **Stabat**. The position of this wo is emphatic, as in 1. 25, 2. On the sen of 'pro litore' ('along the shore') notes on 1. 44, 4; 2. 81, 1, etc. T

rcursantibus feminis; in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus eiectis faces praeferebant; Druidaeque circum, preces diras iblatis ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus percu-re militem, ut quasi haerentibus membris inmobile corpus vul-eribus praeberent. dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stimu-ntes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt gna sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt. praesidium osthac inpositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitionibus cri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris con-lere deos fas habebant. haec agenti Suetonio repentina de-ctio provinciae nuntiatur.

ssage shows a reminiscence of Livy's scription of some Etruscan fanatics (4. , 1; 7. 17, 3).
diversa, 'of the enemy'; cp. 13. , 3, etc. The stopping of Halm, here lowed, appears best suited to mark the nsition by which 'feminis' supplies the oject to 'praeferebant.' Nipp. places comma at 'virisque'; many older d. stop differently, and read 'quae' ith some inferior MSS.) before 'veste.'
1. **in modum Furiarum.** It is per-ps from some reports about Mona that abo (3. 5, 11, 175) drew his descrip-n of the people of the Cassiterides as ιάγχλαινοι . . . ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς ίναις. Somewhat similar is the de-iption of the 'feralis exercitus' ('nigra ta, tincta corpora') of the German rii (G. 43, 6).
:. **Druidae.** The knowledge pos-sed by the Romans respecting this esthood is to be gathered from Caes. G. 6. 13–14; Strab. 4. 4, 4, 197; Diod. 31, 2. Strong measures were taken extirpate them in Gaul by Tiberius, ording to Plin. N. H. 30. 1, 4, 33 'iberi Caesaris principatus sustulit iidas eorum . . . per senatus consul-'), and by Claudius, according to t. Cl. 25 ('Druidarum religionem d Gallos . . ., tantum civibus sub Au-to interdictam, penitus abolevit'); but des their survival, as here shown, in ain and the adjacent islands, they pear in Gaul in 823, A.D. 70 (H. 4. 3). On the view that Druidism was pted by the British Celts from their lecessors in the country see Rhys, tures, p. 33, foll.; Elton, Origins of . Hist. p. 266, foll.
reces . . . fundentes, a Vergilian ession (Aen. 5, 234; 6, 55): cp. 6. 4. Nipp. places a comma after 'pre-ces,' so as to make 'diras' a substantive, as in 6. 24, 3.

3. **perculere.** Nipp. notes that the whole spectacle is here referred to, as well as the grammatical subject 'Druidae.'

4. **haerentibus**, 'paralysed': cp. 'ille . . . haerere primo' (6. 21, 4).

5. **cohortationibus**, causal abl.

6. **pavescerent**, so with accus. in 1. 4, 2; 59, 7; H. 4. 7, 1; also in Sil. 16, 127. 'Pavere' is more commonly so used.

7. **igni suo involunt**, 'envelope in fire from their own torches,' by driving the torch-bearing women in upon the mass. Cp. 'involvit flammis nemus' (Verg. G. 2, 308); and the use of 'in-volvebantur' (of persons swallowed up by water) in 1. 70, 5.

praesidium, a fort and garrison: cp. c. 25, 1, etc.

8. **superstitionibus**, 'superstitious rites'; so used in pl. in 12. 59, 2, Agr. 11, 4, etc.

9. **cruore captivo** = 'captivorum,' a poetical mode of expression similar to 'externo sanguine' (c. 23, 4), etc. The human sacrifices of Druidism are men-tioned in Caes. B. G. 6. 16, 1, and were the chief reason for the vigorous measures taken (see above) to suppress the cult.

adolere aras: cp. 'altaria adolen-tur' (H. 2. 3, 4). The expressions are closely borrowed from older Latin (cp. Lucr. 4, 1237; Verg. Aen. 7, 71), and the meaning of the verb is doubtful; the various senses of 'piling,' 'honouring,' 'making to burn,' being all apparently possible (see Munro and Conington ad loc.), though perhaps from separate bases (Nettleship, Contrib. to Lat. Lex.).

fibris = 'extis,' as in H. 2. 3, 4: cp. 'fibrae apparere minaces' (Verg. G. 1, 484), etc.

11. **provinciae**, not used here as in c.

31. Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Ca sarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio rat regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. quod cont vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos vel capta vastarentur. iam primum uxor eius Boudicca verberib adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenoru quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent, avitis bonis ex untur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. qua co tumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae ce serant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellationem Trinovantib

29, 1, but restrictively of the part already subjected.

1. **Icenorum**: see 12. 31, 3. The name is restored here by Rhen.; Med. having here 'igenorum' and below 'y-genorum.' The whole narrative is given with unusual fullness in the abridgment of Dio (62. 1–12); also, with some variations, in Agr. 15, 1–16, 4.

longa = 'diuturna': cp. 'longa decora' (c. 53, 5), 'longa potentia' (1. 8, 7), 'longo sacramento inbutus' (H. 1. 5, 1). The question of the date of the beginning of this prince's rule is complicated by the difficulty of dating the cessation of the eastern coinage of Andedrigus. See Introd. p. 138, 2.

Caesarem heredem . . . scripserat: see note on 2. 48, 1.

3. **regnumque et**: for this combination of conjunctions (never found in Cic. or Caes.) cp. 2. 6. 4, and the more frequent use of 'seque et' (1. 4, 1, etc.), and Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 123, 2.

4. **centuriones . . . servos**, the respective agents of the legatus and the procurator, the former enforcing the conscription (cp. Agr. 31, 1) and punishing general disobedience, the latter exacting the fiscal imposts and inheritance. Cp. Agr. 15, 2 'binos (reges) inponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret; . . . alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere.'

5. **vastarentur**: for the pl. cp. 3. 62, 1, and note.

iam primum, 'to begin' (cp. 4. 6, 2, and note). It is remarkable that the narrative of these events in Agr. omits all mention of this personal outrage. The account in Dio is similarly defective.

Boudicca. For the description of her in Dio, see Introd. p. 143. This form of the name is given by Med. in c. 37, here it has 'boodicia,' in c. 35, 1, 'bo ducca'; in Agr. 16, 1, the MSS. ha 'Voadicca' and 'Voaduca'; in Dio t reading varies between Βουνδουίκα a Βουδουίκα. A name 'Lollia Bodicc is found in C. I. L. viii. 2877 (=Henz 7420 a k, Wilm. 1590), a soldier 'Bodi cius' in a British cohort in C. I. L. i 3256, and a Spanish name 'Boudic or 'Boudicas' in C. I. L. ii. 455. Rece edd. follow Haase in supposing Tacit to have uniformly written it as 'Boudicc which would appear to be equivalent meaning to such a Latin name as 'Vi torina' (Rhys 278). The form 'Boadice which rests on no authority and conve no meaning, has unfortunately, like t similar error 'Caractacus' (see on 12. 3 1), become popular, apparently throu its adoption in Rapin's History (s Walther's note).

7. **quasi . . . accepissent.** If the words are to stand here, the subject mu be supplied from 'centuriones et serv but this transition from 'praecipui Ic norum' is very harsh. Ritt. inse 'Romani' after 'muneri' (in which pla Mr. Haverfield suggests that some a breviation of 'nostri' could more pro ably have dropped out); Haase plac the sentence below, after 'deducti Nipp. brackets it as a marginal no interpolated into the text, thinking 'm nus' inappropriately used of an inhe ance.

8. **qua contumelia**, causal abl.

9. **quando . . . cesserant.** We shou suppose them to have been formal annexed to the province at the dea of Prasutagus, and to have been und coercion ever since their first risi against Ostorius (12. 31, 3).

10. **rebellationem**, a rare form

qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis)niurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio. quippe coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, kturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando, foventibus in-)tentiam veteranorum militibus similitudine vitae et spe usdem licentiae. ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum ıasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacer-)tes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant. nec arduum debatur excindere coloniam nullis munimentis saeptam; quod ıcibus nostris parum provisum erat, dum amoenitati prius quam ;ui consulitur.

32. Inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni mulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum, quasi cederet hostibus. feminae in furorem turbatae adesse exitium canebant, exter-

ɔbellio,' only found here and in Val. ıx. and Servius on Verg. Aen. 12, 186.

Trinovantibus. This people lived Suffolk and Essex, having Camulo-num for their town (Ptol. 2. 3, 22). ıey were the most powerful in south itain in the time of Caesar (B. G. 5. , 1, etc.), and their locality is the ıtre of resistance in the invasion under audius (Introd. p. 133). The name :urs here alone in Tacitus and is read Med. as above, and in the form of *νοάντες* in Ptol. (Müller). As this m is preferred by Celtic scholars, l gives the meaning 'battle-stabbers' 'battle-spearers' (Rhys 305), there ms no reason for following the great ly of edd., who correct it to 'Trino-ntibus,' after the form generally ough with good MS. authority to contrary) read in Caesar.

. **pepigerant**, with infin.: cp. 11. 9, ınd note.

. **recens deducti**: see 12. 32, 5.

. **inpotentiam**, 'their lawlessness': 1. 4, 4, and note.

. **similitudine vitae**: causal abl.

. **templum divo Claudio.** This, as the case with provincial temples to gustus (see on 1. 10, 5; 78, 1), had n erected in his lifetime: cp. Sen. Lud. 'parum est quod templum in Britan-habet? quod hunc barbari colunt, et leum orant *μωροῦ εὐϊλάτου τυχεῖν*?

. **arx**, a correction, in the original d, of the Med. text 'arae': other S. and old edd. read 'ara,' which in e respects makes better sense.

sacerdotes. These would be taken from the provincial subjects of good family: see 1. 57, 2.

8. **omnis fortunas effundebant.** This is generally taken, with Lips., as if 'omnis suas fortunas' had been written; an interpretation which derives support from a passage in Arr. Epict. 1. 19, 26, showing that such priesthoods were very costly to their holders (*σήμερόν τις ὑπὲρ ἱερωσύνης ἐλάλει μοι τοῦ Αὐγούστου. Λέγω αὐτῷ, ἄνθρωπε, ἄφες τὸ πρᾶγμα, δαπανήσεις πολλὰ ἐς οὐδέν*). But we can better understand the costliness of the worship being taken up as a national grievance by supposing, with Nipp. and others, that 'omnis fortunas' is rather equivalent to 'fortunas omnium,' and that the priest levied exactions all round for victims, etc. Dr. notes the use of 'effundere' of spending other money than one's own in Cic. Tusc. 3. 20, 48 ('C. Gracchus cum effudisset aerarium').

9. **excindere**: cp. 2. 25, 4 ('excindit . . . hostem'), and note.

12. **palam**, adjectival: cp. 11. 22, 1, and note.

13. **simulacrum Victoriae.** Such a statue may have stood either in the temple of Claudius, or in some other public place.

14. **in furorem**: so all recent edd. after Faern. for the Med. 'in furore.'

externos, 'barbarian.' Dio (62. 1, 2) describes it more fully—*ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θροῦς νυκτὸς βαρβαρικὸς μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θόρυβος*

nosque fremitus in curia eorum auditos; consonuisse ululatib theatrum visamque speciem in aestuario Tamesae subvers coloniae: iam Oceanus cruento aspectu, dilabente aestu human rum corporum effigies relictae, ut Britannis ad spem, ita veteran ad metum trahebantur. sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, pet vere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. ille haud ampli quam ducentos sine iustis armis misit; et inerat modica militu manus. tutela templi freti, et impedientibus qui occulti rebe lionis conscii consilia turbabant, neque fossam aut vallum pra duxerunt, neque motis senibus et feminis iuventus sola restitit quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumv niuntur. et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: ten

μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἐξηκούετο, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων μήτε φθεγγομένου μήτε στένοντος. The 'curia' was that in which the decuriones of the colony met.

1. **eorum** = 'Camulodunensium,' supplied from the name of the town.

2. **Tamesae.** The name of the Thames does not occur elsewhere in the extant works of Tacitus, but was no doubt mentioned in the narrative of the first expedition of Plautius. Med. has here 'tam esae,' which the old edd., before Pichena, with some inferior MSS., had corrupted into 'notam esse.' The same form of the name is found in Dio (40. 3, 1; 60. 20, 5; 21, 3; 62. 1, 2); in Ptol. (2. 3, 6; 22) *Ταμήσα εἴσχυσις* is read by Müller; the MSS. having *'Ιαμήσα* or some similar word. The better known form 'Tamesis' is taken from Caes. (B. G. 5. 11, 9; 18, 1). The alleged appearance is still more vaguely described in Dio (*οἰκίαι τέ τινες ἐν τῷ Ταμέσᾳ ποταμῷ ὕφυδροι ἑωρῶντο*), and we cannot gather in what way it was imagined to be more startling than the common phenomenon of a shattered image reflected by disturbed water. It is also not clear whether we are to suppose that Tacitus and Dio believed Camulodunum to be on the estuary of the Thames, or whether this term is taken vaguely to include all from the North Foreland to the tidal portion of the Colne, then probably extending to the town (see Introd. p. 142); or whether the story made the prodigy consist in the appearance of such a reflexion, not where it might naturally have been seen, but a long way off.

3. **iam Oceanus,** etc. On the force of 'iam' here, cp. 13. 43, 3, and note. The words of Dio (*καὶ ὁ ὠκεανὸς ὁ μετα τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας αἱματώδ ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πλημμυρίδι ηὐξήθη*) show th the locality meant is that of the Chann It has been suggested that the story m have grown up out of some local appea ance of seaweed or infusoria.

dilabente: so most modern edd after Lips., for the Med. 'sic labent for which others read 'et relabent or 'in sicco labente.' Ritt. thinks 'si a corruption for 'hīc' ('hinc'), a that 'hinc' marks a subsequent ti (cp. 3. 13, 3; 27, 3) to that denot by 'iam.' It is certainly true th 'relabi' (2. 23, 4) or 'labi' (6. 50, 16. 11, 4) would appear more suitab than 'dilabi' to express a tidal ebb.

4. **effigies,** 'the appearance of,' po sibly sand heaps taking what w fancied to be the form of corpses.

Britannis . . . veteranis: so mo recent edd., after Jac. Gron. for the Me 'britanni . . . ueterani,' which could sta with a stop at 'relictae' and comma 'trahebantur.' Others, with Lips., re 'Oceanum,' 'relictas,' and 'traheban For the sense of 'metus' cp. 1. 40, and note, for that of 'trahere,' 1. 62, and note.

7. **iustis,** 'regular': cp. H. 4. 21, etc.

8. **tutela templi.** It is to be suppos that the precinct was an enclosure some strength.

9. **praeduxerunt,** not found els where in Tacitus, but so used in Ca (B. G. 7. 46, 3, etc.) and others.

10. **neque motis,** etc. 'nor were the c men and the women removed and the you men left alone to guard it' (as shor

um, in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugnamque. et victor Britannus Petilio Ceriali legato legionis nonae subsidium adventanti obvius fudit legionem, et quod peditum terfecit: Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis fensus est. qua clade et odiis provinciae, quam avaritia eius bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.

33. At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Lonnium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed pia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. ibi amguus an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia

re been): the negation belongs both 'motis' and to 'restitit,' and the mer word is used for 'remotis,' as in 60, 5, and in Cic. de Off. 3. 19, 76 eros heredes moveat').

. **Petilio Ceriali.** This is the first ntion of this distinguished general, rwards known as in some way related and a partisan of Vespasian (H. 3. 59, tc.), and as sent by him to put down rising of Civilis (H. 4. 68, 1, etc.), subsequently as a legatus of Britain gr. 8, 2: 17, 2). He was cos. suff. bably in 823, A. D. 70, before being t to Germany (as appears to be ered from the confused account in Jos. . 7. 4, 2), and again in 827, A. D. 74; s shown by a military diploma (C. I. iii. 2. p. 852 = Henzen 5418 = Wilm. 5), where his full name is given d. xii k. Iunias, Q. Petillio Ceriale sio Rufo ii, T. Clodio Eprio Mar- ii cos.').

onae, called 'Hispana' (Introd. i. p. 104), quartered under Tiberius Pannonia (1. 23, 6. etc.), and tempor- in Africa (4. 23, 2), afterwards ritain (Introd. p. 131). It is supposed ave been stationed at this time, as wards, at Lindum (Lincoln), and have marched from thence. On opinion as to the site of the battle ntrod. p. 144, 5.

quod peditum. Nipp. thinks it able, from c. 38, 4, that part of nfantry of this legion was absent aul.

evasit in castra, etc. The words nto the mouth of Calgacus (Agr. 31, Brigantes femina duce exurere com, expugnare castra . . . potuere,' are by Mommsen to show that the of this legion was stormed. It is ver possible that 'castra' may be as a loose description of the temple precinct held by the troops at Camulodunum.

5. **qua clade,** causal abl., taken with 'trepidus.'

avaritia eius: so most recent edd., after Ritt., for the Med. 'avaritiae,' for which older edd. generally read 'avaritia' (as abl.). Dio states (62. 2, 1) that he demanded a restoration of the money which Claudius had given to the chief men. Tacitus ignores, and probably disbelieved, the story of the exactions of Seneca (see note on 13. 42, 7).

7. **Londinium.** No earlier mention of London exists. Ptolemy (2. 3, 27) mentions it as one of the towns of the Kantii (see Introd. p. 148, 3); it is the most important centre in the Itinerary, and is also mentioned as 'oppidum Londiniense' in the panegyric of Eumenius (c. 17), and by Ammianus (27, 8). The words of the latter, 'Lundinium (or 'Lundinum') vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit' might be taken (though not necessarily) to imply that it had become by that time a colony. On what is known of Roman London, see Introd. pp. 136, 147; also the references in C. I. L. vii. p. 21; Mr. Roach Smith, in Dict. of Geog. s. v., and Mr. Loftie's work (Historic Town Series, London, 1887). The narrative here shows that it was as yet unwalled, like Camulodunum and Verulamium.

9. **copia,** etc., apparently from Sall. Jug. 47, 2 'frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatuum' (v. l. 'commeatu'). The latter word, however read, would mean 'stores' in Sallust, and is probably best so taken here; the port of London being evidently the great *depôt* where imported goods and those intended for exportation were stored. Some would here take the word, with Lips., in the sense of 'traffic.'

militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii coercita unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. neque fletu lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est, quin daret profectio signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet: si qu inbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hos oppressi sunt. eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit, qu barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uber mum spolianti et defendentibus intutum, laeti praeda et laboru segnes petebant. ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit. neque enim capere a

circumspecta, 'having considered'; so 'vires suas circumspicere' (H. 2. 6, 4), 'vires circumspectabat' (H. 2. 74, 1).

1. **satisque**, etc. Nipp. notes that this clause grammatically depends on 'circumspecto' supplied from the preceding 'circumspecta,' but that the term would be here taken by zeugma, in the sense of 'animadverso.'

2. **fletu et lacrimis**, 'wailing and tears': Nipp. notes these nearly synonymous words as thus joined in Cic. pro Planc. 31, 76 ('lacrimas et fletum') and Ov. M. 2, 340 ('fletus et . . . lacrimas').

4. **et comitantes**, etc.: i.e. 'he would do no more than receive,' etc. Nipp. points out a similar restrictive meaning implied in 13. 4, 3 ('se . . . consulturum').

5. **aut . . . vel**: cp. c. 3, 1, and note.

6. **municipio Verulamio**. On this town, the remains of which closely adjoin St. Albans, see Introd. p. 147. Its site (or, according to some, that of St. Albans) was probably that of the 'oppidum Cassivellauni' of Caes. 5. 21, 2; and it was afterwards the capital of Tasciovanus, father of Cunobelinus, many of whose coins are inscribed as minted there (see Evans, p. 223). Ptolemy (on whose text see Introd. p. 133, 7) gives the name as Οὐρολάνιον, and the Itinerary has 'Verolamum' or 'Verolamium.' On the coins, when the name is given in full, 'Verlamio' is read (Evans, p. 246), 'a form standing to 'Verulamium' as 'Lugdunum' to 'Lugudunum.'

7. **militarium**, substantival, as in 3. 1, 2 (where see note): there seems no reason to read 'militaribus,' with Pich., or some such words as 'militare horreum,' with Madvig (Adv. iii. p. 234). Nipp. notes that Tacitus appears here to correct his account in Agr. 16, 1 ('sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugna praesidiis,' etc.).

8. **intutum** = 'unguarded'; so u of an unfortified place in H. 4. 75 ('castra fossa valloque circumdedit, q temere antea intutis consederat'). T word oftener means 'insecure' or 'd gerous' (1. 38, 3; 2. 42, 3, etc.), a might be so taken here (with 'defend tibus' as 'dativus incommodi').

9. **segnes**: so all recent edd., a Mercer, for the Med. 'insignes': 'segn takes a genit. only here and in 16. 14, and (according to Dr.) in Claudian; the construction is analogous to relative genit. with 'properus' (12. 2) and many other adjectives (Introd v. § 33 e γ). In reading 'laborum' 'aliorum,' Halm. follows Lips.

septuaginta. Dio (62. 1, 1) gi the loss on the Roman side in the wh rebellion at 80,000. It may proba represent almost a complete massa of Romans, Romanised Britons, a Gaulish or other residents, probably great part such traders as are mentio in § 1.

sociorum. Nipp. takes these mean people of other provinces, as Ga but probably the British populat friendly to Rome are also included.

10. **constitit**: cp. 13. 35, 3, and n

capere aut venundare, etc. construction is a choice of difficul and cannot be freed from awkwardn It is perhaps best, with Nipp., to t the infinitives as historical, and supply 'erat' with 'commerciu Otherwise we must take the infinit as depending on 'festinabant,' or rat on the sense of such a verb as 'curaba supplied by zeugma, and must also s pose the notion of such a verb as 'e cere' or 'facere' to be supplied v 'commercium.'

nundare aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula nes cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium ac praerepta interim ione, festinabant.

34. Iam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicensi-anis et e proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia armatorum ant, cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat. de-itque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum, satis gnito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse, e metu insidiarum. igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus, levis cum armatura, conglobatus pro cornibus eques adstitit. at itannorum copiae passim per catervas et turmas exsultabant, anta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo feroci, ut coniuges oque testes victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque inponerent, ie super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.

belli commercium. The expression peated from H. 3. 81, 4, and is taken Vergil, who makes Aeneas thus k of ransom: 'belli commercia Turnus ılit ista prior iam tum Pallante per-:o' (Aen. 10, 552).

ıtibula, 'gibbets,' nearly the same ruces': cp. 1. 61, 6, and note.

tamquam, etc., 'as being (i. e. inced that they were) destined to pay ution, and as having snatched mean-e an opportunity of vengeance.' knew that their day of reckoning d come soon, and desired to avenge wrongs to the utmost while they . Nipp. compares 'poenas dare,' reddere,' and 'supplicium Persas potuisse' (Nep. Ag. 5, 2). 'Red-has also in such phrases the sense taliating' (see 16. 5, 4, and note); itt. can hardly be right in so taking .

'estinabant, transitive, cp. 1. 6, 4, ote.

ıuarta decuma, etc. On the legions ain and their probable headquarters time see Introd. p. 144. By 'vexil-a detachment of the Twentieth is meant (cp. 1. 38, 1, and note), cessarily the 'veterani sub vexillo' l. i. vii. p. 106).

t e proximis: so Put. and edd. lly; Med. has 'et proximis'; vould read 'ex proximis' as an ton. Cp. 'legionarios e praesen-Ubios e proximis' ('the nearest s'), H. 4. 18, 3.

ongredi acie parat. Dio states (c. 8, 1) that he was obliged by want of provisions to fight. The expression 'con-gredi acie' is taken from Liv. 7. 22, 4; Tacitus has also 'congredi proeliis' and 'proelio' (12. 54, 4; Agr. 28, 3).

deligitque locum. There appear to be no clear means of identifying the site of this battle (see Introd. p. 145, 4).

8. **et apertam planitiem esse,** 'and that the plain (that in front of him, the 'campus' of § 4) was all open,' i. e. contained no cover (Nipp.).

9. **frequens ordinibus,** 'in close ranks': for the abl. cp. 'frequentem tectis urbem' (Liv. 1. 9, 9), 'Aegyptus . . . multis (urbibus) frequens' (Pl. N. H. 5. 9, 11, 60). Tacitus uses the word once with genit. (4. 65, 1).

10. **circum,** 'on either side' (cp. 4. 74, 3): for 'pro cornibus' cp. 13. 38, 6, and note.

11. **exsultabant,** 'were prancing': cp. 'feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis' (Verg. Aen. 11, 663). The same idea appears to be expressed by 'volitabant' in 15. 9, 1.

12. **multitudo.** Dio, who at the outbreak reckons the rebels in arms at 120,000 (62. 2, 3), swells them at the final struggle to 230,000 (8, 2), an incredible estimate, even if the women present in such great numbers (c. 36, 1) are counted in.

feroci, 'confident': cp. 1. 3, 4, and note. All recent edd. follow Doed. in thus correcting the Med. 'fero,' which hardly gives the same sense.

13. **plaustrisque inponerent.** The women of the Cimbri accompanied them

35. Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nation accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bell testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confect verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senect quidem aut virginitatem inpollutam relinquant. adesse tan deos iustae vindictae: cecidisse legionem quae proelium ausa s ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. ne strepit quidem et clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus p laturos: si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expender vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri destinatu viverent viri et servirent.

36. Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. qua quam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscel

to battle in similar manner (Plut. Mar. 27, 421). See also the description of German warfare (G. 7, 4).

1. **filias**: cp. c. 31, 3.

2. **accesserat,** so with accus. in 12. 31, 3.

solitum: cp. Agr. 16, 1 ('neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt'). It is doubtful, in spite of the cases of Boudicca and Cartimandua (12. 36, 1), whether this statement can be sustained: see 12. 40, 5; and Rhys, Celt. Brit. 66.

3. **tunc,** answering to 'nunc' in oratio recta, as in 16. 3, 2, etc.: sometimes 'nunc' is retained in oratio obliqua, as in 11. 30, 3.

regnum et opes. With these 'amissa' could be supplied from below; but it is perhaps better to take the words (with Nipp.) in a pregnant sense, with 'ulcisci,' as equivalent to 'iacturam regni et opum' (see Introd. i. v. § 84).

5. **contrectatam** = 'violatam'; so used of persons in Plaut., etc.: cp. the figurative use in 3. 12, 7.

6. **ut non,** etc. 'Corpora' is emphatic, and is further explained by 'ne senectam quidem,' etc. 'Not only our goods are taken but our bodies are outraged, even those of the ages which humanity most respects.' For 'ne,' Med. has 'nec . . . quidem,' a form found in two other places in this MS. (H. 1. 66, 1; 4. 38, 2), and once in the first Med. (4. 35, 3), also in MSS. of Suet. Tib. 21 and 37; and the expression is defended at some length by Pfitzner ('die Annalen,' pp. 145–147), as making the climax more striking; but most re edd. of both authors have altere here.

7. **inpollutam,** in Tacitus only and in 16. 26, 5, elsewhere appar only in Sil. 13, 679.

8. **vindictae,** dative: cp. 4. 7 ('tributo aderant'), and note.

9. **castris occultari,** alluding t Second legion (c. 37, 6), possibly al the rest of the Twentieth (c. 34, 1) an remains of the Ninth (c. 32, 6).

fugam circumspicere, 'were w ing for a chance of flight'; so T uses 'circumspectare fugam' (H. 3 2), or 'initium erumpendi' (H. 1 2). This is assumed to be the c tion of the force before them.

10. **milium**: so all edd. after Lip Med. 'militum.'

11. **copias.** Ritt. is perhaps rig thinking this a tautologous expre with 'armatorum' and an error c similation to 'causas,' and in re 'copiam.'

secum expenderent, 'reflect u cp. 16. 26, 8. They should conside similar outrages would always recu that they would not always have the means of resistance.

12. **vel,** for 'aut': cp. c. 61, 6; and several instances of the appa arbitrary interchange of these pa collected by Dr. (Synt. und Stil, § some of which may perhaps be expl as in c. 3, 1. See also 13. 41, 3 note.

spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas: plus illic minarum quam iuventutis aspici. inbelles inermes cessuros atim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium totiens fusi adgnovisnt. etiam in multis legionibus paucos, qui proelia profligarent; oriaeque eorum accessurum quod modica manus universi exerus famam adipiscerentur. conferti tantum et pilis emissis, st umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent, aedae inmemores: parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura. is lor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedit vetus miles et multa proeliorum experientia, ut certus even- Suetonius daret pugnae signum.

37. Ac primum legio gradu inmota et angustias loci pro nimento retinens, postquam *in* propius suggressos hostis certo

sonores, one of the poetical words introduced into prose in the Annals 1. 65, 1, and note, 4. 48, 4), found wards in Apuleius. The discordant ds of the British are contrasted with silence of the Romans in Dio, 62. .

ubi . . . adgnovissent, apparently miniscence of Liv. 3. 67, 5 ('toties fugatique . . . et se et vos novere').

ncentium, substantively ('their ual conquerors'); so 'praesidentium' , 4), 'praecipientium' (Dial. 28, 2), etc.

etiam in multis, etc., 'even where legions are present, those soldiers ew,' etc. Madvig's objection (Adv. . 234), that the words convey a al reproach, and hardly meet the of the case, seems to weigh too ly the expressions which might be on such an occasion.

oelia profligarent, 'gave the ve impulse to battles': cp. 'profliat bellum Iudaicum' (H. 2. 4, 5); Cic. ad Fam. 12. 30, 2, and the use of nittere ac profligare bellum, commis- e profligatum conficere,' in Liv. 21. 40, hich Florus follows (1. 31) in markree stages of the Punic wars ('comm,' 'profligatum,' 'confectum').

et pilis emissis, post, etc. Nipp. that 'et' couples 'conferti' to the of the following words down to is'; the sentence being equivalent postquam pila emisissent.'

ontinuarent, 'keep up incessantly' 12, 4; 13. 53, 1, etc.): 'stragem' to 'umbonibus,' 'caedem' to is.'

8. **cessura**; so 'praeda victoribus cessit' (13. 39, 7).

9. **intorquenda**, sc. 'in hostem.' This sense of the word (used here alone by Tacitus) is chiefly poetical; and the usual dat. or accus. with 'in' is here implied.

10. **multa . . . experientia**, abl. of quality.

certus eventus: so most edd., after Rhen., for the Med. 'eventu.' This adj. is used with a genit. in 1. 27, 3; 4. 34, 2; 12. 3, 2, etc. The reading of Ritt., 'de eventu,' is not in accordance with the usage of Tacitus in this phrase, and the homoeoteleuton, which he thinks intolerable, is not more so than many others (see 1. 24, 1, and note).

12. **primum**, in contrast to 'postquam.'

gradu, 'position': cp. 1. 64, 2, and note.

angustias loci: cp. 'locum artis faucibus' (c. 34, 2).

13. **in propius suggressos hostis**: so Halm, Or., Dr., after Doed. for the Med. 'propius suggressus hostis,' which Ritt. retains and defends by taking 'exhauserat' to mean that they had received upon themselves all the Roman spears discharged at them with a steady aim ('certo iactu' being thus abl. of quality). But it is hardly possible to suppose that Tacitus would have conveyed this meaning by so misleading an expression, and the analogy of 'pericula exhaurire' (H. 4. 32, 3) is not very strong. Nipp. prefers the suggestion of Lips. 'propius suggressis hostibus,' which departs somewhat further from the MS. Dio appears to intend to

iactu tela exhauserat, velut cuneo erupit. idem auxiliar impetus; et eques protentis hastis perfringit quod obvium validum erat. ceteri terga praebuere, difficili effugio, quia cumiecta vehicula saepserant abitus. et miles ne mulie quidem neci temperabat, confixaque telis etiam iumenta porum cumulum auxerant. clara et antiquis victoriis pa die laus parta: quippe sunt qui paulo minus quam octog milia Britannorum cecidisse tradant, militum quadringentis fe interfectis nec multo amplius vulneratis. Boudicca vitam neno finivit. et Poenius Postumus praefectus castrorum cundae legionis, cognitis quartadecumanorum vicensimanor que prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam frauda abnueratque contra ritum militiae iussa ducis, se ipse gl transegit.

38. Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus hal est ad reliqua belli perpetranda. auxitque copias Caesar m ex Germania duobus legionariorum milibus, octo auxilia cohortibus ac mille equitibus, quorum adventu nonani legio

give a similar description in the words (62. 12, 1) συνῆλθον . . . μέχρις οὗ ἐς ἀκοντίου βολὴν ἀφίκοντο. On the use of 'suggredior' cp. 13. 57, 6, and note.

1. **cuneo**, abl. of manner. This movement appears to have broken through the British centre, like a wedge.

3. **ceteri**, apparently opposed to 'quod obvium et validum.'

terga praebuere. Dr. notes this phrase for 'terga dare' as ἅπ. εἰρ. (as is also 'terga praestare' in Agr. 37, 3). It is however nearly similar to Ov. M. 10, 706 ('quae non terga fugae, sed pugnae pectora praebent'). This use of 'abitus' for 'an outlet,' is also noted as found elsewhere only in Verg. Aen. 9, 379 ('omnemque abitum custode coronant').

6. **auxerant.** The pluperf. expresses what had come to pass at a time soon after that spoken of: cp. 'auxerant consternationem' (1. 63, 3), 'dein . . . aboleverat' (H. 2. 5, 3). The time is different from that marked by 'saepserant.'

7. **octoginta milia.** Such numbers are generally guesswork, and the resemblance to the estimated previous Roman loss (see on c. 38, 5) is suspicious. Nipp. thinks 'octo milia' should be read. But there are instances of such carnage inflicted by a disciplined army on a defeated and disorganised barbarian mass, such as the Teutons and Cimbri, Gauls in the time of Caesar.

9. **veneno.** Dio (62. 12, 6) sa died of disease.

10. **Poenius.** Pfitzn. reads 'Ho as a name found in inscriptions (see 692 and a doubtful one in C. I. 744).

praefectus castrorum: the tus legionis' must have been abser the 'praefectus' may have in such commanded the legion when it separate quarters. The distinc 'praefectus castrorum legionis' see be here first mentioned, but is regula the time of Domitian (see on 1. 20,

secundae. This legion was ably at its headquarters at Isca S (see on 12. 32, 4), whence it shoul joined Suetonius on his march.

13. **ipse**: so recent edd., after R for Med. 'ipsum.'

15. **sub pellibus**: cp. 13. 35, 5

17. **octo auxiliarium cohortes.** thinks that these were the eight Ba cohorts of H. 1. 59, 2; it being stated that they were attached Fourteenth legion; also in H. 4. 12 service of Batavians in Britain is no

18. **nonani**, the legion cut to under Cerialis (c. 32, 6). It wa weak in the time of Agricola (Agr.

lite suppleti sunt. cohortes alaeque novis hibernaculis locatae, odque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat, igni atque ro vastatum. sed nihil aeque quam fames adfligebat serendis gibus incuriosos, et omni aetate ad bellum versa, dum nostros nmeatus sibi destinant. gentesque praeferoces tardius ad cem inclinabant, quia Iulius Classicianus successor Cato missus Suetonio discors bonum publicum privatis simultatibus imliebat disperseratque novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine stili ira et superbia victoris clementer deditis consulturum. ıul in urbem mandabat, nullum proeliorum finem exspectarent, i succederetur Suetonio, cuius adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera fortunam referebat.

39. Igitur ad spectandum Britanniae statum missus est e

was annihilated in the time of rian (see Momms. Hist. v. 171; Eng. ısl. i. p. 188).

novis hibernaculis, abl. of place c. 10, 5; Introd. i. v. § 25): 'novis' d mean positions that had not been ıanently occupied before (see Introd. 6).

vastatum: so Halm and Nipp. after for the Med. 'vastatur,' to suit the ding tenses. For the use of 'vastare' ople cp. c. 23, 4, and note.

hil aeque quam: cp. 2. 52, 5, ıote.

incuriosos, so used with dative of on in H. 2. 17, 1 ('melioribus incus'), elsewhere with genit. (e. g. 2. 88, 32, 3; 15. 31, 1, etc.) or absol. H. 1. 34, 2, etc.).

adding a special to the general n, that even the old had not been t home to till the fields.

m . . . destinant. This appears long to the latter clause only; the r describing their general habit. . less well takes it with both clauses.

gentesque. We should have ex- l 'gentes tamen,' as the preceding had rather given reason why they l sue for peace than why they l not. Nipp. thinks that some words otive of their stubbornness must have ed out; but Jacob aptly compares ınsitional or quasi-adversative force e,' as equivalent to 'attamen,' in 2. ('nec Piso moratus ultra naves moderabaturque cursui'). The 'et' with some adversative force is common (cp. c. 65, 2; 1. 13, 2, te).

6. **successor Cato**: cp. c. 32, 7. The procurator was apt to be at variance with the legatus (see Agr. 9, 5), and was often intended to be a check on him.

7. **bonum**, substantival; so used with 'publicum' in Plaut., Sall., Liv., etc. Cp. 'egregium publicum' (3. 70, 4).

8. **disperseratque** (sc. 'per Britanniam'): cp. H. 2. 1, 3. This use and the full expression 'dispergere rumores' (cp. 4. 24, 1, and note), appear to be peculiar to Tacitus.

10. **in urbem mandabat.** These messages seem to have been sent to the government, which then took further means of testing their truth (c. 39, 1).

proeliorum: so most edd. after Lips. for the Med. 'proelio,' which can hardly be used in the singular for 'bello.'

11. **pravitati . . . ad fortunam.** The interchange of a dat. and an accus. with prep. is found with 'exercebat' in 15. 48, 3, with 'promptum' in 4. 46, 4, and in several other instances collected by Dr. (Synt. und Stil, § 105); but the dat. with 'referre' in this sense seems unprecedented. The recurrence of 'ipsius' again after 'fortunam' in Med. is perhaps best treated by Halm, Nipp., and Dr., after Ern., as an error of repetition. Others, thinking some word needed to balance the previous 'ipsius,' treat it as a corruption of 'reipublicae' (after Puteol.), 'imperii' (after Jac. Gron.), or 'imperatoris' (after Sirker). The whole sentence seems a reminiscence of Sall. Fr. H. 2. 30 D, 36 K, 66 G ('adversa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam in temeritatem declinando').

libertis Polyclitus, magna Neronis spe posse auctoritate eius n modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed rebelles barbarum animos pace conponi. nec defuit Polyclit quo minus ingenti agmine Italiae Galliaeque gravis, postqua Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis inc deret. sed hostibus inrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tu libertate nondum cognita libertinorum potentia erat; miraba turque quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servit oboedirent. cuncta tamen ad imperatorem in mollius relat detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod postea pauc

1. **Polyclitus.** Nothing seems to be known of the previous history of this freedman; but his rapacity is noted in H. 1. 37, 8; 2. 95, 4; Plin. Epp. 6. 31, 9; and appears chiefly to have been exercised when he was left in Rome with Helius during Nero's absence in Greece (Dio, 63. 12, 3).

3. **barbarum,** the original Med. text, with a correction to 'barbarorum'; which nearly all edd. have adopted, altering also the similar reading in 15. 25, 1. Wölfflin defends the text (Philol. xxv. 133), noting the occurrence of this form in Cic. and in Nep. Milt. 2, 1, and noticing an apparent desire to avoid the repetition of 'r' in similar forms, as 'fabrum,' 'liberum,' 'posterum' (3. 72, 2), etc.

pace. This abl. has to be distinguished from the preceding instrumental abl. 'auctoritate,' and appears rather to complete the idea of 'conponi' ('might be quieted in a state of peace'). Nipp.'s reference to 'contumacia et odiis' (1. 53, 5) seems scarcely apposite.

4. **quo minus,** for 'quin': cp. 1. 21, 4, and note; also the opposite use noted on c. 29, 1.

ingenti agmine, etc. 'burdening Italy and Gaul with his enormous train.' The prodigious example set by Nero of luxury in travelling equipage (see Friedl. ii. p. 29) appears from Seneca's account (Ep. 123, 7) to have infected society in general.

5. **terribilis,** 'inspiring fear,' by the evidence of his high position and influence with the emperor.

6. **inrisui fuit:** cp. H. 1. 7, 5; also 'derisui' (Agr. 39, 2), 'deridiculo' (3. 57, 3), and other instances of this dat. (Introd. i. v. § 23).

flagrante adhuc, etc. A similar contrast to Roman custom, in respect of the contrast between the freeman and the freedman, is noted among most of Germans (G. 25, 3). A similar m phorical use of 'flagrare' is noted w 'invidia' (13. 4, 2), 'gratia' (11. 29, 1),

8. **confector.** This can hardly taken with both 'dux' and 'exercit and yet we should expect both to referred to. It would seem that, as in parallel passage, 'antequam Caesar exercitumque reducem videre' (1. 70, stress is laid on Caesar, so in this pl the glory of victory may be considered rest mainly on the army, and the gen is somewhat in the background.

9. **cuncta tamen,** etc. The cont implied by 'tamen' appears to be t notwithstanding both his formidable tude to the general and the army and disdain with which the subjects received him, which might have led h to exaggerate the bitterness caused by measures taken by the governor, report to the emperor softened d matters, as compared with that of Cla cianus, and did not urge the immedi recall of Suetonius. For the use of mollius' cp. 'in deterius' (13. 14, 1) other such expressions.

10. **detentusque rebus gerundis** (tive of purpose), 'was kept at his post the conduct of affairs' (i. e. for the ordir duties of government): cp. 'minus tr nium in ea legatione detentus' (Agr. 9, In these passages the usual sense reluctant detention does not seem to implied. The interpretation of Do who takes 'detentus' to mean 'pr bitus' and 'rebus gerundis' as abl., is borne out by the reference to Plaut. P 1. 2, 190 ('detinet nos de nostro negoti and Madvig, who takes this to be sense of the passage (Adv. ii. p. 554 clearly consistent in considering it ne sary to read 'a rebus gerundis.'

quod postea, etc. These words

aves in litore remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante ello tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui iam consulatu oierat, iubetur. is non inritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum acis nomen segni otio imposuit.

40. Eodem anno Romae insignia scelera, alterum senatoris, rvili alterum audacia, admissa sunt. Domitius Balbus erat aetorius, simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis onoxius. ei propinquus Valerius Fabianus, capessendis honoribus destinatus, subdidit testamentum ascitis Vinicio Rufino et erentio Lentino equitibus Romanis. illi Antonium Primum Asinium Marcellum sociaverant. Antonius audacia prompts, Marcellus Asinio Pollione proavo clarus neque morum

arated from the preceding, and taken sely with 'iubetur.' He was not supered there and then; but soon afterwards rifling disaster was made the occasion this to be done. We should certly expect some disjunctive or transinal particle before 'quod'; but there d not be any words lost, as Ritt. nks; this being apparently one of the es in which Tacitus has sacrificed spicuity to conciseness. In reading ostea' for the Med. 'post,' Halm is ported by Nipp. and Dr. Others take ost' adverbially, as in 15. 24, 2, etc.; Nipp. points out that it would hardly likely to be so used where the close aposition of an accus. would naturally gest that it was a prep.

. **tamquam durante bello**: i. e. the of some ships, probably by some itical attack, was taken as evidence , after all, the state of war still existed, that Suetonius was not capable of oring peace. In Agr. 16, 2, his erity is assigned as the true cause for supersession.

. **Petronio Turpiliano**: cp. c. 29, 1. inscription (C. I. L. vi. i. 597) 'Kal. tis P. Calvisio Rusone, L. Caesennio o cos.,' would show that he had given e to the former early in the year.

non inritato, etc. The narrative in . 16, 3 says of him, 'delictis hostium is, eoque paenitentiae mitior, comtis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus Trebellio imo provinciam tradidit.' The date he return of Petronius to Rome is l by the mention of him in 15. 72, 2, by his appointment as 'curator rum' in 816, 817, A. D. 63, 64 (Front. 102).

senatoris. The term appears to be used loosely (probably to point the contrast to 'servili audacia'), as the principal culprit, Fabianus, who must be here referred to, is described as 'capessendis honoribus destinatus,' and would thus seem to have been in the same position as Julius Montanus (see 13. 25, 2, and note). It is however possible in both these cases that 'honores' may be understood of higher offices only, and that they had been already quaestors and had entered the senate (cp. 13. 29, 2, and note).

6. **servili audacia**: see c. 42, 1. The construction is varied from the genit. 'senatoris' to this instrumental abl.

erat, 'there was': cp. 12. 44, 3, and note.

7. **simul . . . simul.** Dr. notes this coordination as appearing here alone in the Annals, though common in the earlier works of Tacitus and in Livy.

senecta. This and the other ablatives are causal.

9. **Vinicio Rufino.** The existence of this family name is supported by an inscription found at Naples (cited by Orelli) 'D. M. Viniciae, A. f. Rufinae.'

10. **Antonium Primum**, afterwards the famous partisan of Vespasian. His character is fully described in H. 2. 86, 2–3.

11. **Asinium Marcellum**, consul in 807, A. D. 54: see 12. 64, 1. He appears to have derived his cognomen, probably by adoption, from the orator Aeserninus Marcellus (3. 11, 2), and must have been a son of M. Asinius Agrippa (4. 34, 1), or of some other son of Asinius Gallus, who was himself a son of Pollio (1. 12, 2).

audacia promptus: cp. 1. 57, 1 and note.

89. **clarus.** Nipp. points out that 'erat'

spernendus habebatur, nisi quod paupertatem praecipuu malorum credebat. igitur Fabianus tabulas sociis quos mem ravi et aliis minus inlustribus obsignat. quod apud patr convictum, et Fabianus Antoniusque cum Rufino et Terent lege Cornelia damnantur. Marcellum memoria maiorum preces Caesaris poenae magis quam infamiae exemere.

41. Perculit is dies Pompeium quoque Aelianum, iuvene quaestorium, tamquam flagitiorum Fabiani gnarum, eique Ital et Hispania, in qua ortus erat, interdictum est. pari ignomin Valerius Ponticus adficitur, quod reos, ne apud praefectum urb

is supplied from 'habebatur,' as 'esse' from 'haberi' in H. 4. 14, 4; the expression 'clarus habebatur' (cp. Agr. 18, 6, etc.) being used rather of distinction personally acquired than inherited.

morum. This genit. with 'spernendus' is ἅπ. εἰρ., but similar to 'morum diversus' (c. 19), and analogous to many others (see Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ).

2. **tabulas sociis.** I have followed Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'tabulas iis' (corrected by a later hand to 'tabulariis'). Many edd. retain the Med. text; but 'iis' as a dative seems here to have no force. Ritt. alters 'iis' to 'consciis,' which is somewhat more difficult to extract from the Med. text. Halm, Or., and Dr., read 'ascitis,' which explains the loss of the first syllable; but we should hardly expect a word occurring a few lines above to be so soon repeated, and it would be referred above to only two persons and here to four.

3. **aliis.** We may suppose these others to have been three in number; the attestation of seven Roman citizens being requisite to a citizen's will: see Gaius 2. 119, 147; Just. Inst. 2. 10, 3.

4. **convictum,** 'was proved'; so in 3. 13, 2.

5. **lege Cornelia,** a law of Sulla, enacted in 673, B.C. 81, against forgery or other falsification of wills or suppression of a true will. The penalty was deportation to an island (with complete forfeiture of property) for grave cases, and exile, relegation, or expulsion from the senate, for accessory crimes. See Paul. Sent. Rec. 4. 7, 1; 5. 15, 5; and Marcian in Dig. 48. 10, 1. Antonius suffered only the minor penalty of expulsion from the senate, and was restored and placed in command of a legion by Galba (H. 2. 86, 2). He is however called 'exul,' perhaps by rhetorical exaggeration, in H. 3. 13, 5.

7. **Perculit is dies.** For other su personifications see Introd. i. v. § Orelli notes here the reminiscence of L 42. 67, 1 ('hic dies . . . Persea perculit

iuvenem quaestorium. He w thus a senator, but of the lowest rank.

8. **tamquam.** It is not necessary suppose this to be a nominal or fictitio charge (see Introd. i. v. § 67).

9. **Hispania.** His name would sh that his family had received citizensh when Spain was held by Cn. Pompeius

pari ignominia. Probably exc sion from Italy alone is here meant.

10. **reos.** It is generally assumed th these are the 'minus inlustres' involv in the same case (c. 40, 4), and it perhaps best so to understand. But should rather have expected Tacitus say so more distinctly; nor can there any doubt that the senate, as representi the old consular jurisdiction, was com petent to try, and did at times try perso below senatorial or equestrian rank (s Introd. i. vi. p. 78, n. 16); and it as possible that Tacitus did not care tell us what became of them, as th they were left for trial to other tribuna He may therefore be here speaking persons under some other charge.

apud praefectum urbis. The jur diction of this office had been original restricted to ordinary police cases an criminals of the lowest rank (see 6. 11, and notes). It had now no doubt tak some steps towards the great extensio which it ultimately received (see note o 13. 26, 3). It seems still to have been far regarded as an excrescence, that th attempt to forestall other accusers fro bringing a case before the praefect, b taking preliminary steps to bring it befo the praetor, could be defended by stri legality ('specie legum'). That su collisions were not unfrequent, appea

;uerentur, ad praetorem detulisset, interim specie legum, mox ıevaricando ultionem elusurus. additur senatus consulto, qui em operam emptitasset vendidissetve, perinde poena teneretur publico iudicio calumniae condemnatus.

42. Haud multo post praefectum urbis Pedanium Secundum vus ipsius interfecit, seu negata libertate, cui pretium pepi- rat, sive amore exoleti incensus et dominum aemulum non erans. ceterum cum vetere ex more familiam omnem, quae

ı the praise bestowed by Statius (Sylv. , 47) on the praefect Rutilius Gallicus ddere iura foro nec proturbare cu- s'). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1065.

interim, 'for awhile': cp. 1. 4, 4, note. It is to be inferred that the diction of the praetor was less sum- y, and more hampered by legal nicalities, than that of the praefect. hese means he would gain time for ısion with the other side ('praevari- o'), on which see 11. 5, 2, and note. noteworthy that the senate appears to punish a crime not actually com- ed, but presumed to be intended.

additur senatus consulto. It ly seems possible that Ritt. can be : in taking the latter word as abl. assuming it to be a dat., the com- ators may not be right in assuming the decree to which this addition made was that by which the penalty inflicted on Ponticus; the term for judicial sentences being elsewhere senatus consulta' but 'decreta' (c. ; 3. 51, 3). It is possible that Tacitus is to say that a clause suggested by this al offence was added to a general de- aking other precautions against will- ry. That there was such a decree be gathered from the account of ovisions in Suet. Ner. 17, 'adversus ios tum primum repertum, ne tabulae pertusae ac ter lino per foramina to obsignarentur; cautum ut testa- is primae duae cerae, testatorum nomine inscripto, vacuae signaturis derentur, ac ne qui alieni testamenti or legatum sibi ascriberet.' The ıl enactment mentioned by Tacitus gs to what is known as the 'Senatus- ltum Turpilianum' (Dig. 48. 16), nust therefore have been passed Petronius was still consul (see c. 29, , 4).

alem operam, that of frustrating a e by such means.

emptitasset, a verb used here alone by Tacitus and otherwise very rare.

4. **publico iudicio**, etc., 'as if con- victed of calumny in a criminal cause.' In legal phraseology (Dig. l. l. § 1 and 3), 'calumniari' was to bring a false charge, 'praevaricari,' to suppress a true one, 'tergiversari,' to abandon a charge with- out just cause. The old penalty for 'calumnia' appears to have been brand- ing with the letter 'K' (see Cic. Rosc. Amer. 20, 57), and may probably have been imposed by the 'Lex Remmia' (of uncertain date, mentioned in Cic. l. l.; Dig. 22. 5, 13). In later times it appears to have been, in a civil cause, a fine of from one tenth to one fourth, in some cases one third, of the 'aestimatio litis' (Gaius 4. § 175), and in criminal processes exile or relegation or loss of rank (Paul. Rec. Sent. 5. 4, 11).

5. **Pedanium Secundum**, cos. suff. with Palpellius Hister in 796, A. D. 43 (see note on 12. 29, 2). The praef. urbis was always a senator of consular rank (6. 11, 3).

6. **cui pretium pepigerat**: for the verb cp. c. 31, 4. Slaves were allowed to accumulate a sum from their 'peculium' to purchase their freedom: cp. 'peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant' (Sen. Ep. 80, 4); also Plaut. Rud. 4. 2, 23; Verg. Ecl. 1, 33, etc. But until later times the slave had no remedy at law if this compact was broken.

7. **incensus**: so all recent edd. after Pich., for the Med. 'infensus,' which would destroy the point of the following words.

et . . . non: see note on 1. 38, 4.

8. **vetere ex more.** That such a de- cree existed in republican times is implied by a letter of Ser. Sulpicius to Cicero (ad Fam. 4. 12, 3) on the death of Marcellus. On the increased stringency of subsequent laws see 13. 32, 1, and note.

sub eodem tecto mansitaverat, ad supplicium agi oporter concursu plebis, quae tot innoxios protegebat, usque ad sec tionem ventum est senatusque *obsessus*, in quo ipso erant stud nimiam severitatem aspernantium, pluribus nihil mutandu censentibus. ex quis C. Cassius sententiae loco in hunc modu disseruit :

43. 'Saepe numero, patres conscripti, in hoc ordine interf cum contra instituta et leges maiorum nova senatus decre postularentur; neque sum adversatus, non quia dubitarem, sup omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et qu converterentur *in* deterius mutari, sed ne nimio amore antiq moris studium meum extollere viderer. simul quidquid hoc nobis auctoritatis est, crebris contradictionibus destruendum n existimabam, ut maneret integrum, si quando res publica co siliis eguisset. quod hodie evenit, consulari viro domi su interfecto per insidias serviles, quas nemo prohibuit aut prodi quamvis nondum concusso senatus consulto, quod suppliciu

1. **mansitaverat**: cp. 13. 44, 7, and note.

3. **senatusque obsessus.** Halm, Or. and Dr. follow F. Jacob in inserting the latter word. Heraeus prefers to insert 'vocatus,' as a word more likely to have been here lost. Most others follow Lips. in reading 'senatuque in ipso erant.'

4. **pluribus,** 'the majority,' as in c. 27, 3, etc.

5. **C. Cassius,** the famous jurist, on whom see 12. 12, 1, etc.

sententiae loco, 'when his turn for speaking came'; so in 2. 33, 2; 37, 3: cp. 'ubi ad Helvidium Priscum . . . ventum' (H. 4. 4, 5). An instance of a person claiming to speak before his turn on an urgent matter is given in 12. 5, 4; and the rules of procedure are shown more fully in Plin. Ep. 9. 13.

11. **in deterius.** The prep. is absent in Med., but inserted, from G., in nearly all editions: cp. 3. 34, 2, and note.

antiqui moris, 'of ancient usage': cp. 'vetus mos' (3. 29, 2).

12. **studium,** 'my pursuit,' that of jurisprudence, and the antiquarian lore involved in it. The sentence appears to show traces of Sall. Iug. 4, 2 ('ne quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere').

quidquid hoc, etc., 'whatever this authority which I have may be': cp. 'quidquid illud et qualecunque' (c. 2). 'Hoc auctoritatis' is a modest pression for 'haec auctoritas,' as 'si q est in me ingenii (Cic. Arch. 1. 1). 'N or 'nobis,' when used for the singul are often thus associated with a si verb (as in Agr. 43, 2, etc.), sometin even coupled to a sing. participle, as ' sente nobis' (Ter. Eun. 4. 3, 7).

13. **contradictionibus,** here used the act of contradiction, more commo in a judicial sense of 'replications' (Qui etc.), and hence perhaps put here as expression appropriate to a jurist.

destruendum, so used figurativ in 2. 63, 4; 4. 18, 2; H. 1. 6, 1; Liv. 3, 5, etc.

14. **si quando,** etc., i. e. if a question vital importance occurred.

15. **evenit**: so most edd., after G., the Med. 'venit'; which Nipp. and R retain as a simple for compound; which it would be a somewhat harsl instance than the references given by former to 12. 32, 5, etc.

consulari viro: see above, § 1.

17. **senatus consulto.** The refere does not seem to be strictly to the re decree (13. 32, 1), but to the 'vetus m (c. 42, 1) presupposed and exten by it. In former editions of Ni it was suggested that some words reference to this older rule had dropp out.

i familiae minitabatur. decernite hercule inpunitatem, ut em dignitas sua defendat, cum praefectura urbis non pro-rit? quem numerus servorum tueatur, cum Pedanium cundum quadringenti non protexerint? cui familia opem at, quae ne in metu quidem pericula nostra advertit? an, ut idam fingere non erubescunt, iniurias suas ultus est interfector, ia de paterna pecunia transegerat aut avitum mancipium rahebatur? pronuntiemus ultro dominum iure caesum eri.

44. Libet argumenta conquirere in eo quod sapientioribus iberatum est? sed et si nunc primum statuendum habere-is, creditisne servum interficiendi domini animum sumpsisse,

. **ut quem,** etc. In the whole of passage all editors are obliged more ess to depart from the Med. text; ch Nipp. appears on the whole to e best restored, by taking 'quem' and i' throughout as interrogatives de-ding on the consequential 'ut,' and ıging 'tuebitur' to 'tueatur.' The her alteration of 'cui praefectus . . . uit' to 'cum praefectura . . . pro-it' dates from the edition of Put., and been followed by most edd. The ds will thus mean 'vote, in heaven's ie, for their impunity, with the result who is to be defended by his rank . that no one can be) when the office ty praefect has been unavailing to its essor'? 'that who is to be protected he number of his slaves'? etc. In-ces of such construction are noted in Eun. 3. 5, 25 ('quid ut . . . caperes modi'?); Cic. pro Font. 10, 22 ('iu-malitis? quid ut secuti esse vide-ni'?); Liv. 44. 39, 5 ('dimicassemus; ıo victores nos reciperemus'?). Halm ws those who alter 'ut' to 'at,' thus ning the Med. 'tuebitur,' but altering endat' to 'defendet,' and 'ferat' to t.' He also follows Andresen (keep-otherwise to the text of Puteol.) in ing 'praefecto,' which seems less y than 'praefectura' to have been ıpted to 'praefectus.' Ritt. makes pronouns throughout indefinite, not rogative, and reads 'cui praefectura profuit'; others less well place a full at 'profuerit,' taking the first 'quem' ndefinite, followed by 'quem . . . tur' and 'cui . . . feret,' as interro-e sentences.

quadringenti. On the number of Roman slaves see c. 44, 5, and other evidence given in Introd. i. vii. p. 90; Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 123; Friedländer, Sitteng. iii. 125.

5. **in metu,** when they have fear of punishment hanging over them.

advertit, 'pays attention to' (= 'animadvertit'): cp. 4. 54, 2, and note; 13. 54, 5; 15. 30, 1, etc. Many old edd. read, with some inferior MSS., 'avertit.'

6. **iniurias suas**: see the motives suggested in c. 42, 1. These are here ironically alluded to in the phrases 'de paterna pecunia,' 'mancipium avitum,' etc. By strict law, a slave could sustain no injuries, had no parentage, could neither inherit nor hold property, could claim no rights, make no contracts ('transigere').

8. **ultro,** etc., 'let us go further and say' (cp. 3. 36, 1).

10. **Libet,** etc., ironical, 'would you question the decision of your wisers'? On the absence of an interrogative particle cp. 2. 15, 4, and note.

11. **statuendum haberemus.** Dr. notes that Tacitus and other writers of the silver age use this and similar forms where Cic. has 'habeo dicere,' 'scribere,' etc.

12. **creditisne,** etc., i. e. 'can you suppose that he kept all knowledge of his design from his fellow slaves'?

animum sumpsisse, 'formed a resolution': cp. 'animum ex eventu sumpturi' (H. 1. 27, 5). The reading is that of most edd. and an inferior MS. for Med. 'insumpsisse,' which Or. retains, taking it to mean 'in se sumpsisse,' and referring to 6. 32, 4 (where again 'sumit' is generally read), and Stat. Theb. 12. 643 ('dignas insumite mentes Coeptibus'),

ut non vox minax excideret, nihil per temeritatem proloq retur? sane consilium occultavit, telum inter ignaros parav num excubias transire, cubiculi fores recludere, lumen infer caedem patrare *poterat* omnibus nesciis? multa sceleris indi praeveniunt: servi si prodant, possumus singuli inter plures, t inter anxios, postremo, si pereundum sit, non inulti inter nocen agere. suspecta maioribus nostris fuerunt ingenia servoru etiam cum in agris aut domibus isdem nascerentur caritatemq dominorum statim acciperent. postquam vero nationes in far

which is perhaps hardly parallel in meaning. Ritt. reads 'ita sumpsisse.'

2. **sane**, concessive, 'even grant that he concealed his design.'

occultavit, probably the correct Med. text (see Halm not. crit.), which some read as 'occuluit'; but the latter verb (as Nipp. shows) is used by Tacitus only in pres. and imperf.: cp. 1. 11, 4; 3. 16, 2, etc.; also note on 16. 1, 2.

3. **excubias**, the slaves guarding the sleeping-chamber: cp. Sil. 1, 66 ('famuli . . . ad limina'); App. B. C. 2, 99, etc.

4. **poterat**. Nipp. and Dr. follow Halm in the insertion of this word, which may have dropped out after 'patrare.' Ritt. inserts 'occepit' (cp. H. 2. 16, 4); most others follow the correction of a later hand in Med. by which all four infinitives are made imperf. subjunct.

5. **praeveniunt**, 'precede' (the crime); so used absol. in Liv. 22. 24, 6 ('hostis . . . praeventurus erat'); 24. 21, 5 ('praevenerat . . . fama'); Ov. F. 5, 548 ('Lucifero praeveniente'). Some remove the stop so as to make 'servi' the subject, but they would hardly be said 'praevenire indicia.' The point is that slaves must always get some knowledge of the coming crime, and can betray it if they choose.

servi si prodant, etc. This passage is discussed by Nipp., by Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 554), and by Joh. Müller (Beitr. 4. p. 30). If the text is sound, it must be supposed that so much has been sacrificed to conciseness as to make the words seem ambiguous, if not contradictory; the point which really had to be shown being, not that we are safe if slaves betray a plot against us (which is obvious), but that the terror of the old law gives us some security that they will do so. The general sense might be taken to be that if the law is left in full force we can live isolated among numbers, safe, if they disclose such evidence of an pending crime as they become aware trusting that their fears will make th do so, and knowing that, if all are gu of concealment and we have to perish, shall not die unavenged. But it does appear possible to get this satisfacto out of the words. It seems extrem forced to understand 'si pereundum (with Dr.) of the slaves, as an antith to 'servi si prodant'; yet if 'nobis' supplied with it, there is on any strict terpretation a contradiction in terms tween 'pereundum sit' and 'agere' (live'). The emendation of Nipp., v by a combined transposition and alte tion (the latter in part previously s gested by Madvig) reads 'servis si pe undum sit ni prodant,' removes the d culty, but is somewhat violent. 'In nocentes' appears not quite to resem the corresponding clauses, but to h the force of 'si nocentes fuerint,' or abl. abs.: cp. 1. 50, 7, and note.

6. **anxios**, either anxious lest so unknown plot against their master sho involve them in destruction, or each fear lest another should forestall him disclosure.

7. **suspecta**. Seneca quotes a prov (Ep. 47, 5) 'totidem hostes, quot servi

8. **etiam cum**, etc. In old househo most or all of the slaves were 'vernac so Nepos after describing the househ of Atticus (13, 4), says 'neque tan horum quemquam nisi domi natum habuit.'

9. **dominorum** = 'in dominos': cp 19, 1, and note.

nationes. This is to be und stood of their vast number, and m especially of their various origin: 'familiarum numerum et nationes' 53, 5, and note, where their nationali are instanced); also 'agmina exoletor per nationes coloresque descripta' (S

habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla sunt, ıluviem istam non nisi metu coërcueris. at quidam insontes ːibunt. nam et ex fuso exercitu cum decumus quisque fusti itur, etiam strenui sortiuntur. habet aliquid ex iniquo omne gnum exemplum, quod contra singulos utilitate publica re- ıditur.'

45. Sententiae Cassii ut nemo unus contra ire ausus est, ita sonae voces respondebant numerum aut aetatem aut sexum plurimorum indubiam innocentiam miserantium: praevaluit nen pars quae supplicium decernebat. sed obtemperari non erat, conglobata multitudine et saxa ac faces minante. tum esar populum edicto increpuit atque omne iter, quo damnati poenam ducebantur, militaribus praesidiis saepsit. censuerat igonius Varro ut liberti quoque, qui sub eodem tecto fuissent, lia deportarentur. id a principe prohibitum est, ne mos iquus, quem misericordia non minuerat, per saevitiam inten- etur.

95, 24), and various references in quardt, Privatl. 169.

diversi, 'different from ours'; cp. fanos ritus' (2. 85, 5). They know ing of our religious sanctions.

nam et = 'nam etiam,' as in Quint. 1, 7; 12, 2; 20, 10. The expression sed elliptically, like καὶ γάρ, in the e of 'no doubt, for also,' etc., i.e. argument applies equally to other s.

ecumus quisque. On the punish- t of 'decimatio' cp. 3. 21, 1, and

etiam strenui sortiuntur, 'even soldiers draw the lot for punish- .'

abet, etc., 'every exemplary shment on a large scale involves some tice': for this sense of 'exemplum' 2. 20, 4, and note.

contra singulos, 'as against (to against the wrong done to) indi- ls.'

nemo unus, 'no one in particular,' ıe coming forward as an individual: neminem unum destinare irae' (H. 2), 'neminem unum esse,' etc. (Liv. , 4).

aetatem. In later times young boys irls were exempted from this general tion (Ulp. in Dig. 29. 5, 1, 32).

indubiam. This word is found here only in Quint. 5. 13, 24, and the adv. once in Cassiod.

10. **obtemperari**, i.e. for the sentence to be carried out.

11. **saxa ac faces**, the weapons of popular sedition: cp. 'iamque faces et saxa volant' (Verg. Aen. 1, 150).

12. **populum edicto increpuit**: cp. 1. 8, 6; 3. 6, 1; 5. 5, 1, etc.

iter, probably to the spot outside the Esquiline Gate: cp. 2. 32, 5; 15. 60, 2.

14. **Cingonius Varro.** This person was cos. design. in 821, A.D. 68, and was put to death by order of Galba, without trial, as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Nymphidius Sabinus (H. 1. 6, 2; 37, 6).

15. **Italia**: on the simple abl. cp. Introd. i. v. § 24.

deportarentur. This must express more than 'arceri Italia' (4. 31, 5; 16. 35, 1); as the sentence is evidently intended to be a near approach to that of death, and the verb is regularly used of 'deportatio in insulam' (4. 13, 2; 6. 48, 7; 16. 9, 2), the severest form of exile.

16. **intenderetur**, 'should be strained'; so nearly all edd., after Rhen., for the Med. 'incenderetur,' which would be no proper antithesis to 'minuerat.' The use of the verb with 'mos' is analogous to its use with 'luxus' (13. 20, 1), 'socordia' (2. 58, 6), etc.

46. Damnatus isdem consulibus Tarquitius Priscus repetu darum Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudio, c accusatum ab eo Statilium Taurum pro consule ipsius memin rant. census per Gallias a Q. Volusio et Sextio Africar Trebellioque Maximo acti sunt, aemulis inter se per nobilitate Volusio atque Africano: Trebellium dum uterque dedignatu supra tulere.

47. Eo anno mortem obiit Memmius Regulus, auctorita constantia fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastig datur, clarus, adeo ut Nero aeger valetudine, et adulantib circum qui finem imperio adesse dicebant, si quid fato pateret responderit habere subsidium rem publicam. rogantibus dehi in quo potissimum, addiderat in Memmio Regulo. vixit tam post haec Regulus, quiete defensus et quia nova generis cla

1. **Tarquitius Priscus.** His previous accusation of Statilius Taurus, and his expulsion from the senate are mentioned in 12. 59, 1. His proconsulate of Bithynia (on which province see 1. 74, 1, and note) is attested by Neronian coins of Nicomedia or Nicaea (Eckh. ii. 402).

2. **interrogantibus**: cp. 13. 14, 2, and note.

4. **census per Gallias . . . acti**: see 1. 31, 2, and note. On Q. Volusius see 13. 25, 1; on Sextius Africanus, 13. 19, 2.

5. **Trebellius Maximus.** His full name is given as L. Trebellius Maximus Pollio in a Pompeian tablet (Hermes, xii. 127). His consulship, noted for a 'senatus consultum Trebellianum' on inheritance, was shared with Seneca (Gaius 2. § 253; Just. Inst. 2. 23, 4, Dig. 36. 1, 1, 1), in the latter part probably of 811, A. D. 58 (see Nipp. and Borghesi, Œuvres, iv. 391–397). He was legatus of Britain (where he bore an evil character) in 822, A. D. 69 (H. 1. 60, 1; 2. 65, 5; Agr. 16, 4), and was still alive in 825, A. D. 72, when his name occurs as 'Magister Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. i. 2053).

6. **dedignatur**: so with accus. in Verg. Aen. 4, 536 and Ov. Cp. 2. 2, 5; 13. 37, 1, and notes.

7. **supra tulere**, best taken, with Dr., by explaining 'tulere' as ='extulere': they kept each other down by rivalry, and thus made the third party, whom they disdained to thwart, become the more important: Doed. less well explains it as 'superiorem passi su referring to the use of 'supra' in S Cat. 3, 2.

8. **Memmius Regulus.** This pers was consul in 784, A. D. 31, at the time the fall of Seianus (see 5. 11, 1, and no and was husband of Lollia Paulina (12. 2). His name occurs among the Arva up to 813, A. D. 60 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 204 after which no table is preserved u three years later.

9. **constantia**, best understood his dignified courage, as contrasted w the prevailing servility. Cp. the charac of M'. Lepidus in 4. 20, 4.

in quantum: cp. 13. 54, 2.

praeumbrante, ἅπ. εἰρ. (see Intr i. v. 69, 3). In H. 2. 32, 4 the co paratively common, but chiefly poeti 'obumbrare' is used.

10. **aeger valetudine.** An illness mentioned in the preceding year (c. 6); but some earlier date, less near death of Regulus, seems here to spoken of.

et adulantibus. Many instan are found in Tacitus, and a few in Li of the insertion of 'et,' where the sim abl. abs. would be in accordance w strict classical usage (see Dr. Synt. Stil, § 237); but in most of them, e 1. 29, 1; 55, 1; 12. 67, 2; there is m reason for the insertion than here.

13. **potissimum** = μάλιστα, empha ing 'quo.'

tamen, though his reputation mi have brought him into suspicion.

14. **quiete**, 'his unobtrusive life'

dine neque invidiosis opibus erat. gymnasium eo anno dedi-
tum a Nerone praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca
cilitate.

48. P. Mario L. Afinio consulibus Antistius praetor, quem in bunatu plebis licenter egisse memoravi, probrosa adversus ncipem carmina factitavit vulgavitque celebri convivio, dum ud Ostorium Scapulam epulatur. exim a Cossutiano Capitone, qui nuper senatorium ordinem precibus Tigellini soceri sui eperat, maiestatis delatus est. tum primum revocata ea lex,

6, 3). His government of the comed provinces of Moesia, Achaia, and cedonia (see Dio, 58. 25, 5), must e ceased before 797, A. D. 44, when two latter provinces were restored he senate (Dio, 60. 24, 1).

ova generis claritudine, not gerous 'nobilitas' (cp. 3. 55, 3; Juv. 7).

. **invidiosis**, ἐπιφθόνοις, great enough xcite the emperor's envy and cupidity.

ymnasium. This was intended the Neronian games (Dio, 61. 21, 1), was the finest in Rome (Philost. Ap. 4, 42). It was situated in the npus Martius, and joined on to the rmae built by Nero probably at the e time (Suet. Ner. 12).

praebitumque oleum. The oil l by athletes to rub their bodies re contests was furnished gratuitously, to those of equestrian or senatorial . Such persons had taken part in Iuvenalia (c. 14, 5), and the gift was doubt a hint to them to go further ie practice (cp. c. 20, 6).

facilitate, 'lavishness' (cp. 11. 22, To find oil for the athletes would oart of the regular expenses of the urgia of gymnasiarches at Athens; and d probably previously been provided Rome, but not to persons of such . Pliny in saying (N. H. 15. 4, 5, usum eius (olei) ad luxuriam vertere ci . . . in gymnasiis publicando,' peaking of its indiscriminate use, r than its gratuitous distribution.

P. Mario L. Afinio. The former hese was 'curator aquarum' from 819, A.D. 64–66 (Frontin. Aq. 102), was probably father of Marius Celsus whom see 15. 25, 5), and possibly of a Q. Marius Celsus, noted in the a Arvalium' (see Nipp.) as praetor rinus in 784, A. D. 31. The other is read Asinio in Med. and also in the old 'vita Persii' ('P. Mario Asinio Gallio cos.'), but is thus corrected by Halm and Nipp. after an inscription cited by Borghesi (Œuvr. iii. 350).

5. **memoravi**: see 13. 28, 1.

probrosa carmina. On such pasquinades see 1. 72, 5; 4. 31, 1; 6. 9, 3; and the allusions to the earlier verses of Catullus and Bibaculus in 4. 34, 8. Many epigrams on emperors are preserved in various places by Suetonius; and the satire of Sulpicia against Domitian is a specimen of a more elaborate and serious effort.

6. **celebri**, 'crowded': the same expression is used in H. 1. 81, 1.

7. **Ostorium Scapulam**, the son (see 12. 31, 7, and note) of the legatus who had died in command in Britain (12. 39, 5).

Cossutiano Capitone: see 11. 6, 5, and note.

8. **Tigellini**, the famous Sofonius Tigellinus, often mentioned as praefectus praetorio (c. 51, 5, etc.), who was forced to suicide under Otho (H. 1. 72). For his previous career see on c. 51, 5. The name is read as 'Tigellinus' in 15. 37, 2, here as 'Tigellanus,' elsewhere always in Med. as 'Tigillinus'; which form Or. and Ritt. retain, supporting it by the MSS. of Suet. (Galb. 15), Martial (3. 20, 16), and the Schol. on Juv. 1, 155. On the other hand, the form 'Tigellinus' is found in the text of Juv. (l. l.), also in Plutarch and Dio, and would be the correct form of a name evidently formed from Tigellius (Hor. Sat. 1. 2, 3).

9. **delatus est**, with genit.: cp. 4. 42, 3, and note.

tum primum, etc. Dio states (60. 3, 6) that trials on this charge were discontinued by Claudius at the beginning of his rule; a previous abolition by Gaius (Id. 59, 4, 3) having been illusory. An attempt had been made

credebaturque haud perinde exitium Antistio quam imperat gloriam quaeri, ut condemnatum a senatu intercessione tribuni morti eximeret. et cum Ostorius nihil audivisse pro testimo dixisset, adversis testibus creditum; censuitque Iunius Marul consul designatus adimendam reo praeturam necandumque m maiorum. ceteris inde adsentientibus, Paetus Thrasea, mu cum honore Caesaris et acerrime increpito Antistio, non qu quid nocens reus pati mereretur, id egregio sub principe et nu necessitate obstricto senatui statuendum disseruit: carnificem laqueum pridem abolita, et esse poenas legibus constitut quibus sine iudicum saevitia et temporum infamia suppli decernerentur. quin in insula publicatis bonis, quo long sontem vitam traxisset, eo privatim miseriorem et publicae c mentiae maximum exemplum futurum.

49. Libertas Thraseae servitium aliorum rupit, et postqua

to bring such a charge against L. Vitellius (12. 42, 5). On the law itself, and its working under Tiberius, see 1. 72, 3; Introd. i. viii. p. 121.

2. **gloriam quaeri**: for the accus. and inf. after 'credebatur' see 2. 69, 5 (and note), where, as here, Ritt. needlessly reads the nominative. The correction 'quaeri ut' for the Med. 'quaesiuit,' is one of the alternative readings suggested by Acid. The old edd. mostly read 'gloria quaesita (or 'gloriam quaesitam') ut.' 'Credebaturque' is a correction of the same person for 'credebatur quae.

intercessione tribunicia, by exercise of the imperial tribunitian power (see Introd. i. vi. p. 70, and an instance of its exercise in this manner in 4. 30, 1). Halm follows Ritt. in retaining the Med. 'eximeret,' and reading 'condemnatum' above. Others there retain the Med. 'condemnatus,' and read 'eximeretur,' with G.

3. **nihil audivisse.** Similar negative evidence was given in the trial of Clutorius Priscus (3. 49, 3).

5. **consul designatus**, for the later months of the same year, as appears from an inscription (Henzen, 5725), 'Kal. Novembris Q. Iunio Marullo cos.' A Marullus, possibly the same, is mentioned by Seneca as a friend (Ep. 99, 3). On the practice for the cos. design. to vote first see 3. 22, 6; 11. 5, 3; 12. 9, 1, and notes.

more maiorum, by scourging to death: see 2. 32, 5, and note.

6. **Paetus Thrasea**: see 13. 49, The line here taken by him closely foll that of M'. Lepidus in the trial of C torius Priscus (3. 50).

8. **mereretur**, with inf. as in 15. 2; G. 28, 5; Ov., Quint., etc.

et nulla, apparently intended emphasize the negation more than 'ne ulla': cp. 6. 46, 7; 1. 38, 4 (and no etc.

9. **senatui.** Most of the older e read 'senatu,' with G.

carnificem et laqueum, the us mode of execution (see 3. 50, 1, note); for which, in the case of m persons put to death, some form of co pulsory suicide was substituted. It wo follow 'a fortiori' that the more b barous mode of execution 'more i iorum' was to be treated as obsolete. the use of the neut. adj. with masc. fem. substantives see 1. 46, 1, and not

11. **quibus**, sc. 'legibus.'

12. **in insula**, etc. 'Interdictio a et igni' (involving loss of goods usually coupled with deportation to island) was at this time the recogni legal penalty for 'maiestas' (cp. 3. 50 and note), though often exceeded.

13. **privatim**, 'personally': cp. 11. 4, and note.

15. **servitium . . . rupit**, 'br through the servility' (a metaphor fr breaking a bond). The same opposit of 'servitium' and 'libertas' is seen 15. 61, 3, etc.

:essionem consul permiserat, pedibus in sententiam eius iere, cis exceptis, in quibus adulatione promptissimus fuit A. ellius, optimum quemque iurgio lacessens et respondenti cens, ut pavida ingenia solent. at consules perficere decretum itus non ausi, de consensu scripsere Caesari. ille inter pudo- et iram cunctatus, postremo rescripsit: nulla iniuria vocatum Antistium gravissimas in principem contumelias sse; earum ultionem a patribus postulatam, et pro magni- ne delicti poenam statui par fuisse. ceterum se, qui ritatem decernentium impediturus fuerit, moderationem non ibere: statuerent ut vellent, datam et absolvendi licentiam. atque talibus recitatis et offensione manifesta, non ideo aut iules mutavere relationem aut Thrasea decessit sententia rive quae probaverant deseruere, pars, ne principem obiecisse liae viderentur, plures numero tuti, Thrasea sueta firmitudine ni et ne gloria intercideret.

). Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Veiento conflictatus est

discessionem permiserat, 'al- the senate to divide.' It was with- discretion of the presiding magis- o rule whether a 'sententia' should ould not be thus submitted to the A well-known instance is seen complaint of Cicero (Phil. 14. 7, has in sententias meas si consules sionem facere voluissent . . . arma ssent'; and others are given in ns. Staatsr. iii. 987, 2. We see rom what here follows that they refuse to give formal effect to that the majority had thus approved. the one consul who presided on y and formally made the 'relatio' mentioned, but both are spoken ow as responsible, inasmuch as ere joint presidents of the senatorial see 1. 73, 3, etc.).

. Vitellius, the subsequent empe- ready mentioned in 11. 23, 1, as

espondenti reticens, 'holding igue to any who replied to him,' ring a rejoinder. This dat. with e,' not used elsewhere by Tacitus, l in Liv. 3. 41, 3; 23. 12, 9; Ov. 357.

erficere decretum. This would formal announcement and regis- (cp. 3. 51, 3) of the sentence, he names of the senators who it ('scribendo adfuere'). These sentences are regularly called 'decreta' (cp. l. l. and 3. 37, 1), and appear to have followed the form of 'senatus consulta' (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 122).

5. **de consensu scripsere**: cp. 13. 26, 2, and note.

inter . . . cunctatus, 'after a struggle between': cp. 'inter metum et iram cunctatus' (2. 66, 2); also H. 2. 2, 1; 3. 39, 1; 4. 60, 1.

8. **pro**, 'in proportion to' (cp. 3. 2, 2, etc.): for 'par esse' cp. 1. 25, 3, etc.

10. **impediturus**, by his veto: see above (c. 48, 3).

11. **et**='etiam,' 'they might even acquit him if they would.'

14. **ne principem**, etc., i. e. lest they should seem to have rescinded a popular decision to please Caesar's vindictiveness.

15. **plures**, 'the majority' (1. 32, 1, etc.). They felt that in such a number, Nero could mark no individuals for vengeance.

16. **et ne gloria intercideret**. This suggestion of vanity may be compared with what is said of Thrasea in c. 12, 2. Dio (61. 15, 3) makes him give as a reason for his independent conduct, that the sycophants were as liable to perish by Nero's caprice as he was, and that he would leave a name behind him, and they would not.

17. **Veiento**: so all edd. after Puteol. for the Med. 'uegento.' This person,

quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuis iis libris quibus nomen codicillorum dederat. adiciebat Tull Geminus accusator venditata ab eo munera principis et adip cendorum honorum ius. quae causa Neroni fuit suscipie iudicii, convictumque Veientonem Italia depulit et libros ex iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque, donec cum periculo parabant mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.

51. Sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis subsidia min bantur, concessitque vita Burrus, incertum valetudine an vene valetudo ex eo coniectabatur, quod in se tumescentibus paula faucibus et impedito meatu spiritum finiebat. plures iu

probably the Αὖλος Φαβρίκιος mentioned in Dio, 61. 6, 2, as praetor, apparently in 807, A. D. 54, is well known under Domitian as a consular, and an infamous accuser (Juv. 4. 113, etc.). He remained on intimate terms with Nerva (Plin. Ep. 4. 22, 4), and was still living as a senator in 850, A. D. 97 (Id. 9. 13, 13, 19).

2. **codicillorum**, 'his will': cp. 15. 64, 6; 16. 17, 6; 19, 5, etc. It was common for persons thus to vent in their will such attacks on the princeps or others as they dared not utter in their lifetime (see 6. 38, 2); and Augustus had expressly forbidden the senate to curtail this license (Suet. Aug. 56). It is to be supposed that Veiento published a libel taking the form of a will and ironically termed such.

Tullius. Borghesi (Œuvr. v. 221), thus corrects the Med. 'Talius' (not known as a Roman name) on the strength of an Arval inscription, apparently belonging to this time, 'M. Iunio Silano, Terentio Tullio Gemino cos.' Iahn (in Rhein. Mus. ix. 627) thinks him identical with the person of the same name known as the author of several Greek epigrams (see Anth. Pal. 9. 707, etc.).

3. **venditata.** This verb is here used literally, as in H. 1. 66, 5; Cic. etc., oftener in the sense of 'commending' (cp. H. 1. 49, 5). What he in fact sold was his influence with Caesar to help persons. That his mere acquaintance had in later times its price, is hinted by Juvenal (4. 185).

4. **suscipiendi iudicii**, for trying the case personally (see Introd. i. vi. p. 74). Nero had disclaimed the use of this prerogative (13. 4, 2), but appears to have from the first occasionally (13. 33, 1, and note), and afterwards freque exercised it.

5. **Italia depulit**, a less severe sent than that expressed by 'Italia depor (see c. 45, 4 and note), but amour to relegation. Other equivalent exp sions are 'Italia interdicere' (c. 41 2. 50, 5), 'prohibere' (15. 71, 'arcere' (16. 35, 1), etc.

libros exuri. To see this done a function of the aediles (4. 35, 5).

6. **donec**, 'as long as': this poe sense is introduced into prose by (2. 49, 9; 6. 13, 4, etc.), and is fre in Tacitus (1. 68, 6; 3. 15, 2, etc.).

8. **gravescentibus**: cp. 1. 5. 1, note.

9. **concessit vita**: cp. 12. 39, 5,

10. **coniectabatur.** The imperf and in 'adseverabant' expresses th port at the time.

in se, 'internally'; so 'tabes putrescentium' (Sen. Ep. 95, 16). reads 'inter se'; Muret. 'intumes bus.' The disease described is that abscess or quinsy, contracting the pipe.

11. **meatu**, 'respiration'; so with randi' (Pl. N. H. 28. 13, 55, 197), 'spiritus' (Quint. 7. 10, 10), with 'an (Pl. Ep. 6. 16, 13); whence Ern. read 'spiritus' here, and take the (for which he reads 'finierat') absol

plures, 'the majority' (c. 49 Tacitus evidently inclines to the t of poison; but we owe it to him th doubt is left as to what Suet. (Ne and Dio (62. 13, 3) assume as u tionable. The latter makes him Nero by opposing the divorce of Oc and bidding him give back her (τοῦτ' ἔστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν).

ronis, quasi remedium adhiberetur, inlitum palatum eius xio medicamine adseverabant, et Burrum intellecto scelere, n ad visendum eum princeps venisset, aspectum eius aversa- 1 sciscitanti hactenus respondisse: 'ego me bene habeo.' itati grande desiderium eius mansit per memoriam virtutis successorum alterius segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantis- a flagitia. quippe Caesar duos praetoriis cohortibus osuerat, Faenium Rufum ex vulgi favore, quia rem frumen- am sine quaestu tractabat, Sofonium Tigellinum, veterem udicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus. atque illi pro nitis moribus fuere, validior Tigellinus in animo principis ntimis libidinibus adsumptus, prospera populi et militum a Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur.

2. Mors Burri infregit Senecae potentiam, quia nec bonis

hactenus respondisse, 'answered ore than': cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.
o me bene habeo. Stress is laid ego,' as he is made to contrast his ranquillity with Nero's consciousness ilt. Seneca quotes (Ep. 24, 9) a ar dying expession of Scipio, the r-in-law of Pompeius, after he had ed himself: 'quaerentibus, ubi im- or esset, "imperator," inquit "se habet."'

segnem innocentiam. His general ict before his appointment is here n of.

grantissima flagitia. This me- r is so used with 'libidines' (H. 2. : cp. also 2. 41, 5; 3. 6, 1; 11. 29, Med. adds (after the full stop) eria,' which is evidently more rightly d as a gloss, than emended by read- ith inferior MSS. and old edd.) 'et ria.'

luos: see 12. 42, 2, and note.

mposuerat. Nipp. notes that the f. is referred to the time when men ontrasted Burrus with his succes-

nium Rufum. On this person, his appointment to the 'praefec- nonae,' see 13. 22, 1, and note.

ofonium Tigellinum. On the f the latter name see c. 48, 2. For the the form here given is that nearest Med. 'ofonium'; in H. 1. 72, 2 (where d. text is lost), the MSS. and old ad 'Ophonius'; both places being ed by Lips. from the form in Dio 9 (Τιγελλῖνος ὁ Σοφώνιος). He is stated in the Schol. on Juv. 1, 155, to have been the son of an Agrigentine living in exile at Scylaceum. He was brought up in the households of Cn. Domitius and M. Vinicius, and exiled by Gaius on suspicion of adultery with their wives, the princesses Agrippina and Julia (Dio, 59. 23, 9). On being allowed to return he still lived in seclusion till the death of Claudius, but won the favour of Nero by horsebreeding in Apulia (Schol. Juv. l. l.), and became praefectus vigilum (H. 1, 72, 2). In the notice of his death (H. l. l.) further particulars of his life and character are given; and all that is known of him is collected by Mayor on Juv. l. l.: see also Hirschf. Unters. 221.

veterem, referring to the cause of his former exile.

10. **pro cognitis**, etc., 'turned out according to their known characters.' This correction of Mercer, after some inferior MSS., for the Med. 'cognatis,' has been generally adopted by editors since Pich.

11. **validior**, etc.: so 'in animo Augustae valida' 4. 12. 6 (where see note).

12. **intimis**, etc., 'taken into confidence in his most private excesses.' Somewhat similar terms are used to describe the position of Paris (13. 20, 1, 22, 3).

prospera . . . fama, abl. of quality: cp. 'adverso rumore erat' (c. 11, 4).

13. **quod**, etc., 'which (popularity) he used to find stood against him with Nero.'

14. **bonis artibus**, 'good influences': so in 1. 28, 5, etc. On the partnership of such influence between Burrus and Seneca see 13. 2, 2.

artibus idem virium erat altero velut duce amoto, et Nero deteriores inclinabat. hi variis criminationibus Senecam a riuntur, tamquam ingentes et privatum modum evectas o adhuc augeret, quodque studia civium in se verteret, hortor quoque amoenitate et villarum magnificentia quasi princip supergrederetur. obiciebant etiam eloquentiae laudem uni adsciscere et carmina crebrius factitare, postquam Neroni ar eorum venisset. nam oblectamentis principis palam iniqu detrectare vim eius equos regentis, inludere voces, quoti caneret. quem ad finem nihil in re publica clarum fore q non ab illo reperiri credatur? certe finitam Neronis puerit et robur iuventae adesse: exueret magistrum, satis amplis d toribus instructus maioribus suis.

53. At Seneca criminantium non ignarus, prodentibus quibus aliqua honesti cura, et familiaritatem eius magis asp nante Caesare, tempus sermoni orat et accepto ita inci 'quartus decumus annus est, Caesar, ex quo spei tuae admo

3. **tamquam.** Three grounds of charge are here expressed by this word, by 'quod,' and by 'quasi' (see Introd. i. v. § 67). The latter is here used in anastrophe, like many other conjunctions (Id. § 78). Some take 'quasi' less well as qualifying 'supergrederetur' (with the force of 'prope'); by which 'quod' is made to cover two charges very distinct from each other.

privatum modum evectas, 'surpassing the position of a subject': for the accus. with 'evectas' cp. 12. 36, 2, and note; for this meaning of 'privatus,' 11. 31, 3, and note. On the wealth of Seneca see 13. 42, 6.

4. **hortorum**: cp. c. 53, 6; also 'magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos' (Juv. 10. 16). Their situation is not known.

6. **supergrederetur**: cp. 13. 45, 2, and note.

eloquentiae, etc. His 'orationes' are mentioned by Quint. (10. 1, 128) as in his time extant, together with his 'poemata,' 'epistulae,' and 'dialogi.'

8. **venisset**: so most edd., after Lips., for the Med. 'evenisset,' which, as Ritt. has pointed out, could not be appropriately used of 'amor carminum.' On Nero's pursuits see c. 14–16, etc.

nam, instancing a well-known fact in support of the previous statement. His known disparagement of Nero's other achievements is taken to show that his activity in poetical composition prompted by a vain belief that he c make his own superiority evident.

9. **detrectare,** 'he depreciated'; Dial. (11, 1 etc.), and in Sall. and cp. 'obtrectari' (1. 17, 10).

voces, 'his notes': cp. 'o voces hominis' (Cic. de Or. 3. 57, Orsini and Muret. would read 'vo or 'voci.'

10. **quem ad finem,** 'how long' in c. 64, 4; also Cic. Cat. 1. 1 ('que finem sese effrenata iactabit audac and Nep. Epam. 2 ('exercebatur . eum finem, quoad,' etc.)

12. **exueret magistrum,** 'let shake off his pedagogue.' On the va metaphorical senses of this verb see on 1. 69, 2. Nipp. cites a similar use personal accus. of throwing off a rest in Sil. 7, 495 ('iam monita et Fa bellique equitumque magister Exuera

amplis, best taken, with Nipp the sense of 'many-sided,' capab serving as a pattern in all relations.

15. **et . . . Caesare.** Nipp. ap rightly to take this as the answ clause to 'criminantium non ignar which 'prodentibus iis,' etc., is a p thetical addition. He knew by inform that charges had been brought ag him, and could see by Caesar's m that they had made impression.

17. **spei tuae,** etc., 'since I be

n, octavus, ut imperium obtines: medio temporis tantum norum atque opum in me cumulasti, ut nihil felicitati meae sit nisi moderatio eius. utar magnis exemplis, nec meae tunae sed tuae. abavus tuus Augustus M. Agrippae Mytiense secretum, C. Maecenati urbe in ipsa velut peregrinum um permisit; quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romae ribus laboribus iactatus ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus ritis praemia acceperant. ego quid aliud munificentiae *tuae*

nected with your prospects,' i. e. with , who were already marked out for re greatness. For this sense of 'spes' 2. 71, 4, and note; and for that of motus' cp. 'summae rei admovit' (3. 5). The expression is used to desig- with extreme modesty his position magister' (12. 8, 3). Even after o's accession he is still styled 'rector' 2, 2), but only ventures here to ribe himself as one of the 'seniores i' (c. 54, 5).

ut, 'since'; so used here alone in itus. This sense is rare with the pres., ut sumus in Ponto' (Ov. ex P. 1. 9, 6; t. 5. 10, 1), but more common with perf.

edio temporis, 'between that time this': cp. 13. 28, 3. 'Honores' 'opes' are so coupled in 1. 2, 1; 11. . By the former, his consulship (see . 46, 2) is especially meant.

in me cumulasti: cp. 13. 2, 5, and .

moderatio eius, 'self-control in ct of it': cp. 'rerum prosperarum eratio' (12. 37, 1).

eae fortunae, 'belonging to my ': for this sense of 'fortuna' cp. 2. (and note); c. 60, 6, etc.; and for stinct use to denote the highest rank, 2, 5, and note.

abavus, a correction of Lips. here atauus,' and in c. 55, 2, for 'auus' 13. 34, 1). Nero's mother was -granddaughter of Augustus on her er's side by blood, and on her r's through his adoption by Tiberius, was himself adopted by Augustus he pedigree in Introd. i. ix. pp. 139–.

ytilenense secretum, 'the re- ent (cp. "Rhodi secreto" 4. 57, 3) Iytilene.' Agrippa was appointed nal governor of Syria, probably with al proconsular power in the East Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1151, 5), in 731, 3, but left the province to his legati and lived in retirement at Mytilene, submitting to this voluntary effacement (ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων Dio 53. 32, 1) to avoid rivalry with young Marcellus, who was being advanced in public life. Suet. (Aug. 66) also represents this act as one of needless pique on Agrippa's part; Velleius (2. 93, 2) as a discreet withdrawal; others seemed to have viewed it differently, as Pliny speaks (N. H. 7. 45, 46, 149) of the 'pudenda Agrippae ablegatio.' His retirement, whatever its real character, was terminated by the death of Marcellus within the year; but his superintendence of the Eastern provinces lasted ten years (Jos. Ant. 16. 3, 3).

5. **C. Maecenati.** The retirement of Maecenas (see 3. 30, 7, and note) appears certainly to have been a veiled disgrace. Suet. ascribes it (Aug. 66) to his having revealed to Terentia his knowledge of the plot of her brother Terentius Varro Muraena (see 1. 10, 3, and note), which enabled her to put him on his guard. Maecenas lived eight years in privacy, chiefly in his Esquiline villa.

velut peregrinum, 'as if he were in a foreign country.'

7. **iactatus,** 'exercised.'

pro . . . meritis, i. e. not surpassing them.

8. **acceperant**; for the plural cp. 3. 62, 1, and note.

munificentiae tuae adhibere. Most edd. have followed Ern. in inserting 'tuae' (with some inferior MSS.). Without it, 'munificentiae' would have to be taken as a genit. and understood of the service of Seneca to Nero, which he would certainly not have ventured to call by such a name. Ritt. inserts 'munus,' a word very unlikely to have been placed in immediate juxtaposition with 'munificentiae.' The speaker means to ask 'what else could I bring to bear on your bounty'? (i. e. by what could I establish a claim upon it?). Jacob notes the expression in Curt. 6. 10, 30 'solent rei

adhibere potui quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educa et quibus claritudo venit, quod iuventae tuae rudimentis fuisse videor, grande huius rei pretium. at tu gratiam inm sam, innumeram pecuniam circumdedisti, adeo ut plerumq intra me ipse volvam: egone, equestri et provinciali loco ort proceribus civitatis adnumeror? inter nobiles et longa dec praeferentes novitas mea enituit? ubi est animus ille modi contentus? talis hortos exstruit et per haec suburbana ince et tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato faenore exuberat? una fensio occurrit, quod muneribus tuis obniti non debui.

54. Sed uterque mensuram inplevimus, et *tu*, quantum pr ceps tribuere amico posset, et ego, quantum amicus a princ

capitis adhibere vobis (i. e. misericordiae vestrae) parentes.'

1. **ut sic dixerim.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. xxvi. 139, foll.) that the classical 'ut ita dicam,' sometimes retained in the silver age (Pl. Ep. 9. 2, 3), sometimes becomes 'ut sic dicam' (Quint. 1. 8, 9; 11. 3, 32), sometimes (Nipp. thinks by confusion with 'ut dixerim') 'ut ita dixerim' (Quint. 9. 4, 61; Pl. Ep. 2. 5, 6); both of which are combined in 'ut sic dixerim' (Quint. 1. 6, 1, etc.; Plin. Pan. 42, 3; Flor. 2. 6, 27), the form used by Tacitus here and in G. 2, 1; Dial. 34, 2; 40, 3; and (as he would read) in Agr. 3, 3. See note on 'ne abierim' (6. 22, 6).

in umbra, i. e. not in public life: cp. 'studiis inertibus' (13. 42, 4); so Quint. speaks (1. 2, 18) of the 'solitaria et velut umbratilis vita' of the schools, and Cic. (de Legg. 3. 6, 14) of 'doctrina ex umbraculis eruditorum et otio,' and Juv. (7, 173) of one 'ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra' (where Prof. Mayor has collected several other similar expressions).

educata, 'trained,' elsewhere in Tacitus always of persons, but so used in Cic. Orat. 13, 42 ('educata huius nutrimentis eloquentia').

2. **quibus,** etc., 'accomplishments which have won reputation because men think that I had some share in the first essays of your youth': cp. 'rudimentum adolescentiae . . . posuisse' (Liv. 31. 11, 15).

3. **grande . . . pretium,** referring to 'claritudo'; the renown is ample reward for the services.

gratiam, 'influence' (cp. 11. 29, 1; 12. 42, 4, etc.), that of his high rank in the state and position as counsellor.

4. **pecuniam.** On such gifts see 18, 1.

circumdedisti. The metaphor use of this verb is especially commo Tacitus; so 'famam alicui circumda (H. 4. 11, 3; Agr. 20, 1; Dial. 37, cp. also c. 15. 4; 12. 25, 1; 16. 2 etc.

plerumque . . . volvam, 'I o ponder.' This sense of 'plerumque common in Tacitus (4. 57, 2; 12. 55 G. 13, 4; 45, 6; Dial. 15, 2), and parently rare elsewhere; the parallel of 'plerique' (see 3. 1, 2, and note) be more general. For this sense of 'volv cp. 1. 64, 7, and note.

5. **provinciali loco,** Corduba (C dova), whence his father M. Seneca rhetorician had migrated to Rome become a knight. His mother, Hel was also probably a native of Spain.

6. **longa decora praeferentes,** ' playing (cp. 4. 75, 2) a long roll glories' (i. e. of distinguished ancesto cp. 'Aemiliorum decus' (3. 22, 1); ' piciae et Lutatiae (nobilitatis) dec (H. 1. 15, 1).

8. **hortos,** c. 52, 2.

exstruit. Nipp. notes that term is to be understood of laying the ground and erecting buildings in cp. 'extollere hortos' (11. 1, 1). T the gardens of Lucan are called 'n morei' by Juvenal (7, 79) on accoun their adornments.

suburbana, 'suburban villas.'

incedit, 'walks proudly': cp. 39, 2; 3. 9, 2, etc.

9. **lato faenore,** 'capital out at inte far and wide,' 'per Italiam et provinc (cp. 13. 42, 7, and note).

ipere: cetera invidiam augent. quae quidem, ut omnia rtalia, infra tuam magnitudinem iacet, sed mihi incumbit, ni subveniendum est. quo modo in militia aut via fessus niniculum orarem, ita in hoc itinere vitae senex et levissimis oque curis inpar, cum opes meas ultra sustinere non possim, esidium peto. iube rem per procuratores tuos administrari, tuam fortunam recipi. nec me in paupertatem ipse detrudam, l traditis quorum fulgore praestringor, quod temporis horum aut villarum curae seponitur, in animum revocabo. erest tibi robur et tot per annos visum *summi* fastigii

cetera, 'all beyond this limit.' His ch goes on to disclaim not only the ption of more, but the continued pos-on of what he had.

ugent: so most edd. after Put. for Med. 'agent' (a similar error being d in c. 58, 3). Bezzenb. reads 'in diam agent,' but his citations (H. 1. 3; 83, 3; 2. 38, 5) are hardly parallel. Gron. would read 'alent.'

infra, etc., 'rises not to your exalted :': the envy felt towards me does not h you or make you repent of your ; but it lies heavy on me, and I need .

cet . . . incumbit: so most edd. Lips. for the Med. 'iacent . . . in-bt' ('incumbunt'), which are pro-y errors of assimilation to 'augent.' retains the plural verbs, but inserts amque' after 'augent,' an addition h appears to make the following ls less appropriate. Nor does it seem ible to refer the plural verbs (with n.) to 'cetera.'

quo modo . . . ita. Dr. notes these oupled in 15. 21, 2; 16. 16, 4; H. 4, 3, etc., and in Cic. The more non combination 'quomodo . . . sic' so found (4. 35, 3, etc.).

adminiculum, 'a staff of support': netaphorically) 12. 5, 4; Dial. 2, 2.

iube rem per: so most recent edd., Baiter, for the Med. 'iuuenere' (with econd 'u' corrected to 'b'), as given Ritt., 'iuuere' as given by Baiter, ' being inserted before 'procuratores' later hand in Med. The old edd. after some inferior MSS., 'iube eas which Ritt. retains. Haase reads procuratores . . . administrare . . . ta.' The 'procuratores' are those managed the 'res familiaris Caesaris': . 6, 5; 12. 60, 1, etc.

7. **fortunam**, 'property': so in c. 21, 2; 2. 38, 9; 4. 23, 2, and oftener in pl. as c. 31, 6, etc.

8. **praestringor**, 'I am blinded': so all recent edd., after Cannegieter, for the Med. 'pstringor' ('perstringor'). A similar correction has been made, after Gron., in H. 1. 84, 7. The two verbs seem sometimes to approximate in meaning ('visus perstrinxere' is still generally read in Pl. N. H. 2. 18, 16, 80), but may often have been confused in the abbreviations ('p' and 'p̃'). The usual expression is not 'praestringere aliquem,' but 'oculos' or 'visum alicuius.'

quod temporis, etc., 'the portion of time now set apart for the care of gardens and villas.'

9. **in animum revocabo**, 'I will restore to my mind' ('to its discipline and culture').

10. **superest tibi**, 'you have in superabundance': so in H. 1. 51, 3; 83, 2; G. 6, 1; 26, 1; Agr. 45, 6; and in Cic., Liv., etc.

visum summi fastigii regimen: so Halm, Nipp., Dr., adopting an alternative suggestion of Wurm. For other suggestions see Halm, Not. Crit. The older edd. had followed Puteol. in reading 'nixum' for 'visum' without finding any satisfactory interpretation of it. Madvig (Adv. ii. 555) reads 'nosti summi fastigii,' thinking the first syllable of 'nosti' lost in the ending of 'annos,' and the second, with 'summi,' corrupted into 'visum.' Or. and Ritt. retain the Med. text; and Walther's interpretation of 'visum' (with 'est' supplied from 'superest') is generally received, as meaning that Nero had 'watched' for many years (in the time of Claudius and under his own rule) the administration of supreme power. 'Fastigium' could stand without

regimen: possumus seniores amici quietem reposcere. h quoque in tuam gloriam cedet, eos ad summa vexisse qui modica tolerarent.'

55. Ad quae Nero sic ferme respondit: 'quod meditat orationi tuae statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, c me non tantum praevisa sed subita expedire docuisti. abav meus Augustus Agrippae et Maecenati usurpare otium p labores concessit, sed in ea ipse aetate, cuius auctoritas tueret quidquid illud et qualecumque tribuisset; ac tamen neutru datis a se praemiis exuit. bello et periculis meruerant; in enim iuventa Augusti versata est. nec mihi tela et manus tu defuissent in armis agenti: sed quod praesens condicio posceb ratione consilio praeceptis pueritiam, dein iuventam mea fovisti. et tua quidem erga me munera, dum vita suppet

an adjective as in 3. 29, 2; but it is difficult in any case to believe that Tacitus used such an expression as 'fastigii (for 'imperii') regimen'; and the corruption is probably deeper seated.

1. **quietem reposcere**, 'to demand rest as our due' (cp. 1. 35, 3); so all recent edd., after Halm and Oelschläger, for Med. 'quietem respondere,' for which most of the older edd. had read 'quiete respondere,' endeavouring to give the words some such meaning as 'satisfy all claims on us by resting quiet.' Several other suggested readings are given by Walther and Orelli.

2. **in tuam gloriam cedet**, 'will go to swell your fame' (cp. 1. 1, 3, and note). Dr. cites Curt. 3. 6, 18 ('temeritas in gloriam cesserat').

vexisse, here for 'provexisse' (cp. 'provectos' 11. 6, 4); so used for various other compounds, as 'advehere' (11. 14, 2), 'travehere' (12. 40, 1), 'avehere' (H. 5. 21, 3): see Introd. i. v. § 40.

5. **occurram**, taken by Nipp. as fut., by most others as pres. subj. The verb is used in the sense of 'respondere' in Cic. de Fat. 18, 41 ('illi rationi . . . sic occurrit'), etc.; also in Quint. 1. 5, 36; Suet. Aug. 15; Val. Fl. 7, 223. 'Statim' is taken in contrast with 'meditatae,' for which cp. 13. 3, 6.

id primum, etc., 'this is the first gift I have to thank you for.' The expression 'muneris tui' is from poets (Hor. Od. 4. 3, 21; Ov. Tr. 1. 6, 6).

6. **praevisa**, used in a somewhat different sense in 12. 40, 6; 63, 2, etc.; here of what has been premeditated, in contr to 'subita' ('the thought of the m ment').

expedire, 'to express.' The of this verb in the sense of 'expone' (cp. 4. 1, 2, etc.) is chiefly poeti (Plaut., Ter., Verg., etc.), but introdu into prose by Sall. (Iug. 5, 3).

abavus meus: cp. c. 53, 3; h read for Med. 'auus.'

8. **ipse**: so all recent edd. with E. and others and MS. Agr. for Med. 'ip.' The context shows that his age, t theirs, is meant.

cuius auctoritas, etc. The se is that Augustus did indeed permit s friends to retire into private life, but had reached an age when he could gr them this or anything else without fea its being misconstrued; yet even example of Augustus would only sanct my permitting you to retire, not my str ping you of gifts bestowed. On the fo of 'illud' cp. c. 22, 4; 12. 36, 2.

10. **bello**, etc. The fact that they earn their rewards in war and in peril times (c. 53, 3) only amounts to this, t there was then war and peril to earn by, which is not so now. 'Had I need such service, you would have rende it.'

13. **ratione**, 'forethought': cp. 15. 2, etc.

14. **dum vita suppetet** (sc. 'me qualifies 'aeterna,' and gives it the se of 'perpetua' (3. 26, 3; 15. 63, 1, et Nipp. cites 'nec est ligno ulli aetern natura' (Pl. N. H. 14. 1, 2, 9).

:erna erunt: quae a me habes, horti et faenus et villae, casibus noxia sunt. ac licet multa videantur, plerique haudquaquam ibus tuis pares plura tenuerunt. pudet referre libertinos, qui iores spectantur: unde etiam mihi rubori est quod praecipuus ritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.

56. Verum et tibi valida aetas rebusque et fructui rerum ficiens, et nos prima imperii spatia ingredimur, nisi forte aut Vitellio ter consuli aut me Claudio postponis, et quantum lusio longa parsimonia quaesivit, tantum in te mea liberalitas plere non potest. quin, si qua in parte lubricum adulescentiae strae declinat, revocas ornatumque robur subsidio inpensius

. **faenus**, 'capital,' as in c. 53, 6; 6. 2, etc.
. **plerique** = 'permulti.'
artibus, 'accomplishments,' as in 3, 1; 6. 7, 1, etc.
lura tenuerunt. Or. (with Haase) rts after these words, Nipp. and Dr. h Spengel) insert after 'antecellis,' the ls given in Med. in the next chapter si forte . . . non potest'): see note e.
bertinos, especially Pallas, who still living (c. 65, 1).
rubori est, predicative dative: see od. i. v. § 23. The expression (cp. 17, 3) is found in Liv. 45. 13, 14.
fortuna, used here both of position 3, 3), and of wealth (c. 54, 4).
itecellis, so with accus. in H. 2. : cp. 'antecellere gloriam' (Val. . 3. 8, 1), 'omnes' (Pl. N. H. 8. 44, 174). Dr. notes that Cic. uses it ys absol. or with dat.
Verum et tibi, etc. This sentence ggested by 'nondum,' and the sense your position is as yet neither equal our merits nor to my affection for but the deficiency can be made up. are not too old for further advance-, and I have many years before me ich to give it.' Seneca must have about sixty-five years old (see In- p. 50, 9).
ous et fructui rerum, 'for the ess of state and its rewards': for a sense of 'res' cp. 'rerum experi-t' (1. 4, 3).
nisi forte, etc. If the text is sound, nse would be, 'Or do you suppose you have already reached your limit? ou think yourself less worthy than ius (see 11. 2, 4, etc.), who received consulships? Or do you think me less willing or able to reward my friends than Claudius'? The sense of the whole passage does not seem improved, and that of 'aut me Claudio' seems weakened, if not destroyed, by transferring it to either of the places where others have inserted it (see note on c. 55, 6); but the sacrifice of perspicuity to brevity is unusually great, even for Tacitus; so much so as to make it not improbable that some words have been lost. For the ironical use of 'nisi forte' cp. 2. 33, 5, etc.

8. **et quantum**, etc. Here Med. has 'sed' for 'et,' and in the next line 'me' for 'te,' and 'libertas' (corrected by a second hand) for 'liberalitas.' The two last are corrected in all edd.; but 'sed' is read generally in the older edd., and, among the recent, by Ritt., and could be taken as an ironical correction, or even as a serious assertion, that all Nero's liberality could not make Seneca's fortune as great as what Volusius (see 13. 30, 4, and note) had amassed by saving. Most recent edd., however, suppose that 'sed' (or rather 'set') has arisen from a repetition, with 'et,' of the preceding 's,' and that the force of 'nisi forte' is to be extended to 'potest.'

10. **quin**, 'why not (instead of abandoning me')? cp. Cic. C. Rab. 6, 18 ('quin continetis vocem'), Liv. 1. 57, 7 ('quin conscendimus equos').

lubricum: cp. 'lubricum iuventae' (6. 49, 3), 'lubrica aetas' (13. 2, 2). The figure is here sustained in 'declinat,' which can be used of anything that slips away from its position ('if my unstable youth shows sign of slipping').

11. **ornatumque robur**, etc. The allusion is to the sentence 'superest tibi robur' (c. 54, 5); and 'subsidio' seems

regis? non tua moderatio, si reddideris pecuniam, nec qui si reliqueris principem, sed mea avaritia, meae crudelitatis met in ore omnium versabitur. quod si maxime continentia t laudetur, non tamen sapienti viro decorum fuerit, unde ami infamiam paret, inde gloriam sibi recipere.' his adicit co plexum et oscula, factus natura et consuetudine exercitus vela odium fallacibus blanditiis. Seneca, qui finis omnium cu dominante sermonum, grates agit: sed instituta prioris potenti commutat, prohibet coetus salutantium, vitat comitantis, rar per urbem, quasi valetudine infensa aut sapientiae studiis do adtineretur.

57. Perculso Seneca promptum fuit Rufum Faenium inminue Agrippinae amicitiam in eo criminantibus. validiorque in di Tigellinus et malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores rat si principem societate scelerum obstringeret, metus eius rimatu

better taken (as by Nipp. and Dr.) with 'ornatum,' than (as by Or.) with 'regis.' 'Why not yet more zealously direct my manhood, furnished (cp. 6. 32, 1) with your support in reserve (i.e. resting on your support as an army on its reserves')? The metaphor in 'ornatum' is certainly harsh; but it does not seem necessary to read with Madvig (Adv. iii. 235) 'formatum').

1. **quies,** 'retirement' (from active life), as in c. 54, 5. Nipp. compares 'Attici quies' ('neutrality') Nep. Att. 7, 3.

6. **factus . . . exercitus velare.** The inf. here is noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ., but is analogous to its use with many other participles and adjectives (see Introd. i. v. § 47). 'Exercitus' is used for 'exercitatus,' as in c. 2, 5 (where see note).

8. **grates agit.** Seneca himself quotes (de Ira 2. 33, 2) the answer of one who was asked how he had been able to live to old age in a court; 'iniurias accipiendo et gratias agendo.' Cp. Agr. 42, 3. On the question whether the resignation of his property, now evidently declined by Nero, was accepted subsequently, see note on 15. 64, 6.

instituta . . . commutat. To this time belongs his description (Ep. 87, 2-4) of his frugal life with his friend Maximus.

9. **coetus salutantium . . . comitantis.** The former term denotes the visitors at the morning *levée*, the 'turba salutantium' slightingly spoken of Seneca himself (Ep. 19, 11); the latter attendance of clients and others when went out (cp. 'egressus coli' 3. 33, see Friedl. i. p. 357, foll.

rarus. Cp. 2. 57, 4, and 'mult (Agr. 20, 2).

10. **valetudine**: see 15. 45, 5.

sapientiae studiis, 'philosophi pursuits.' Many of his extant writi among them the 'Epistolae ad Luciliu are generally referred to this period of life.

12. **inminuere,** 'to degrade,' i.e. lower in Nero's estimation (cp. 2. 34 etc.). That he was not deposed from office is plain from 15. 48, 4, etc. friendship for Agrippina is implied 13. 21, 9; 22, 1.

13. **criminantibus,** perhaps dat. a 'promptum,' but probably better ta as abl. abs. The persons would be th who had attacked Seneca, the 'deterio of c. 52, 1.

validior: cp. c. 51, 6.

14. **malas artes.** By these his ' complishments in vice' (see c. 51, appear to be meant (cp. 'artibus tuis 55, 6); which he believed would find more favour if he laid the prince u obligation to him by complicity in atrocities (murders of eminent men).

15. **metus eius rimatur,** 'pries (cp. 'adversa rimantes' 2. 69, 5) causes of his fear': for this use of 'me cp. 1. 40, 1, and note.

ıpertoque Plautum et Sullam maxime timeri, Plautum in iam, Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem nuper amotos, nobilita-ı eorum et propinquos huic orientis, illi Germaniae exercitus nmemorat. non se, ut Burrum, diversas spes, sed solam olumitatem Neronis spectare; cui caveri utcumque ab urbanis idiis praesenti opera: longinquos motus quonam modo com-mi posse? erectas Gallias ad nomen dictatorium, nec minus pensos Asiae populos claritudine avi Drusi. Sullam inopem, le praecipuam audaciam, et simulatorem segnitiae, dum te-ritati locum reperiret. Plautum magnis opibus ne fingere dem cupidinem otii, sed veterum Romanorum imitamenta eferre, adsumpta etiam Stoicorum adrogantia sectaque, quae bidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat. nec ultra mora. la sexto die pervectis Massiliam percussoribus ante metum rumorem interficitur, cum epulandi causa discumberet.

Plautum et Sullam. On the ıer see c. 22, 2, on the latter, 12. 52, ıd note.

amotos: for the pl. cp. 3. 62, 1, note, for the facts see c. 22, 5; 13. ı.

huic . . . illi. The reference of : pronouns is reversed, without such ɔn as is apparent elsewhere (cp. 2. , and note).

diversas spes . . . spectare, 'had ve to hopes from opposite quarters' a divided allegiance). He means Burrus acknowledged obligations to ppina (12. 42, 2), was never hearty ting against her (c. 7, 4; 13. 20, 5), might even have had a leaning to chemes for Plautus (13. 19, 2).

cui caveri, etc., 'for whom pre-ɔns against city conspiracies are in-somehow (cp. 2. 14, 4; 12. 51, 2, taken by diligence on the spot' by his own). 'Praesenti opera' is ally read by recent edd., after Lips., he Med. 'presentiora' (apparently ror arising from abbreviation); the edd. read 'praesentia' (sc. 'ipsius ıis'); Heins. prefers 'praesenti cura' MS. Agr.); Haase 'praesenti copia' . 47, 1). The sense given above to senti' would be the same as in 3. o, etc. Others take it to mean ediate' (as in 1. 32, 6, etc.).

ad, 'at the sound of' (Nipp.). was descended from the great dic- as is shown by his name 'Felix' (see notes on 12. 52, 1; 6. 15, 1).

8. **suspensos,** 'excited by expectation' (cp. H. 2. 4, 4; 4. 8, 2), thus answering to 'erectas.' This reading is adopted by most edd. after Lips. for the Med. 'suspectos,' which can hardly be taken with 'claritudine' in any such sense as that their fidelity was suspected by reason of the renown of Drusus (i. e. of the impression made upon them by it). For the pedigree of Plautus see note on 13. 19, 3.

9. **simulatorem segnitiae**: cp. 13. 47, 1.

10. **magnis opibus,** abl. of quality.

11. **imitamenta.** The notion of pretence is implied in this word (cp. 3. 5, 6; 13. 4, 1), and in 'praeferre.' 'Placita maiorum colebat' is said of him in c. 22, 3.

12. **sectaque, quae,** etc. On the Stoic opposition see Introd. p. 83; Friedl. iii. p. 618, etc.

13. **turbidos,** 'seditious,' as in c. 59, 5; 3. 38, 2, etc.

negotiorum adpetentes, 'eager for politics' (cp. 'reipublicae negotiis' 4. 40, 8); this being popularly taken to be part of the Stoic ideal of life as contrasted with the Epicurean (Hor. Epp. 1. 1, 16), though by no means in accordance with its real doctrines (see Introd. p. 84). Nipp. less well takes it of a desire for dangers (i. e. for political martyrdom).

perlatum caput eius inlusit Nero tamquam praematura cani deforme.

58. Plauto parari necem non perinde occultum fuit, q pluribus salus eius curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris te pusque interiectum moverat famam; vulgoque fingebant petit ab eo Corbulonem, magnis tum exercitibus praesidentem et, cl atque insontes *si* interficerentur, praecipuum ad pericula. q et Asiam favore iuvenis arma cepisse, nec milites ad scelus mis aut numero validos aut animo promptos, postquam iussa effic nequiverint, ad spes novas transisse. vana haec more fan credentium otio augebantur; ceterum libertus Plauti celerit ventorum praevenit centurionem et mandata L. Antistii soc attulit: effugeret segnem mortem, dum suffugium esset: ma

1. **perlatum,** 'brought home' (for him to see): Med. has 'prelatum' (with a stroke drawn through 'p'); most edd. read 'relatum,' as in c. 59, 4, etc.

tamquam = ὡς.

4. **pluribus,** dat. of the agent.

spatium, etc. It seems best to take 'spatium' and 'tempus' as merely different ways of putting the same fact, and 'itineris' as used specifically of journey by land as contrasted with 'maris' ('the long journey by land and sea and the time which had to intervene'). Dr. would take 'ac maris' as a more specific idea subordinated to 'itineris,' to imply the special delays of the sea voyage ('the length of the route, especially of the part by sea'), and instances Liv. 7. 13, 9 ('viri ac Romani'); 23. 33, 11 ('Carthaginienses atque Hannibal'). It is meant that the length of time before it could be known in Rome that the mandate had been executed gave opportunity for reports to spread there.

5. **petitum,** etc., 'that he had fled to Corbulo.'

6. **praesidentem,** used in this sense (with accus.) in 3. 39, 1.

7. **si.** This conjunction is wanting, and may most easily have dropped out in this place, where Bezzenb. inserts it.

praecipuum ad pericula. The meaning here required seems to be 'most exposed to danger'; though the analogy of 'praecipuos ad scelera' (6. 7, 3) would suggest the sense of 'ad pericula suscipienda' rather than 'subeunda.' Cp. also 16. 14, 3.

8. **nec.** The negation is taken with 'aut' . . . 'aut'; the sense being tha 'et . . . neque . . . neque': cp. 2. 40 12. 36, 6, and notes. It is seen be that the soldiers were 60 in number.

10. **spes novas** = 'spem novarum rum,' as in 1. 4, 2; 16. 23, 2.

more famae, 'as is the way reports'; so in H. 4. 50, 1: cp. 'ut famae' (3. 44, 1), 'more rumor (Sall. H. 2. 70 D, 88 K, 42 G).

11. **credentium otio,** 'by the indole of the credulous'; i. e. 'by indo credulity.' The story, with whate additions it gathered at every step, passed on by those who were too indo to sift it. It seems needless to 'odio,' with J. F. Gron., as advoc by Madvig (Adv. ii. 555).

ceterum = 'revera autem' (cp. 10, 1, and note), to contrast the story with the rumour.

12. **L. Antistii**: see 13. 11, 1, and n

13. **dum suffugium esset.** The M text, 'otium suffugium et,' has given to a vast number of emendations, one of which has won general accepta That above given is now adopted Halm (who had formerly read 'sont suffugium: ex'), from Andresen. conjectures of older date are colle by Walther, those of later editors Halm and Baiter, to which may be ad that of Madv. (Adv. ii. 555) 'in n suffugium et.' It may be noted that 'segnis mors' which he was to a was the tame submission to the assas on the way to him, so that no emenda can be right which would take 'suf-fugium' in apposition with 'mort in the sense of suicide.

ninis miseratione reperturum bonos, consociaturum audaces: lum interim subsidium aspernandum. si sexaginta milites t enim adveniebant) propulisset, dum refertur nuntius Neroni, n manus alia permeat, multa secutura quae adusque bellum lescerent. denique aut salutem tali consilio quaeri, aut nihil vius audenti quam ignavo patiendum esse.

59. Sed Plautum ea non movere, sive nullam opem provide- inermis atque exul, seu taedio ambiguae spei, an amore iugis et liberorum, quibus placabiliorem fore principem re- ur nulla sollicitudine turbatum. sunt qui alios a socero itios venisse ferant, tamquam nihil atrox immineret; doc- esque sapientiae, Coeranum Graeci, Musonium Tusci generis, stantiam opperiendae mortis pro incerta et trepida vita sisse. repertus est certe per medium diei nudus exercitando

miseratione, generally read by nt edd., with some inferior MSS. the Med. 'miseratione̅' ('misera:io- '). Those who retain the accus. le 'miserationem' with 'suffugium,' ch might give a fair sense, if some reading as 'odium suffugium' ter) were adopted.

dum refertur . . . permeat. For use of 'dum' with indic. in indirect ch cp. 13. 15, 7, etc.

adusque = 'usque ad,' here alone acitus, and in no earlier prose, but erg., Hor., etc., afterwards in Gell. Appul.: cp. 'abusque' (13. 47, 2, note).

evalescerent, 'would be strong gh to result in war': so in 'tu- um evaluit' (H. 1. 80, 3). The is also found in G. 2, 5; 28, 1, and ther prose of the silver age, and ars to originate with Verg. and Hor.

sive . . . seu . . . an. The form of sentence would be rather in favour king 'an' (with Dr.) as subordinate seu,' the main antithesis being een the absence of any prospect of and his personal feelings. On the hand 'an' is generally allowed and as coordinate with 'sive' in 6, 1 (where see note).

coniugis, Antistia Pollitta: see , 5, and note.

alios, others besides the freedman e mentioned, and bringing news that treme sentence was to be expected.

tamquam = ὡς, as in c. 57, 6, etc.: ne sense of 'atrox' cp. 5. 3, 4; 6. 2, 1; 16. 30, 3; H. 3. 59, 6, etc.

12. **Coeranum.** This person is elsewhere only mentioned in the 'Index auctorum' to Book 2, given in Plin. N. H. 1. ('Coerano philosopho'); but this seems sufficient evidence of his existence to make it needless to suppose (with Lips.) that the name of Claranus, the 'condiscipulus' of Seneca (Ep. 66, 1), or with Ritt. that the name of Cornutus, who was exiled either at the same date with Musonius (see Dio, 62, 27, 4; 29, 4), or more probably after the date at which the Annals close, should be substituted. The former is not a Greek name, the latter was an African.

Musonium Tusci generis. C. Musonius Rufus, a knight (H. 3. 81, 1) of Vulsinii (Suid. s.v.), was a renowned Stoic, the teacher of Epictetus, and is often cited in Arrian's memoirs of that philosopher. On the pretext of complicity in the conspiracy of Piso (see 15. 71, 9), he was banished to Gyarus (Philost. Vit. Ap. 7. 16), but had returned by 822, A.D. 69, and took part in the politics of that time (H. 3. 81, 1; 4. 10, 1; 40, 4). He appears to have been dead when Plin. mi. speaks of him (Ep. 3. 11, 5) as a former friend. Some further notice of him will be found in Gell. 5. 1; 9. 2; 16. 1; and a fragment of his teaching, preserved by Stobaeus, is given in Ritt. and Prell. Hist. § 465.

13. **opperiendae mortis,** defining genit.

14. **medium diei:** cp. 11. 21, 2, and note.

corpori. talem eum centurio trucidavit coram Pelagone spador quem Nero centurioni et manipulo, quasi satellitibus ministru regium, praeposuerat. caput interfecti relatum; cuius aspec (ipsa principis verba referam) cur, inquit, Nero * * * et posi metu nuptias Poppaeae ob eius modi terrores dilatas matura parat Octaviamque coniugem amoliri, quamvis modeste ager nomine patris et studiis populi gravem. sed ad senatum liter misit de caede Sullae Plautique haud confessus, verum utriusq turbidum ingenium esse, et sibi incolumitatem rei public magna cura haberi. decretae eo nomine supplicationes, utq Sulla et Plautus senatu moverentur, gravioribus iam ludibr quam malis.

nudus, etc., 'stripped for gymnastic exercises': the use of 'nudus' with gerundive dat., though not found elsewhere, is analogous to that of many other adjectives (Introd. i. v. § 22 b; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 206 B. b).

1. **talem,** 'in such condition.' This was an addition to the indignity. Pelagon is sent to see the command executed, as was Euodus the freedman in the case of Messalina (11. 37, 4).

2. **manipulo,** here taken loosely to mean 'a detachment.' The 'manipulus' properly consisted of two centuries, and this body was one of only 60 men (c. 58, 4).

quasi, etc., 'like a sultan's slave in command of his retinue': 'satelles' is used invidiously of the train of a royal personage: cp. 16. 22, 3; also 'regii satellites' (Liv. 2. 12, 8), etc.

4. **ipsa . . . verba**: for the few instances of such quotations see note on 6. 6, 1.

cur, inquit, etc. That the words used are lost, has been noted by all edd. after Walther. Their purport may have been the same as that given by Dio (62. 14, 1), '*οὐκ ᾔδειν,*' *ἔφη,* '*ὅτι μεγάλην ῥῖνα εἶχεν,*' *ὥσπερ φεισάμενος ἂν αὐτοῦ εἰ τοῦτο προηπίστατο*; whence Halm thinks the passage may have run as follows, 'Cur inquit, Nero, hominem nasutum timuisti'? Such a brutal jest is in accordance with his remark on the death of Sulla (c. 57, 6), and (according to some) on that of Agrippina (see on c. 9, 1).

5. **Poppaeae.** His intercourse with her had already lasted over four years (13. 45, 1).

eius modi terrores. This is evidently ironical, and is generally und stood of the fear of mere exiles. may however have some reference, whi we cannot explain, to the lost words.

6. **Octaviam.** He had been nomina married to her for more than nine ye (12. 58, 1).

amoliri, so used of the same in H. 1. 13, 8; and of the removal Germanicus (2. 42, 1); also of pers in Plaut. and Ter.

modeste, 'unassumingly,' not deavouring to enlist popular sympathy

7. **nomine,** 'on account of'; so 'n nomine' (H. 1. 29, 4), and in Cic., e Her mere presence reminded him of t treachery practised on her father. T popular feeling in her favour is sho in c. 60, 6, foll.

gravem, 'burdensome': so in c. 2; 15. 1, 5, etc.

8. **haud confessus.** He did not o that he had put them to death, but s that they were dangerous men and t his care for the public safety oblig him to make complaint of them. T senate answers in the same vein a gravely sentences them as if they we alive.

10. **magna cura haberi** (='cum mag cura') 'was treated (watched over) w great solicitude.' Dr. notes this expr sion as new; but its opposite 'sine cu haberi' is used (with 'minora') in 8, 2; and (with 'externa') in H. 1. 1. No editors appear to have follow Heins. in reading 'magnae curae habe ('interested him deeply').

eo nomine, 'on that pretext,' i for his vigilance in detecting the crim of these men.

11. **gravioribus iam ludibriis qua**

60. Igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta sce-um suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam, rilem dictitans; exim Poppaeae coniungitur. ea diu paelex adulteri Neronis, mox mariti potens, quendam ex ministris taviae impulit servilem ei amorem obicere. destinaturque is cognomento Eucaerus, natione Alexandrinus, canere tibiis ctus. actae ob id de ancillis quaestiones, et vi tormentorum tis quibusdam ut falsa adnuerent, plures perstitere sanctitatem minae tueri; ex quibus una instanti Tigellino castiora esse liebria Octaviae respondit quam os eius. movetur tamen mo civilis discidii specie domumque Burri, praedia Plauti,

is, 'the mockery (of this condem-on of dead men) seeming even more lting than the crimes' (the murder f): the former caused more indig-on against the senate than even the r against Nero. Another such act milarly commented on in 16. 11, 6 caedibus peractis ludibria adicie-ur'); but such sentences were not gether without their significance as lamnatio memoriae.' 'Iam' is read Freinsh. and Nipp., after MS. Agr., gives a better sense than Halm's a'; either being in itself a probable ection of the Med. 'tā' ('tam'), h may also be taken as an error tam̄' ('tamen'), the reading of most , after G. This reading, though ble of a similar meaning to that n above ('great as was the crime, nockery was yet greater'), is generally aken as to make the remark some- weak ('which sentence was how- more grievous as a mockery than calamity,' inasmuch as it could not the dead).

consulto, the decree of 'supplica-s' just mentioned.

ncta scelerum. On such uses e partitive genit. without any parti-force see Introd. i. v. § 32 b.

exturbat . . . coniungitur. Nipp. ts out that these presents are antici-ry; the fact being restated below in roper place ('movetur tamen,' etc.) the events related in the following being prior to it. According to Suet. . 35), the marriage with Poppaea place on the twelfth day after the ce.

impulit . . . obicere: cp. 13. 19, d note.

stinatur, 'is marked out,' intended to be set up.

6. **canere tibiis.** The Med. text 'pty-bias' ('per tibias') is retained by Or., but would be an unexampled construc-tion. Most others read as above, with G.; Ritt. corrects to 'puer tibiis'; Heins. and Bezzenb. to 'perite tibia,' (or 'tibiis'). The instrumental performers of Alexan-dria were celebrated for their skill (Athen. 4. 176 e).

8. **ut falsa adnuerent.** No other strictly parallel instance of this construc-tion (equivalent to that of 'adfirmare') appears to be found; though the verb is used with such an accus. as 'id,' or 'quod' (cp. H. 4. 53, 5; Dial. 33, 4; Cic. de Or. 2. 70, 285, etc.). Nearly all edd. after Put. adopt from inferior MSS. the correction 'ut' for Med. 'si'; which latter could stand if it followed immediately on 'actae . . . quaestiones' (cp. 12. 28, 1, etc.).

plures. 'the majority': according to Dio (62. 13, 4), only the one here men-tioned. Suet. (c. 35) mixes up this charge with that made subsequently by Anicetus (c. 62, 6), and appears equally to exag-gerate on the other side ('in quaestione pernegantibus cunctis').

9. **una.** Dio (l. l.) gives her name (Pytheas), and adds a detail (*προσέπτυσέ τε αὐτῷ*).

10. **movetur**, simple for compound, as in c. 32, 4; 59, 6. There is no need to read 'amovetur,' with Faern. and Acid.

11. **civilis discidii specie**, 'under colour of an ordinary legal divorce,' not as if convicted on a criminal charge, which, if sustained, would have amounted to 'maiestas' (2. 50, 1). The ground assigned was sterility (§ 1; c. 63, 1), and the estates assigned were no doubt, as Prof. Holbrooke remarks, given in

infausta dona accipit: mox in Campaniam pulsa est ad militari custodia. inde crebri questus nec occulti per vulg cui minor sapientia et ex mediocritate fortunae pauciora peri sunt. his . . . tamquam Nero paenitentia flagitii coniugem vocarit Octaviam.

61. Exim laeti Capitolium scandunt deosque tandem v rantur. effigies Poppaeae proruunt, Octaviae imagines ges umeris, spargunt floribus foroque ac templis statuunt. †

satisfaction of her claim of 'dos.' The story of frequent attempts or intentions to strangle her rests only on Suet. (l. l.).

domum Burri, praedia Plauti. Nero must have inherited or purchased the house of Burrus at his death (c. 51, 1), and had of course confiscated the estates of Plautus, in Asia (c. 22, 5) or elsewhere.

1. **pulsa.** The confused account in Suet. (l. l.) speaks of a 'relegatio,' by which the subsequent banishment to Pandateria (c. 63, 1) appears to be meant.

2. **militari custodia**, probably not the strict custody meant by the term in 3. 22, 4, but a surveillance like that of the 'adpositi (or 'additi') custodes' of 4. 60, 1; 6. 14, 3.

per vulgum, taken with 'questus': on the form of the accus. cp. 1. 47, 5, and note.

3. **sapientia**, 'prudence.'

et ex: so generally read, after Put. Med. has no conjunction. Halm. had in former editions altered 'ex' to 'et' (taking the abl. as causal); which seems better than Ritter's retention of the Med. text as an asyndeton.

4. **his . . . Nero**, etc. Med. has here 'his quamquam Nero,' and in the next line 'revocavit.' Orelli leaves it unaltered (marked with an obelus); others have corrected it in a great variety of ways, none of which have found very general acceptance. Halm reads, after MS. Bud. and Rhen., 'his Nero, tamquam,' etc.; others follow Oberl. and Doed. in reading 'his Nero, nequaquam,' etc. (both taking 'his' as a causal abl.); and many other alterations have been made to give a similar meaning. It seems, however, plain from c. 61, especially § 3 ('ne . . . Nero inclinatione populi mutaretur'), that Nero never did actually recall Octavia, though he appeared to be intending to do so; whence it seems best, with Nipp., to read 'revocarit' (with 'tamquam'), and to suppose some words to have dropped out stating that the mar ations of popular feeling made su impression as to give rise to a ru that Nero had recalled Octavia a wife ('coniugem'). A similar re is advocated by Madvig (Adv. ii. p. who notes the use of the constr with 'tamquam' with the force accus. and inf. in c. 22, 1; 3. 12, 7 and the corruption of 'tamquan 'quamquam' in the Med. text of 1 7. Haase (see Baiter's note) fills u lacuna at some length, so as to giv same meaning, without altering 'q quam' or 'revocavit.'

6. **tandem.** It is implied tha continuance of evil had led men t believe in divine justice.

7. **effigies . . . proruunt**: for t of 'proruere' cp. 1. 68, 2, etc.; similar act see 3. 14, 6; for a s carrying of the statues of popula sons see 5. 4, 3.

8. **spargunt floribus.** This h paid to the statues appear to be gro on that paid to persons on triu occasions: see Liv. 33. 33, 2; Ov. 2, 49; also the description in Her 1. 7, 5, of the entry of Commodu Rome (στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς χοντο).

foro ac templis, abl. of place Introd. i. v. § 25.

itur etiam, etc. This corrupt text is emendated by Ritt. and oth omitting or bracketing 'repetitum antium' (before which words Ritt that a full stop is placed in Med gloss on 'laudes,' intended to 'laudes eorum qui venerabantur (bant) repetitum (revocationem Octa But the otherwise unknown subst 'repetitus,' while it might have be vented by Tacitus, on the analo other such forms (see Introd. i. v 1 b), is very unlikely to have been by a glossator; and if the words bear such a meaning, they might st

m in principis laudes repetitum venerantium. iamque et atium multitudine et clamoribus complebant, cum emissi tum globi verberibus et intento ferro turbatos disiecere. ataque quae per seditionem verterant, et Poppaeae honos ositus est. quae semper odio, tum et metu atrox, ne aut gi acrior vis ingrueret aut Nero inclinatione populi mutaretur, voluta genibus eius, non eo loci res suas ait, ut de matrimonio et, quamquam id sibi vita potius, sed vitam ipsam in extre-n adductam a clientelis et servitiis Octaviae, quae plebis sibi ien indiderint, ea in pace ausi quae vix bello evenirent. a illa adversus principem sumpta; ducem tantum defuisse, motis rebus facile reperiretur, omitteret modo Campaniam 1 urbem ipsa pergeret, ad cuius nutum absentis tumultus entur. quod alioquin suum delictum? quam cuiusquam isionem? an quia veram progeniem penatibus Caesarum ra sit? malle populum Romanum tibicinis Aegyptii subo-

of the text; 'laudes' being taken a double genit. (objective and sub-). Halm suggests that 'aedes' may been lost before 'laudes' ('repeti- being taken as a supine); but the efore 'Palatium' in the following ce seems rather to represent this istration as a distinct and subsequent Among the many other attempts at tion may be noted 'expetitur vene-us' (read, with comma after es,' by Ryck. and Brot. after MS. and 'repetita veneratione' (Harl. H. Müller). The use of 'veneratio' ote reverence for the prince can be ated from c. 13. 1; and Müller (Beitr. 4. p. 32) that 'repetita' refer to the expressions of feeling ed at an earlier time (c. 10, 2; 13, ut it would be more naturally re- to 'deos . . . venerantur' above.

uae verterant, 'the changes which ad made,' in respect of the statues.

rovoluta genibus: cp. 11. 30, 1, te.

eo loci, etc., 'her fortunes ot now in such a position': 'loci' used as a quasi-partitive genit. eo' in 15. 74, 1, with 'eodem' in (where see note). Halm follows b. in altering the Med. 'agi' to Ritt. reads 'agi ait'; others re-ie Med. text, which, though a hat strong instance of the omission verb of speaking, is hardly stronger than some others common in Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 38 a).

10. **in pace . . . bello**, so coupled in H. 2. 82, 3: both are used with preps. in H. 2. 77, 5, etc., both without preps. in H. 2. 86, 3, etc.

ausi. Dr. points out that here the use of the abstracts 'clientelis et servitiis' for concretes justifies and even necessitates the change to the masc. (notwithstanding the preceding 'quae'), as 'ausa' would be hardly intelligible. Cp. 'auxilia . . . caesi' (4. 48, 5), 'vexilla . . . eos' (H. 1. 31, 8), and note on c. 20, 7.

13. **ipsa**: so all recent edd., after Bötticher, for the Med. 'ipsam.'

14. **quod alioquin**, etc. Nipp. appears rightly to expand this concise expression. 'Otherwise, if this were a real attack on me, not a covert act of sedition against Nero, some charge would be alleged against me. But what is that charge?' For the sense of 'alioquin' cp. 2. 38, 6, and note.

15. **veram**, 'trueborn.' Dr. compares 'verum ac germanum Metellum' (Cic. Verr. 4. 66, 147), 'tua vera propago' (Ov. Met. 2, 38). Her daughter was born in the following January (15. 23, 1).

16. **malle.** For the omission of the interrogative particle, most unusual in oratio obliqua, see 2. 15. 4, and note. Here Med. has 'mallet,' whence Ritt. (1848) reads 'mallene.' Walth. places only a comma at 'sit,' and makes 'malle'

lem imperatorio fastigio induci? denique, si id rebus conduc libens quam coactus acciret dominam, vel consuleret securit iusta ultione. et modicis remediis primos motus consediss at si desperent uxorem Neronis fore Octaviam, illi maritu daturos.

62. Varius sermo et ad metum atque iram accommoda terruit simul audientem et accendit. sed parum valebat suspi in servo et quaestionibus ancillarum elusa erat. ergo conf sionem alicuius quaeri placet, cui rerum quoque novarum crim adfingeretur. et visus idoneus maternae necis patrator Anicet classi apud Misenum, ut memoravi, praefectus, levi post admissu scelus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum mini quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur. igitur accitum eum Caesar ope prioris admonet: solum incolumitati principis adversus insidi tem matrem subvenisse; locum haud minoris gratiae instare coniugem infensam depelleret. nec manu aut telo opus: fa retur Octaviae adulterium. occulta quidem ad praesens, s

depend on 'an,' so as to make the whole sentence mean 'does the Roman people, from being offended with me for this, prefer?' etc.; but 'quia' has thus a less intelligible meaning.

tibicinis Aegyptii, sc. 'Eucaeri': see c. 60, 3.

1. **induci**, 'to be thrust into imperial grandeur.' The use of this verb with a dat. is taken from Verg. (G. 1, 316), and has the sense of bringing into a house in Val. Fl. 2, 132 ('toris inducere Thressas'), and Pl. Ep. 6. 33, 2 ('illi novercam . . . induxerat').

2. **libens quam coactus**: on the omission of 'potius' see Introd. i. v. § 64, 1.

dominam, implying that if he yielded to this dictation he would have to be his wife's slave.

vel, 'or if he could not stoop to this': for the use of 'vel' cp. c. 35, 4, and note.

3. **et modicis**, etc. The present movement had been easily repressed (see § 2); but if the people find out that Octavia is not to be restored, she must be put to death, or they will find her another husband who will be a claimant for the imperial dignity.

6. **Varius**, explained by the context, 'addressing itself by turns to his fear and passion.' The sense of 'artificial,' g by Jacob and Burnouf, is hardly b out by the reference to Sall. Cat. ('animus audax, subdolus, varius').

8. **in servo**, 'in the case of the sl the story of Eucaerus (c. 60, 3).

elusa erat, 'had been frustrat a sense somewhat similar to that of 'p tentia . . . elusa' in 3. 34, 13 (where note). It can hardly be right to 'elusa' (with Doed.) to Poppaea.

10. **patrator**, ἅπ. εἰρ., except in t writers (Avienus and Jerome): see Int i. v. § 69, 1 a.

11. **ut memoravi**, c. 3. 5.

12. **gratia . . . odio**, ablatives of qu

13. **quasi exprobrantes aspiciun** 'seem to upbraid us when we loo them' (as it were demanding thei ward). The sentiment is in the vein with that in 4. 18, 3; for the s of 'exprobrare' cp. 4. 57, 5; 13. 2 'Malorum' (which, and not 'malor as given by Baiter and others, is, ac ing to Ritt., the true Med. reading) i an otiose adjective; 'facinus' being used, as a neutral term, with epithe either kind (cp. 1. 8, 7; H. 2. 5 etc.).

16. **manu**, 'violence'; so coupled 'telum' in c. 55, 4; 13. 6, 5; H. 3 5, etc.

agna ei praemia et secessus amoenos promittit, vel, si negasset, necem intentat. ille insita vaecordia et facilitate priorum gitiorum, plura etiam quam iussum erat fingit fateturque apud icos, quos velut consilio adhibuerat princeps. tum in Sarniam pellitur, ubi non inops exilium toleravit et fato obiit.

63. At Nero praefectum in spem sociandae classis corruptum, incusatae paulo ante sterilitatis oblitus, abactos partus conentia libidinum, eaque sibi conperta edicto memorat insulaque ndateria Octavium claudit. non alia exul visentium oculos iore misericordia adfecit. meminerant adhuc quidam Agripae a Tiberio, recentior Iuliae memoria obversabatur a Claudio

secessus, Dr. notes the plural as l after the analogy of 'loca.'

el = 'aut,' as in c. 61, 6, etc.

necem intentat, apparently taken ı 'intentant omnia mortem' (Verg. , 1, 91).

ısita **vaecordia**. This expression not seem able to be used strictly of al depravity, but is well explained by . Holbrooke as 'natural perversity,' unreasoning malice.

cilitate priorum flagitiorum, h a readiness belonging to (resulting) his former crimes.' Such a genit. rtainly (as Jacob notes) unusual; but explanation seems preferable to that ıking 'facilitate' as a causal abl., the sense 'because his former crimes been so easily accomplished' (like litate adulteriorum' in 11. 26, 1).

plura, apparently such details as ıentioned in c. 63, 1.

ssum **erat**. 'Iussus erat' would ore usual; but Nipp. notes the prece of Tacitus for this form: cp. 2. ; H. 4. 35, 4; 5. 21, 3, and the use bere aliquid' (13. 15. 4; Agr. 45, 2), hat with the subjunct. (13. 15, 3,

amicos, the judicial 'consilium rum principis' (see 13. 23, 4, and Introd. i. vi. p. 74; Momms. r. ii. 988, foll.) In the case of a he investigation might have taken rm of a family trial (see 13. 32, 4, ote); but it is implied in 'velut' ıe process, of whatever sort, was a

ato obiit, 'died a natural death': e same, or similar phrases, cp. 2. 6. 10, 3; 11. 2, 5; etc., also 'fato ' (Liv. 26. 13, 7); 'fatum' being in such expressions to mean what would happen in the ordinary course of nature (Introd. i. iv. 22).

6. **in spem**, 'with a view to the hope': cp. c. 15, 8, and note; also 'in saevitiam' (15. 44, 8, and note).

7. **paulo ante**: cp. c. 60, 3.

abactos partus. This is perhaps the meaning of what Zonaras (11. 12) says (μοιχείας καὶ γοητείας κατηγόρους ψευδεῖς παρεσκευάσατο). Suet. (Ner. 35) mentions only the alleged adultery ('Anicetum . . . iudicem subiecerit, qui fingeret dolo stupratam a se'). Causing abortion was not a crime under Roman law in early times (Cic. Clu. 11, 31), nor is any penalty known to have been imposed upon it till the time of Septimius Severus (Marcian, in Dig. 47. 11, 4).

conscientia libidinum (causal abl.), because she dared not to pass off her offspring as legitimate.

8. **conperta**, through the evidence of Anicetus.

9. **Pandateria**: see 1. 53, 1, and note. Hence Lips. reads in Pseudo-Sen. Oct. 971 'Pandateriae (for 'tandem Phariae') limina terrae.' Some edd. read 'Pandataria'; but the form given above is that of Med. 1, and is probably intended by the Med. 'pandecteria' here.

10. **meminerant**, etc. Agrippina was banished to Pandateria, and died there in 786, A.D. 33 (see 6. 25, 1, and note). Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, was banished, by the influence of Messalina, on a charge of adultery with Seneca, in 749, A.D. 41 (Introd. p. 10) and was soon afterwards put to death (Dio, 60, 8, 5). It appears to be implied that she was exiled to the same place. The banishment of Julia, daughter of Augustus (1. 53, 1) is omitted, probably as having faded out of memory.

pulsae: sed illis robur aetatis adfuerat; laeta aliqua viderant et praesentem saevitiam melioris olim fortunae recordatione adlevabant. huic primum nuptiarum dies loco funeris fuit, deducta in domum in qua nihil nisi luctuosum haberet, erepto per venenum patre et statim fratre; tum ancilla domina validior et Poppaea non nisi in perniciem uxoris nupta, postremo crimen omni exitio gravius.

64. Ac puella vicensimo aetatis anno inter centuriones et milites, praesagio malorum iam vitae exempta, nondum tamen morte adquiescebat. paucis dehinc interiectis diebus mori iubetur, cum iam viduam se et tantum sororem testaretur com-

1. **robur aetatis.** This seems hardly true of Julia, who was but 23 at the time of her banishment (see 2. 54, 1), and probably no older than Octavia (see on c. 64, 1). Prof. Holbrooke thinks that Julia, daughter of Drusus (see 13. 32, 5, and note), may be meant; but there is no record of her having been banished.

2. **adlevabant.** Compare the opposite sentiment of Dante (Inf. v), 'nessun maggior dolore, che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria.'

3. **primum.** Nipp. and Dr. follow Lips. in reading 'primus'; but the correction seems needless, as 'primum' answers well to 'tum' and 'postremo.'

5. **patre . . . fratre,** Claudius and Britannicus. The death of the one took place in the year following her marriage, that of the other in the next year afterwards.

ancilla, Acte (13. 12, 1): with 'validior' would be supplied 'in animo mariti' (cp. c. 51, 6, etc.). Nipp. notes that with these clauses some general notion, like 'patienda fuerunt' is supplied from 'huic . . . fuit.'

6. **non nisi,** etc., i. e. who could never let her rival live.

crimen, the charge now brought against her.

8. **puella,** used of a young wife in 16. 30, 3, and often in poets, as Hor. Od. 3. 22, 2; Prop. 4. 13, 23 (of Penelope); Ov. F. 2, 555, also in Gell. 12. 1, 4, etc.

vicensimo. This word is plainly wrong, and cannot be taken as a round number. She was evidently older than Britannicus (Suet. Cl. 27), whose birth is dated twenty-one, or at least twenty years before this year (see on 12. 25, 3; 13. 15, 1); and she had been promised in marriage to L. Silanus in 794, A.D. 41 (Dio, 60. 5, 7). It is suggested by Nipp. that the word in Tacitus may have been 'duo et vicensimo,' written in early MSS. as 'II et vicensimo,' and that it may have lost its first letters by confusion with the three last of 'puella.' Such a reading as 'quinto et vicensimo,' as suggested by Ritt., would seem more in accordance with her supposed real age, but less easy to reconcile with the text. Similar errors of Tacitus or his copyists are noted in 12. 25, 3, etc.

9. **vitae exempta**: the dat. is read by all recent edd., after Heins. for the MS. 'vita'; this case being used with 'eximere' in eighteen places by Tacitus (1. 48, [illegible]; 64, 4, etc.), the classical 'eximere e vita' once (Agr. 3. 3), and the simple abl. never; though it is not unfrequent in Livy (6. 24, 8, etc.). The meaning is that this exile, so often the precursor of death, gave her such presentiment of her fate as to warn her that she had no longer a place among the living.

nondum tamen morte adquiescebat. The attempt to interpret this expression from Cic. Mil. 37, 102 ('hi maxime P. Clodii morte acquierunt'), so as to give the sense 'could not reconcile herself to death' (Church and Brodribb), seems less satisfactory than that of Orelli, Louandre, etc., that while thus cut off from life, she 'could not yet find repose in death' ('morte' being equivalent to 'in morte'). Orelli cites 'anno acquievit septuagesimo' (Nep. Hann. 13), and the frequent use of 'hic adquiescit' in inscriptions, not only in those of Christians (e. g. Or. 2313, 4084, 4491).

10. **paucis . . . diebus.** Suet. (Ner. 57) gives the day of her death as the same as that on which Nero afterwards perished (June 9).

11. **iam viduam,** 'she was now a-

unesque Germanicos et postremo Agrippinae nomen cieret, ıa incolumi infelix quidem matrimonium, sed sine exitio pertu-sset. restringitur vinclis venaeque eius per omnes artus ex-lvuntur; et quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, aefervidi balnei vapore enecatur. additurque atrocior saevitia, ıod caput amputatum latumque in urbem Poppaea vidit. dona haec templis decreta quem ad finem memorabimus? qui-mque casus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus scent, praesumptum habeant, quotiens fugas et caedes iussit inceps, totiens grates deis actas, quaeque rerum secundarum m, tum publicae cladis insignia fuisse. neque tamen silebimus, quod senatus consultum adulatione novum aut patientia postre-ım fuit.

ried, and no more to Nero than a er' (by his adoption). The same speech iven in Pseudo-Sen. Oct. 658 ('soror gusti, non uxor ero').

ommunes Germanicos. Her grand-er, the elder Drusus, was honoured at death with the title Germanicus, to borne by himself and his posterity et. Cl. 1). This name was thus that the family of Octavia on her father's , and that of Nero on his mother's, (by his adoption) on his father's also.

qua incolumi . . . pertulisset: c. 1, 1.

pressus, equivalent to 'repressus' rested'), as in c. 5, 2 to 'oppressus': premunt sanguinem' (15. 64, 1).

bebatur, 'was trickling.' Dr. notes similar application of this word oetry to 'aqua,' 'flumen,' 'lacrima,' um,' etc.

vapore, 'hot air': cp. 11. 3, 2, and For a similar mode of hastening see 15. 64, 5; 69, 3.

ditur, 'is added to the rest': cp. citur' (13. 41, 4). This atrocity con-d in exhibiting her head as that of a factor, and allowing her rival to gloat the sight.

dona . . . decreta quem ad finem orabimus? So Halm, Or., Nipp, Ritt., after Doed., for the Med. 'dona ecretaque ad finem,' etc. The older follow Put. in reading 'dona . . . ta: quod ('quae' G.) eum ad finem orabimus, ut,' etc. This reading was rly retained by Nipp., and is still ded by Jacob, who thinks that Tacitus d hardly have mentioned the fact thus by implication only, and would hardly have used 'ob haec' in the sense of 'ob haec atque talia.' These objections do not seem very weighty, and are balanced by the difficulty of taking 'finem' in the subjective sense of 'purpose' or 'design.' Also the rhetorical force of the whole passage is much heightened by supposing him thus to recoil from the explicit mention of this most loathsome instance of such mockeries of religion, while he begs his hearers to infer from it that the same took place on all similar occasions. The meaning would thus be 'how long shall I go on (cp. c. 52, 5, and note), recounting each occasion of such decrees'? Compare the similar passage in 3. 65, 1.

8. **nobis vel aliis auctoribus**, abl. abs., 'with myself or others as their authorities.'

9. **praesumptum habeant**, 'let them take for granted' (='cogitatione praesumant'): cp. 'utcumque se praesumit innocentem' (App. M. 7. 27, p. 200, 8), 'vulgo praesumitur' (Dig. 12. 3, 7). The sense is nearly akin to that in 12. 41, 4, and to 'spe praesumite bellum' (Verg. Aen. 11, 18). For the use of 'habere' cp. 13. 21, 3, and note.

11. **neque tamen silebimus**; i. e. though mere ordinary instances will be suppressed. Such a decree is mentioned in 15. 74, 1.

12. **patientia postremum**, 'the uttermost in submissiveness.' The sentiment may be compared in Agr. 2, 3 'dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum, et, sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute.' 'Postremus' is so used by Cic: cp. 'homines postremi' (Rosc. Am. 47, 137),

65. Eodem anno libertorum potissimos veneno interfeci creditus est, Doryphorum quasi adversatum nuptiis Poppae Pallantem, quod inmensam pecuniam longa senecta detiner Romanus secretis criminationibus incusaverat Senecam ut Pisonis socium, sed validius a Seneca eodem crimine percul est. unde Pisoni timor et orta insidiarum in Neronem mag moles et inprospera.

'servitus postremum malorum omnium' (Phil. 2. 44, 113).

1. **libertorum**, etc. Suet. (Ner. 35), as in so many instances (see Introd. i. viii. p. 134), speaks vaguely and generally, without giving names: 'libertos divites et senes, olim adoptionis mox dominationis suae fautores atque rectores, veneno, partim cibis, partim potionibus indito, intercepit.'

2. **creditus est.** On this form cp. 13. 30, 3, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 45. It is to be noticed that what Tacitus is careful to state as a mere belief is given by Suet. (l. l.), with circumstantial details, as an established fact.

Doryphorum. It appears from Dio (61. 5, 4), who mentions gifts to him from Nero of ten million H.S., that he held the post 'a libellis'; in which he probably succeeded Callistus (11. 29, 1). It need not be implied by 'quasi' that his alleged offence was a pretext; nor could any pretext have been assigned in such a case.

3. **Pallantem.** See 11. 29, 1, etc. Dio (62. 14, 3) appears to assert as an established fact that he was put to death in some way (τὸν Πάλλαντα διεχρήσατο).

inmensam pecuniam. If Dio (l. l.) is right in estimating his wealth at 400 million H.S. (μυρίας μυριάδας), it must have considerably increased during the past ten years (see 12. 53, 5).

detineret, 'was keeping from him.' According to Gaius (3. § 42), when a freedman left less than three children and died possessed of more than 100,000 H.S., the patron could claim, under the Lex Papia Poppaea, a 'portio virilis,' or share equal to that of one child.

4. **Romanus.** It appears probable that this person, thus mentioned with the others without further explanation, was one of the same rank with them. Nipp. would identify him with a 'Ti. Claudius Romanus,' whose name would show that he was a freedman of Claudius, and w is mentioned in a 'collegium' of freedm and slaves at Antium in 801, A.D. 48 (F. Antiat. in C. I. L. i. p. 327). R (Philol. xx. 291) supposes a lacuna exist in which the praenomen ('T.' 'Ti.') was given, and perhaps some p ticulars of what became of him. It also possible that his name may have b here thus briefly given, as one alre familiar to readers from mention in lost portion of the work. Hispo Roma (1. 74, 1) can hardly have been s alive; Fabius Romanus would not appr from 16. 17, 4 to have been mentio previously.

5. **socium.** This term would se to imply some treasonable design alre on foot; but the real conspiracy of P (15. 48, 1, foll.) is expressly said in context to have taken its first impulse fr this incident, and could not have b even suspected by Nero till some ti later. We must therefore suppose t the accuser only alleged that Sen sought Piso's society, and that the tinguished position of the latter made seem suspicious. This is certainly no accordance with the usual meaning 'socius'; and Nipp.'s bold substitution 'amicum' might be defended by suppos the former word to have been originall blundering marginal gloss on the lat and to have afterwards supplanted it the text.

6. **orta,** originating in these char and his own fears.

7. **et inprospera.** The old edd. r 'sed' for 'et,' and it is plain that the of 'set' might easily have been lost a 'moles'; but the use of 'et' with force of 'et tamen' is not uncommon (1. 13, 2; 38, 4; 12. 52, 3). This B ends in the middle of a year, with a se of crimes from c. 57.

BOOK XV.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

. 1-17. Affairs in the East.

. Vologeses summoned to help by Tiridates and by Monobazus, governor of ιdiabene. 2. He calls a council, crowns Tiridates, and prepares for war. 3. De-:nsive measures of Corbulo. 4. Tigranes besieged in Tigranocerta by Parthians nder Monaeses. 5. The siege raised in consequence of a message from Corbulo : 'ologeses sends an embassy to Rome. 6. Caesennius Paetus sent to command in ιrmenia. 7, 8. War renewed : Paetus rashly invades Armenia and gains some uccesses. 9–11. Corbulo takes a strong position on the Euphrates : the Parthian ttack turned to Armenia, where the Roman force, weakened by dispersion, is lockaded and reduced to extremities. 12–16. Corbulo comes to the rescue, but nds that Paetus had been forced to accept humiliating conditions. 17. Corbulo etires to Syria : Armenia left neutral, and an embassy again sent to Rome.

18-22. Affairs at Rome.

8. The reverses ignored at Rome ; as also a great loss of corn by storm and fire. Iero's boast of his public munificence. 19. Decree of the senate against fictitious doptions. 20–22. Charge against Claudius Timarchus of Crete : votes of thanks y provincial subjects to their governors forbidden on the motion of Thrasea : ortents and other minor events recorded.

. U. C. 816, A. D. 63. C. Memmius Regulus, L. Verginius Rufus, coss.

23. Birth (followed soon by death) of Nero's daughter by Poppaea : public :joicings : evidence of Nero's dislike of Thrasea.

24-31. Affairs in the East.

ι, 25. The embassy from Vologeses shows the true state of affairs : their terms jected, and Corbulo appointed to command with extensive powers : Paetus con-mptuously pardoned. 26, 27. Corbulo takes the field in force, following the ute of Lucullus, shows willingness to treat with Vologeses and Tiridates, expels e disaffected Armenian nobles from their strongholds. 28–31. Conference on the :e of the defeat of Paetus : Tiridates agrees to lay down his diadem for the esent, and to receive it from Nero at Rome : his visit to the camp, and subsequent urney to his brothers before departing for Italy.

32. Ius Latii given to the people of the Maritime Alps : seats reserved for ιights at the circus : more senators and women of rank enter the arena.

A. U. C. 817, A. D. 64. C. Laecanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, coss.

Ch. 33–35. Nero appears on the stage of the public theatre at Naples, which f just after the performance. He attends a show of gladiators given by Vatinius Beneventum : Torquatus Silanus forced to suicide.

Ch. 36, 37. He returns to Rome, and is deterred by some superstitious fear fr his projected tour to the East. Banquet given by Tigellinus. Nero descends the lowest depths of profligacy.

Ch. 38–45. Great fire in Rome, and its results.

38–41. Origin and progress of the fire : measures taken by Nero, and suspicion upon him, especially at its second outbreak : ancient temples destroyed. 42, Magnificence of Nero's restored palace : grand schemes of his architects, Seve and Celer. Improvements made in rebuilding the houses of the city. 44. Expiat ceremonies : Nero casts suspicion on the Christians ; of whom a vast number put to death with the utmost cruelty. 45. Contributions of money and works art extorted everywhere : withdrawal of Seneca into greater privacy, and alle attempt to poison him.

Ch. 46, 47. Minor events : outbreak of gladiators : great shipwreck : prodi noted.

A. U. C. 818, A. D. 65. A. Licinius Silius Nerva, M. Vestinus Atticus, coss.

Ch. 48–74. Conspiracy of Piso, and its detection and suppression.

48–50. Character of Piso : names and motives of some of the leading conspirat who are joined by several officers of the praetorian guard. 51–53. Epicharis t to gain over an officer of the Misenian fleet and is betrayed. After various chan of plan, the plot is arranged to be carried out at the Circensian games. 54– Betrayal of the plot by Milichus a freedman : Scaevinus and Natalis are arres and give up the names of others. Heroic death of Epicharis. 58, 59. Milit occupation of Rome and its suburbs : many arrests made : Piso rejects bol counsels and commits suicide. 60–65. Execution of Plautius Lateranus. Sen accused by Natalis : his last moments and death : preservation of his wife Pauli Notice of a report that some of the conspirators had designed to make h emperor. 66–70. Detection and execution of the chief military conspirators. consul Vestinus put to death without a charge. Death of Lucan and others. Milichus rewarded : several others sentenced to minor penalties or pardon 72–74. Gift to the soldiers. The senate summoned to confer various distincti Notice of Nymphidius Sabinus. Minutes of evidence recorded. Peril of Jun Gallio. Offerings decreed to gods. Ill-omened flattery of Anicius Cerialis.

APPENDIX II.

On the Neronian persecution of the Christians.

CORNELII TACITI

.NNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XV.

I. INTEREA rex Parthorum Vologeses cognitis Corbulonis rebus ;emque alienigenam Tigranen Armeniae impositum, simul tre Tiridate pulso spretum Arsacidarum fastigium ire ultum ens, magnitudine rursum Romana et continui foederis reve- tia diversas ad curas trahebatur, cunctator ingenio et de- tione Hyrcanorum, gentis validae, multisque ex eo bellis gatus. atque illum ambiguum novus insuper nuntius con- ıeliae exstimulat: quippe egressus Armenia Tigranes Adia- ıos, conterminam nationem, latius ac diutius quam per latro- ia vastaverat, idque primores gentium aegre tolerabant: eo

Interea, etc. The narrative of ern affairs is taken up from 14. 26, e it was carried down to the end of year 813, A.D. 60. Corbulo had set Tigranes and arranged the affairs of enia, and had himself retired into ; and the events here related begin e following spring.

alienigenam. The pure Arsacidae ss so to regard him, though he ars to have been not without relation- to that stock (see notes on 14. 26,

fastigium, 'the dignity': cp. 11. , etc.

ultum: cp. 4. 73, 6; 12. 45, 2, otes.

volens, 'purposing.' This strict cipial use is rare, and originates with , as 'multa volentem dicere' (Verg. 501).

ıtinui foederis. A standing between Rome and Parthia had d from 734, B.C. 20 (see 2. 1, 2, and), and had been renewed by Arta- in the time of Tiberius (2. 58, 1) and of Gaius (see Introd. p. 104), and had been more recently recognised as binding (see 12. 10, 1; 13. 9, 2). The empires had been only indirectly at war with each other.

5. **defectione Hyrcanorum**: see 13. 37, 6; 14. 25, 2.

6. **ex eo** = 'ex ea re.'

7. **inligatus**, 'hampered'; so 'bello externo inligari' (H. 3. 46, 5), 'inligari Romano bello' (Liv. 32. 21, 11).

ambiguum, 'hesitating': cp. 2. 67, 1, and note.

novus . . . nuntius, enallage: cp. 'verus . . . nuntius' (Verg. Aen. 6, 456); 'ad maiora rerum initia' (Liv. 1. 1, 4), etc.

8. **Adiabenos**: see 12. 13, 1, and note.

9. **diutius quam per latrocinia**, i. e. so as to suggest an intention of permanent hostile occupation. 'Vastare' is so used with personal object in 14. 23, 4; H. 2. 16, 4, etc.

10. **primores gentium**; so 'proceres gentium' (2. 58, 1). The nations are those composing the Parthian Empire.

contemptionis descensum, ut ne duce quidem Romano incur- rentur, sed temeritate obsidis tot per annos inter mancipia hab accendebat dolorem eorum Monobazus, quem penes Adiaben regimen, quod praesidium aut unde peteret rogitans. iam Armenia concessum, proxima trahi; et nisi defendant Part levius servitium apud Romanos deditis quam captis esse. Ti- dates quoque regni profugus per silentium aut modice queren gravior erat: non enim ignavia magna imperia contineri; viror armorumque faciendum certamen; id in summa fortuna aequi quod validius; et sua retinere privatae domus, de alienis cert regiam laudem esse.

2. Igitur commotus his Vologeses concilium vocat et proxim sibi Tiridaten constituit atque ita orditur: 'hunc ego eod mecum patre genitum, cum mihi per aetatem summo nomi

1. **incursarentur**; so 'agmen incursatum' (Liv. 24, 41, 4), etc.: the active often takes a simple accus., as in 2. 19, 2; 11. 18, 1, etc.

2. **obsidis**: cp. 14. 26, 1.

3. **Monobazus.** This prince, according to Josephus (Ant. 20. 2, 1-2), was the elder brother of Izates (on whom see 12. 13, and note), but had given place to him. Izates had rewarded his compliance by leaving the kingdom to him instead of to any of his own sons (Jos. Ant. 20. 4, 3). He is mentioned again in c. 14, 4; and afterwards as sending hostages to Rome by Tiridates (Dio, 63. 1, 2).

4. **de Armenia concessum, proxima trahi**: 'Armenia was given up, the border land was following it:' so Nipp. who cites 'Delmaticum militem traxere' (H. 2. 86, 4), etc. (cp. 1. 31, 1, 3; 13. 57, 1; G. 36, 3, etc.). Others understand 'trahi' to mean 'were being plundered' (cp. 3. 74, 2; H. 2. 61, 2, etc.); but it is stated (§ 2) that his aggression went beyond mere plunder.

6. **levius esse,** etc. The sense is elliptical, being, 'unless the Parthians help, we must become subject to Rome, and had better do so at once voluntarily.'

7. **profugus,** used with genit. not elsewhere in Tacitus, but in Plin. N. H. 7. 28, 29, 104 ('vinculorum . . . profugus'), etc. The common use with the abl. is found in H. 3. 56, 1; 4. 49, 2, etc.

aut: so nearly all edd. after Beroald. for Med. 'haud,' which gives no satisfactory sense.

8. **gravior**; i. e. his condition, though he abstained from complaint, or at m said little, made more impression (cp. analogous use of 'levior' in H. 4. 80) on Vologeses than if he had loudly co plained. The following words are l taken as explaining 'modice queren Burnouf and Duebner take them less as following out the thought of Vo geses.

contineri, 'are held togeth,' nearly equivalent to 'retineri': cp. continendam militarem fidem' (H. 1, 5), 'parta continuit' (Agr. 14, 3).

9. **faciendum certamen,** they m try who has the greater force.

in summa fortuna, etc., 'in most exalted rank (cp. 12. 12, 4: 13, 5; 13. 2, etc.) might is right': cp. sentiment in G. 36, 1 ('ubi manu ag modestia et probitas nomina superi sunt'). The position spoken of may that of the greatest kings or grea empires.

10. **de alienis certare,** 'to set up cl to what is another's'; a policy of pres and conquest is alone fit for kings.

12. **concilium,** probably that of 'megistanes,' who, in the kind of feu system of the Parthian empire, were alm the only free warriors (see note on 12. 5). Strabo speaks (11. 9, 3, 515), on authority of Posidonius, of Parth cabinet councils, that of the king's kind, and that of wise men and magi; but t chief function appears to have been to together to choose the king.

14. **summo nomine concessiset,** 'd

ncessisset, in possessionem Armeniae deduxi, qui tertius otentiae gradus habetur: nam Medos Pacorus ante ceperat. debarque contra vetera fratrum odia et certamina familiae ostrae penates rite composuisse. prohibent Romani et pacem umquam ipsis prospere lacessitam nunc quoque in exitium um abrumpunt. non ibo infitias: aequitate quam sanguine, usa quam armis retinere parta maioribus malueram. si cunctaone deliqui, virtute corrigam. vestra quidem vis et gloria *in* egro est, addita modestiae fama, quae neque summis mortalium ernenda est et a dis aestimatur.' simul diademate caput ridatis evinxit; promptam equitum manum, quae regem ex ore sectatur, Monaesi nobili viro tradidit, adiectis Adiaberum auxiliis, mandavitque Tigranen Armenia exturbare, dum se positis adversus Hyrcanos discordiis vires intimas molemque lli ciet, provinciis Romanis minitans.

ndrawn his claim to the highest title' it of king of kings). Vologeses is ken of in 12. 44, 2 as reigning 'conu fratrum,' and as having been born of inferior mother. For this use of ncedere' cp. 3. 22, 6, and note.

deduxi: cp. 12. 50, 1. The way in ch Armenia and Media are here reled as inheritances for the great king's hers would show a greater Parthian ndancy than is evidenced by the pres history of these monarchies (see 2. etc.).

Pacorus, his remaining brother (cp. 1, 1; 31, 1; H. 1. 40, 4). On Media patene see 2. 56, 1, and note.

contra, 'in contradistinction to.'). compares 'contra veterem discipli' (H. 2. 69, 5), and the use of ersus' in c. 19, 2.

tera, 'traditional' (so 'antiquas um discordias' in 13. 17, 2): the acre of brothers on the accession of astern sultan is often exemplified in recent history.

lacessitam, 'troubled'; so 'modice sita pax' (4. 32, 3).

non ibo infitias. This expression und here alone in Tacitus, and is e him nearly confined to the comic s and Livy. He also uses the Ciceroinfitiari' (3. 14, 1; cp. 11. 22, 1).

causa, 'by right': cp. the opposir causa . . . armis' in 13. 37, 5.

lueram = 'maluissem.' Nipp. ares Cic. Att. 2. 19, 3 ('malueram silentio transire'); ad Fam. 7. 3, 6 ('haec tecum coram malueram'); Luc. 8, 520 ('feriam tua viscera, Magne; Malueram soceri'). For other such rhetorical uses of the indic. for subjunct. see Introd. i. v. § 50 c.

10. **aestimatur**: cp. 13. 17, 2, and note.

11. **evinxit**: for this poetical word cp. 6. 42, 6, and note.

promptam, probably best taken, with Ritt., to mean 'ready to hand,' as contrasted with forces to be raised. The words 'quae regem,' etc. seem to favour this interpretation rather than that of Nipp. ('composed of resolute men').

12. **Monaesi**: so Med. here, but in c. 4, 1; 5, 5, 'Moneses' and 'Monesen.' Ritt. alters the form here, but Halm and Nipp. prefer to alter the other places; the name being read 'Monaeses' in Hor. Od. 3. 6, 9, and Μοναίσης in Dio 62. 20, 2.

13. **exturbare**: so all recent edd. after Ern. for the Med. 'exturba': the older edd. read 'exturbari,' with inferior MSS. The simple inf. with 'mando' occurs in Mart. 1. 88, 10, and is analogous to other examples in Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 43).

14. **vires intimas**, 'his reserves,' whatever could be called out within his empire.

molem belli, 'the main force of war': the expression is repeated from H. 3. 1, 4; cp. also 'tota mole belli' (H. 1. 61, 3), 'tota mole regni' (6. 36, 1), etc.

3. Quae ubi Corbuloni certis nuntiis audita sunt, legiones d cum Verulano Severo et Vettio Bolano subsidium Tigrani mit occulto praecepto, compositius cuncta quam festinantius agere quippe bellum habere quam gerere malebat. scripserato Caesari proprio duce opus esse, qui Armeniam defender Suriam ingruente Vologese acriore in discrimine esse. at interim reliquas legiones pro ripa Euphratis locat, tumultuari provincialium manum armat, hostiles ingressus praesidiis int cipit. et quia egena aquarum regio est, castella fontibus posita; quosdam rivos congestu harenae abdidit.

4. Ea dum a Corbulone tuendae Suriae parantur, acto rapt

2. **Verulano Severo**: see 14. 26, 1, and note.

Vettio Bolano. This officer is shown by an inscription at Rome (Grut. 128, 5) to have been cos. suff. with C. Calpurnius Piso. The year is thought to have been 820, A. D. 67, and must have been before 822, A. D. 69, when he became legatus of Britain (H. 2. 65, 5; 97, 1; Agr. 8, 1; 16, 6). He is also shown to have been proconsul of Asia at the end of Vespasian's life, coins of that emperor and of Titus, struck at Smyrna, being inscribed *ἐπὶ Βωλάνου* (Eckh. ii. 557). His qualities and achievements are dwelt upon by Statius in a poem (Sylv. 5. 2, 30-67) addressed to his son Crispinus, whom Nipp. takes to be the cos. suff. of 866, A. D. 113. Another son, named as Bolanus by Statius (l. l. 65, 75), was ordinary consul in 864, A. D. 111.

3. **compositius quam festinantius.** Dr. notes that this classical form of comparison is found only here in the Annals, but oftener in the earlier works (H. 2. 24, 2; 4. 65, 2; G. 36, 1; Agr. 44, 2). Tacitus does not elsewhere use the adverb 'composite'; but the participle has the adjectival sense of 'orderly,' as in H. 2. 89, 1; 4. 33, 2.

4. **bellum habere quam gerere malebat,** 'would rather have war on hand than prosecute it.' It was his interest that the war should drag on: if he closed it by any great victory, his command would be at an end; if he decisively failed, he would be recalled in disgrace. A similar motive is ascribed to Vocula in H. 4. 34, 8. For other imputations of unpatriotic motives to Corbulo see c. 6, 3, 6; 10, 7. In this place Madvig (Adv. iii. 235) thinks t 'habere' cannot mean 'trahere' 'ducere,' and that 'cavere' should read.

6. **ingruente.** The use of this v of persons (cp. 12. 12, 2, and note) is found in earlier prose. Vergil has ' gruit Aeneas' (Aen. 12, 628).

7. **reliquas legiones.** To the orig Eastern army of four legions (13. 8, a fifth (13. 35, 4), and at this tim sixth (c. 6, 5) were added. The la was to join Paetus, leaving three (l. with Corbulo.

pro ripa, 'on the bank': cp. 12. 2, etc.

tumultuariam: cp. 1. 56, 1, note.

8. **hostiles ingressus praesi intercipit,** 'he blocks with forts entrances of the enemy': it se possible to take 'ingressus' to m the points at which entrance could made (cp. 'incessus' 6. 33, 5); wh would be especially Zeugma (see 12. 3) and Thapsacus. Nipp. takes words to mean 'hostes ingredientes,' notes the complaint in c. 5, 1, 'vim p vinciae inlatam'; but 'praesidia' wo more naturally be formed in anticipa of an attack than during it.

9. **quia egena,** etc., i. e. because springs were so few that they co nearly all be thus guarded, so as deprive the Parthians of water and ensure a supply to the Romans. springs especially important would those on the roads leading from points of crossing into the province.

10. **abdidit** = 'obruit.' He forti those which he could hold, and destro those which he could not.

mine Monaeses, ut famam sui praeiret, non ideo nescium aut cautum Tigranen offendit. occupaverat Tigranocertam, urbem pia defensorum et magnitudine moenium validam. ad hoc cephorius amnis haud spernenda latitudine partem murorum bit et ducta ingens fossa, qua fluvio diffidebatur. inerantque lites et provisi ante commeatus, quorum subvectu pauci avidius ogressi et repentinis hostibus circumventi ira magis quam metu eros accenderant. sed Partho ad exsequendas obsidiones lla comminus audacia: raris sagittis neque clausos exterret semet frustratur. Adiabeni cum promovere scalas et machinanta inciperent, facile detrusi, mox erumpentibus nostris caentur.

. **Monaeses.** Cp. c. 2, 5.

ıt **famam sui praeiret,** 'to anticipate news of his approach': 'fama sui' is equivalent to 'fama de se,' and p. would also so take it in H. , 2 ('hanc sui famam...commoverat'). the general use of this genit. by itus see Nipp. on 12. 37, 4. 'Fama' ds by itself for news of a person in 2. 5: cp. 'fama eius rei' (c. 33, 3). On accus. here with 'praeire' cp. 2. 83, 2, note.

. **Tigranocertam.** On the variations he grammatical form of this name see 24, 6, and note.

. **magnitudine moenium.** According ppian (Mithr. 84), this city was origiy constructed with walls fifty cubits ; the lower part being formed into les. It had no doubt been dismantled ucullus, but had evidently been again gly fortified.

Nicephorius. The identification of stream is part of the question of the of Tigranocerta (see on 12. 50, 2). statement of Pliny (N. H. 6. 27, 31, , making a river of similar name one e chief tributaries of the upper Tigris gris autem ex Armenia acceptis inibus claris Parthenia ac Nicepho-'), has been generally followed, and Bitlis-Su (see on 12. 50, 2) or some r stream in the basin of the Tigris has generally taken to be the river ded. If, however, according to the t view, the site of Tell-Ermen is taken that of Tigranocerta (see note l. l.), iver is a branch of the Khabour, itself utary of the Euphrates (see the map e end of this vol.). It is possible such a name may have been given to than one river.

latitudine, abl. of quality.

5. **ambit,** so used of rivers in Verg. Aen. 6, 550; Hor. Ep. 1. 16, 13; Vell. 2, 101, etc., and in a similar sense in c. 43, 4; 1. 68, 1, etc.

6. **milites,** sc. 'Romani,' the force left there by Corbulo in the previous year (see 14. 26, 3). It is also evident from c. 5 and 6 that the two legions mentioned above (c. 3, 1) were approaching the town.

provisi, 'taken thought for': cp. 2. 14, 2; 11. 7, 4.

quorum subvectu = 'qui (commeatus) dum subvehebantur.' This substantive appears to have been coined by Tacitus, like many other similar forms (see Introd. i. v. § 69 b), and is only found once afterwards in Cassiodorus. Ern. notes that the abl. abs. 'procursu' is used with similar force (='dum procurrebat') in Agr. 33, 1, and 'visu' and 'auditu' in several places. The soldiers in charge of the provision train were in advance of it.

7. **repentinis,** 'suddenly appearing,' i.e. 'unlooked for'; so 'adventus hostium . . . repentinos' (Cic. Rep. 2. 3, 6), 'repentinum periculum' (Caes. B. G. 3. 3, 2), etc. On the use of the abl. cp. 6. 44, 3, and note.

8. **accenderant,** used by zeugma with 'metu.'

ad exsequendas, etc. The same character is given to them in Just. 41. 2, 6 ('comminus in acie proeliari aut obsessas expugnare urbes nesciunt'). Prof. Holbrooke notes the contrast to the engineering skill of the Sassanians.

10. **semet frustratur.** Nipp. appears rightly to take this to mean 'deceives himself,' by supposing that he produces some effect.

5. Corbulo tamen, quamvis secundis rebus suis, moderand fortunae ratus misit ad Vologesen qui expostularent vim p vinciae inlatam: socium amicumque regem, cohortes Roma circumsideri. omitteret potius obsidionem, aut se quoque in a hostili castra positurum. Casperius centurio in eam legation delectus apud oppidum Nisibin, septem et triginta milibus p suum a Tigranocerta distantem, adiit regem et mandata feroci edidit. Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Roma vitandi, nec praesentia prospere fluebant. inritum obsidiu tutus manu et copiis Tigranes, fugati qui expugnationem sum serant, missae in Armeniam legiones, et aliae pro Suria para ultro inrumpere; sibi inbecillum equitem pabuli inopia: n

2. **qui expostularent,** 'to make complaint': this verb takes the accus. and inf. in c. 17, 5, etc., but in a different sense. Cp. 'expostulavit mecum, parum missum sibi' (Plaut. Mil. 3. 1, 103).

vim provinciae inlatam: see note on c. 3, 3. Some plundering raids which Tacitus has not cared to mention may probably be meant.

4. **circumsideri.** Recent edd. have followed Ryck. in so reading (with MS. Agr.) for the Med. 'circumsedere,' which Walth. thinks might stand; Vologeses being taken as the subject, and being called 'socius amicusque rex,' on the strength of his standing treaty (c. 1, 1); but such an expression (cp. 4. 26, 4) must denote a much nearer position to Rome, such as that of Tigranes.

omitteret potius . . . aut se = 'nisi omitteret . . . se quoque.' Dr. compares 'aut existat,' etc. (13. 21, 7), also 'aut me amor negotii . . . fallit, aut nulla unquam republica . . . maior . . . fuit' (Liv. Praef. 11), which are hardly parallel.

5. **Casperius centurio**: see 12. 45, 3.

6. **Nisibin.** This was the chief city of Mygdonia, a district in the north east of Mesopotamia, and still exists as Nisibin or Nessabin. From its position on the frontier of the Parthian dominions towards Armenia, it became important in the campaigns of Lucullus (Dio, 35. 8, 2; 10, 1; Plut. Luc. 32), and in those of Trajan (Dio, 68. 23, 2): see also Strab. 16. 1, 23, 747; Pl. N. H. 6. 13, 16, 42 ('Antiochia quam Nesebin vocant').

septem et triginta. This definite specification of distance, probably given by Corbulo himself, should help to determine the site of Tigranocerta (see on 12. 50, 2); but the sites generally assigned cept those of Tell-Abad of Tell-Erm are considerably more distant, and h to be supported by treating the st ment here as an error.

9. **vitandi**: on this use of the ger cp. 13. 26, 4, and note. Here the ell would be that of some word expres habit, implied in 'vetus' and 'infix Ritt. inserts 'studium,' and Madvig (A iii. p. 235) 'votum,' after 'vetus' which position he suggests that it m easily have dropped out.

prospere fluebant. Nipp. c pares 'rebus prospere fluentibus' (I 5, 4), and 'cunctis super vota fluenti (H. 3. 48, 4); which latter is taken f 'rebus supra (perhaps 'super') vota flu tibus' in Sall. H. inc. 101 D, 70 K, 96 G, and a similar metaphor in Off. 1. 26, 90 ('rebus prosperis et voluntatem nostram fluentibus').

10. **manu et copiis,** referring to 'milites' and 'commeatus' of c. 4 Tacitus often uses 'copiae' for 'suppl (e.g. c. 16, 1; 1. 68, 7; H. 2. 32 etc.).

sumpserant, 'had undertaken'; 'sumere bellum' (2. 45, 1, etc.), 'p lium' (H. 2. 42, 3), etc. Such exp sions are also common in Livy.

11. **pro Suria,** 'on the frontier of Syria': cp. 'pro ripa' (c. 3, 3).

12. **sibi inbecillum,** etc. Nipp. n that the transition to oratio obliqu made less harsh by the fact that previous sentences, though different form, express in fact the thought of Vologeses. For a somewhat sim change cp. 1. 36, 2, and note.

orta vis locustarum ambederat quidquid herbidum aut fronsum. igitur metu abstruso mitiora obtendens, missurum ad peratorem Romanum legatos super petenda Armenia et firmda pace respondet. Monaesen omittere Tigranocertam iubet, e retro concedit.

6. Haec plures ut formidine regis et Corbulonis minis patrata magnifica extollebant: alii occulte pepigisse interpretabantur, omisso utrimque bello et abeunte Vologese Tigranes quoque menia abscederet. cur enim exercitum Romanum a Tigranotis deductum? cur deserta per otium quae bello defenderant? melius hibernavisse in extrema Cappadocia, raptim erectis guriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti? dilata prorsus arma, Vologeses cum alio quam cum Corbulone certaret, Corbulo ritae tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret. nam,

vis locustarum: cp. 'vis piscium' 63, 2).

mbederat. The Med. 'aberat' h 'ui' for 'vis') is retained by Walth. Rup. as giving a possible sense; but t edd. follow Lips. in reading as above. verb is nowhere else found in Tacitus; Verg. has the participle (Aen. 3, 257; 52); and the perf. ('flumen agrum edit') is found in Alfenus Varus, a t of the Augustan age (cited in Dig. (, 38): see other instances in Nipp. retains the Med. 'vi,' and reads besum erat.'

metu abstruso: cp. 'abstruserint tiam' (3. 6, 3).

super = 'de': cp. 11. 23, 1, and It is to be supposed that the nians intended to ask for what they formerly rejected (see 13. 34, 4), that lates might be recognised on doing age to Rome.

ac magnifica, 'and as glorious to e' (cp. 2. 2, 2; 12. 37, 2, etc.). ol. and many old edd. omitted 'ac' ead 'magnifice.' 'Extollere' is frely so used by itself for 'laudibus e' (1. 9, 3; 2. 88, 4; 3. 51, 2, etc.). i, etc. On these two versions, he confirmation of the latter by the l facts mentioned, see Introd. p. 116. remarkable that Tacitus does not he authority of Corbulo himself on side, and it would appear as if he described the transaction in some guous terms which his admirers and ies interpreted differently. We should r that Armenia was to be left neutral g the reference to Rome (c. 5, 5; 7, 1). It is strange that Tacitus has not cared to mention what afterwards became of Tigranes, who is only known from other sources to have left a son Alexander, who, according to Josephus (Ant. 18. 5, 4), married Iotape, daughter of Antiochus of Commagene (see on 12. 55, 3), and was set up by Vespasian as king of a small island off the coast of Cilicia.

9. **abscederet,** so with simple abl. in 13. 7, 2.

10. **defenderant**: on this indic. cp. 1. 10, 1, and note.

11. **hibernavisse.** We are to gather from this that the compact had been made just before winter, and that the Roman army, which was to have wintered at Tigranocerta, was hastily withdrawn to such quarters as it could find in Cappadocia. The winter can hardly be any other than that of 814-815, A. D. 61-62 (see Introd. p. 115, 10); and those who make that the winter referred to in c. 7, 4; 8, 3; 10, 3, give no satisfactory explanation of this passage, which must express the comments made in the following spring on the winter already past.

extrema Cappadocia, on its eastern frontier.

12. **retenti,** the correction in Med., by the same or another old hand, of the original text 'contenti.' Ritt. thinks such a term would be used rather of Tigranes than of the Romans, and reads 'obtenti'; but cp. 'retinendae Armeniae' (13. 8, 1).

14. **meritae,** 'earned.' Nipp. points out that the word does not always carry with it the idea of worthiness, and compares, amongst other passages, 'vulnera mereri'

ut rettuli, proprium ducem tuendae Armeniae poposcerat, adventare Caesennius Paetus audiebatur. iamque aderat, co ita divisis, ut quarta et duodecuma legiones addita quinta, qu recens e Moesis excita erat, simul Pontica et Galatarum C padocumque auxilia Paeto oboedirent, tertia et sexta et decu legiones priorque Suriae miles apud Corbulonem manere cetera ex rerum usu sociarent partirenturve. sed neque Corb aemuli patiens, et Paetus, cui satis ad gloriam erat, si proxim haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil caedis aut praedae, usurpa nomine tenus urbium expugnationes dictitans: se tributa ac le et pro umbra regis Romanum ius victis impositurum.

7. Sub idem tempus legati Vologesis, quos ad princip missos memoravi, revertere inriti bellumque propalam sumpt a Parthis. nec Paetus detrectavit, sed duabus legionibus, quar quartam Funisulanus Vettonianus eo in tempore, duodecum

(G. 14, 5), 'iram Gai Caesaris meritus' (Agr. 4, 1), 'ex eo, quod meruerat, odio' (Caes. B. G. 6. 5, 2).

non = 'ne': cp. 13. 40, 3, and note.

1. **ut rettuli**: see c. 3, 2.

2. **Caesennius Paetus**: see on 14. 29, 1. Josephus records him (B. I. 7. 7, 1-3) as again sent to the East, as legatus of Syria, by Vespasian.

audiebatur: on the nom. and inf. see Introd. i. v. § 45.

3. **legiones.** On these legions see 13. 35, 4; 38, 6; 40, 3.

4. **e Moesis.** The 'Quarta Scythica' and 'Quinta Macedonica' formed the regular garrison of Moesia (Introd. i. vii. p. 103), and are shown to have been there in 786-787, A.D. 33-34, by an inscription cited here by Nipp. (C. I. L. iii. i. 1698). For the changes of expression here from adjective to substantive, and the use of the name of the people ('Moesis') for that of the country cp. 2. 3, 2; 60, 4, and notes. The auxiliary troops mentioned are those raised and kept on foot in these provinces, where no legions were stationed: cp. 13. 35, 4; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 209, 5.

6. **prior**, the auxiliaries already under arms before the war.

7. **ex rerum usu**, 'in accordance with the requirements of events.' Cp. ('ex usu temporis') 4, 5, 6, and note.

8. **patiens**, so with genit. in H. 3. 26, 4, etc., and 'inpatiens' frequently (as in 4. 3, 2, etc.). Both are so used in prose by Livy; the former also by Sallust.

cui satis erat, 'whose real deserts would have been satisfied if he w placed next to Corbulo.' For the us the indic. 'erat' see Introd. i. v. § 5 2; also 'poterat' (c. 10, 1).

9. **usurpatas**, etc., 'only in name he made a practice of storming cities' 'nomine tenus' cp. 'oret enus' (c. 45 'verbo tenus' (Cic. Leg. 3. 6, 14; Liv. 5, 4). Only 'castella' had been actu stormed (13. 39, 7; 14. 25, 1), and nei Artaxata nor Tigranocerta, which had rendered voluntarily, had been pera nently held.

11. **pro umbra regis**: 'instead phantom king (such as Tigranes or oth before him), he would impose Ro jurisdiction after conquest' (would red Armenia to a province).

12. **Sub idem tempus**, i. e. in spring of 815, A.D. 62: see note o 6, 2.

13. **memoravi.** It was mentioned 5, 5, that the king had undertaken to to Rome.

14. **duabus legionibus.** Such a tives of the force with which anythin undertaken in war are usually expla as abl. of manner: see instances in M 257, Obs. 4, Roby, 1234.

15. **Funisulanus Vettonianus.** person became one of the foremost in the state under Domitian, as is sh by the following inscription found Pannonia (C. I. L. iii. 1. 4013 = He 5431 = Wilm. 1150), 'L. Funisulano, Ani(ensi tribu), Vettoniano, trib. leg. vi. vic(tricis), quaestori provi

lavius Sabinus regebant, Armeniam intrat tristi omine. nam transgressu Euphratis, quem ponte tramittebant, nulla palam usa turbatus equus, qui consularia insignia gestabat, retro asit. hostiaque, quae muniebantur, hibernaculis adsistens, nifacta opera fugā perrupit seque vallo extulit. et pila milim arsere, magis insigni prodigio, quia Parthus hostis missilibus is decertat.

8. Ceterum Paetus spretis ominibus, necdum satis firmatis ernaculis, nullo rei frumentariae provisu, rapit exercitum trans ntem Taurum reciperandis, ut ferebat, Tigranocertis vastan-

liae, trib. pleb., praet., leg(ato) leg. iiii. thicae, praef. aerari Saturni, curatori Aemiliae, cos., vii. vir. epulonum, leg-) pro pr(aetore) provinc. Delmatiae, provinc. Pannoniae, item Moesiae erioris, donato [ab Imp. Domitiano . Germanico] bello Dacico coronis murali, vallari, classica, aurea, is puris iiii., vexillis iiii., patrono, reto) d(ecurionum).' Another intion (Henzen 5432) shows him to been also curator aquarum, proul of Africa, and sodalis Augustalis. date of his command in Pannonia is wn by a military diploma (C. I. L. . p. 855, Henzen 5430) to have been A. D. 85. His praetorship would ear from the order of mention to have eded the legionary command here en of.

Calavius Sabinus, otherwise unwn. Freinsh. would read 'Calvisius,' must be wrong in identifying him the person mentioned in H. 1. 48, 4.

gebant: for the plural cp. 3. 62, d note. It is to be noted that these i legionum are not the same as those in c. 3, 1, and would seem to have out with Paetus.

sti omine. Nipp. notes that the first of these omens was seen at ime of entering Armenia, the others quently; hence the sing. is used the pl. in c. 8, 1.

in transgressu. Starting from adocia, he would probably have ed the river near Melitene (c. 26, 2), was marching southward upon nocerta (c. 8, 1). On his probable see Introd. p. 118.

lla palam causa: cp. 14. 32, 1; 2, 1.

equus. The drowning of a richly isoned horse of the general marked the crossing of the Euphrates by Crassus (Plut. Crass. 19, 554), and the fall of another such was noted as ominous in the consulship of Pansa (Obsequens 129). Mommsen notes (Staatsr. i. 433, 4) that a richly adorned horse, such as formed part of the regal insignia descending to a dictator or consul (Dion. Hal. 10, 24), would not belong to the state of a legatus, and that the horse which carried the fasces on a march must here be meant.

4. **hibernaculis**, those for the coming winter, that of 815–816, A. D. 62–63 (see c. 8, 1; 10, 3, and notes). The construction of the camp would have to be begun sometime beforehand, and it would seem that this march of Paetus must have taken place late in autumn.

adsistens, i. e. put there to be sacrificed when the work was done.

5. **semifacta**, only here and in Bell. Afr. 83, 3. Similar omens are noted in H. 3. 56, 1; Liv. 21. 63, 13; Suet. Jul. 59, etc.

pila militum arsere: see 12. 64, 1, and note; and similar phenomena described in Liv. 33. 26, 8; 43. 13, 6.

8. **spretis ominibus**. Though Tacitus is not himself a disbeliever in omens generally (see Introd. i. p. 22) his language elsewhere would go far to justify those who thus disregarded them (see 14. 12, 5, etc., Introd. l. l.).

9. **nullo provisu**. This may mean that no pains were taken to collect corn on the spot. We are told of supplies collected by Paetus himself in § 3. Cp. also c. 16, 1.

rapit = 'raptim ducit': cp. 1. 56, 1, and note.

10. **reciperandis**, etc., dative of purpose (see Introd. i. v. § 226). On his route see c. 7. 3, and note. Tigranocerta had been evacuated by the Roman troops

disque regionibus, quas Corbulo integras omisisset. et ca quaedam castella, gloriaeque et praedae nonnihil partum, si gloriam cum modo aut praedam cum cura habuisset. longinq itineribus percursando, quae obtineri nequibant, corrupto, captus erat, commeatu et instante iam hieme, reduxit exercit conposuitque ad Caesarem literas quasi confecto bello, ver magnificis, rerum vacuas.

9. Interim Corbulo numquam neglectam Euphratis rip crebrioribus praesidiis insedit; et ne ponti iniciendo impedim tum hostiles turmae adferrent (iam enim subiectis campis mag specie volitabant), naves magnitudine praestantes et cone trabibus ac turribus auctas agit per amnem catapultisque ballistis proturbat barbaros, in quos saxa et hastae longius p meabant, quam ut contrario sagittarum iactu adaequaren dein pons continuatus collesque adversi per socias cohortes, p legionum castris occupantur, tanta celeritate et ostentati virium, ut Parthi omisso paratu invadendae Suriae spem omn in Armeniam verterent, ubi Paetus imminentium nescius quint

(c. 6, 2), and, necessarily, also by Tigranes.

1. **omisisset,** subjunct., as part of the boast of Paetus.

3. **cum cura,** 'so as to take care of it.' Nipp. points out that the neglect of this is implied in the words 'corrupto . . . commeatu.'

4. **percursando.** The gerund has the force of a participle (cp. 6. 38, 2; 14. 31, 5, etc.), or rather in this place that of 'dum percursat,' and is taken closely with the following words: 'inasmuch as the corn which he had taken was spoilt, while he overran in long marches districts which he could not hold, and as winter was at hand,' etc.

5. **hieme,** that in anticipation of which the winter camp was being constructed (c. 7, 4; 8, 1), which, according to the reckoning here taken, is that of 815–816, A. D. 62–63. See Introd. p. 115, 10.

6. **verbis magnificis:** cp. 13. 8, 4.

7. **vacuas:** so with genit. in poets (Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 119, etc.) and in Sall. Iug. 90, 1 ('ager . . . frugum vacuus').

9. **ponti iniciendo.** His position was no doubt at Zeugma (see 12. 12, 3), where it appears that no permanent bridge was kept up, but that the means of constructing one were kept ready (see 6. 37, 4).

10. **subiectis** (see 'fluvio'), 'lying the river': cp. 'subiectos Narniae cam (H. 3. 63, 1). The abl. is that of (Introd. i. v. § 25). The hexan line hardly deserves notice (see Intr v. § 79).

magna specie, 'with imposing play' (so as to make a show of numbers). The abl. is modal, or th quality.

11. **naves.** These are a kind of f ing batteries to protect those who building the bridge.

12. **agit per amnem,** 'he moves a the river.'

13. **ballistis.** Halm follows Me reading here 'balistis'; but Orelli Nipp. seem right in altering it to the used in all other places in the same (12. 56, 3; H. 3. 23, 2; 29, 2; 4. 2 The word does not occur in the Med. or the minor works.

saxa et hastae, the former thrown from 'ballistae,' the latter catapults.

15. **adversi,** 'on the opposite sid

17. **paratu,** 'the preparations ma attack Syria.'

18. **quintam,** the legion coming Moesia (c. 6, 5).

ionem procul in Ponto habebat, reliquas promiscis militum nmeatibus infirmaverat, donec adventare Vologesen magno et ;nso agmine auditum.

10. Accitur legio duodecuma, et unde famam aucti exercitus raverat, prodita infrequentia, qua tamen retineri castra et di Parthus tractu belli poterat, si Paeto aut in suis aut in nis consiliis constantia fuisset: verum ubi a viris militaribus ersus urguentes casus firmatus erat, rursus, ne alienae sentiae indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat. et c relictis hibernis non fossam neque vallum sibi, sed corpora ırma in hostem data clamitans, duxit legiones quasi proelio ;aturus. deinde amisso centurione et paucis militibus, quos ndis hostium copiis praemiserat, trepidus remeavit. et quia

reliquas, the Fourth and Twelfth .): even these were not together), 1).

commeatibus, 'furloughs': cp. H. , 4; Liv. 3. 46, 9, etc.

nec adventare Vologesen. In d. p. 115, 10, 119, reasons are given ıpposing that this invasion, and all to c. 17, 4, took place at the ning of winter. The Parthian men moved with great rapidity; and uld be noted that the seat of war is in southern Armenia, where winter r sets in so early or with such ty as that of the northern region '3. 35, 5). Lucullus, after having driven back by stress of winter his attempt on Artaxata, was still ıfter returning to the neighbourhood igranocerta, to undertake further ions (see Plut. Luc. 32).

Accitur, 'is summoned' (from some te winter quarters) to join Paetus, was in the camp of the Fourth ı, at a place called by Dio (62. 21, ındeia, on the Arsanias (see c. 15, l note). The locality must evi- have been near the passes of the s chain (cp. 'proximo Tauri iugo' ınd at no great distance from the r of Cappadocia (see note on c. . If the Arsanias is taken to be urad (see note above cited), we infer that Rhandeia must have t some point on it near Kharput, borders of Armenia proper and ıe (see 13. 7, 2, and note). As the ıns had been in force near Zeugma 1), they would probably have marched thence to the spot by Amida (Diarbekir).

unde famam, etc. Med. has here 'fama,' which Jam. Gron. and Ern. would retain, altering 'speraverat' to 'sperata erat.' The concentration of the two legions, which he had hoped would give an imposing impression of strength, only served to show how his force had been weakened by the furloughs (c. 9, 2). 'Infrequentia' takes elsewhere an explanatory genitive (14. 27, 3; 33, 2), but the idea of such can be supplied here from the sense.

6. **eludi,** 'to be baffled': cp. 11. 9, 6.

tractu belli = 'trahendo bellum': cp. 'tractu . . . mortis' (c. 64, 3): nearly similar is the sense of 'tractus verborum' (Cic. de Or. 2. 50, 202), 'elocutionum' (Quint. 4. 2, 118), etc.

7. **viris militaribus:** cp. c. 26, 3. It is implied that Paetus himself had no military experience.

8. **firmatus:** in 1. 6, 1, the full expression is 'firmatus animo.'

11. **quasi . . . certaturus.** This purpose need not be supposed to be fictitious (see Introd. i. v. § 67). Dio (62. 21, 1) represents Vologeses as having marched upon Tigranocerta, and Paetus as having marched to its relief, and having been beaten off from it. This is improbable, as the Romans had now no interest in defending, or the Parthians in attacking, that city (cp. c. 6, 2; 8, 1).

13. **praemiserat.** Dr. notes that this verb is not found earlier with gerundive dative: for analogous uses see Introd. i. v. § 22 b.

minus acriter Vologeses instituerat, vana rursus fiducia tria mi delecti peditis proximo Tauri iugo imposuit, quo transitum re arcerent; alares quoque Pannonios, robur equitatus, in pa campi locat. coniunx ac filius castello, cui Arsamosata nom est, abditi, data in praesidium cohorte ac disperso milite, qui uno habitus vagum hostem promptius sustentavisset. aeg compulsum ferunt, ut instantem Corbuloni fateretur. nec a Corbulone properatum, quo gliscentibus periculis etiam subsi laus augeretur. expediri tamen itineri singula milia ex tri legionibus et alarios octingentos, parem numerum e cohorti iussit.

11. At Vologeses, quamvis obsessa a Paeto itinera hinc pe tatu inde equite accepisset, nihil mutato consilio, sed vi ac mi alares exterruit, legionarios obtrivit, uno tantum centuri Tarquitio Crescente turrim, in qua praesidium agitabat, defend

1. **tria milia.** These were evidently selected from the legions: cp. 'legionarios obtrivit' (c. 11, 1).

2. **quo.** Nipp. rightly refers this to 'iugo.' There is no need to read 'quae' with Muret., or 'qui' with Ritt.

4. **Arsamosata.** This place, represented as a mere 'castellum,' and held by a small garrison, must have been near the main camp, as the Parthians were able to shift their attack from the one to the other (c. 13, 1). It seems difficult to identify it with the Armosata or Arsamosata of other writers, which was a considerable πόλις in the third century B.C. (Polyb. 8. 25, 1), and is ranked by Pliny (N. H. 6. 9, 10, 26) as one of the chief towns of Armenia (with Carcathiocerta, Tigranocerta, and Artaxata), and which continued subsequently to be important. Its situation is given by Polybius (with whom Ptol. 5. 13, 19: 8. 19, 14, is in agreement) as on the Καλὸν Πέδιον between the Tigris and Euphrates, and by Pliny as on the latter river.

5. **ac disperso milite.** His forces were further separated by this detachment, as also by that of the large force already mentioned.

6. **sustentavisset.** Med. has 'et' after this word, which most edd. have followed Rhen. in omitting, as a repetition of the ending of the preceding word. Walth. retains it, and defends by the analogy of 1. 11, 1, etc. Ritt. marks a lacuna after 'sustentavisset,' and thinks a line may have dropped out containing some such words as 'quo adventante di men non introspexit Paetus, et aegre,'

7. **instantem,** sc. 'hostem,' supp from the context.

nec a Corbulone, etc. On motive here imputed to Corbulo Introd. p. 121.

9. **itineri,** dative of purpose: Introd. i. v. § 22 c.

tribus legionibus: see c. 6, 5.

10. **parem numerum.** This can ha be explained by the preceding 'o gentos,' as the auxiliary foot accomp ing the legionaries are generally a equal to them in numbers. Nipp. gests that possibly 4000, a nu roughly equal to that of all the re the force, were selected.

12. **hinc . . . inde**: cp. 13. 38, 3, note. The horse and foot are those m tioned in c. 10, 5.

13. **sed vi ac minis.** The irregul of the construction is well explaine Nipp., who notes that 'sed' contrasts words 'vi ac minis' with 'nihil mu consilio,' and that instead of going with some such expression as 'incep iter perrexit,' Tacitus gives a more ticular account of what took place o march; also that 'obtrivit' answer 'vi' and 'minis' to 'exterruit' (the rangement being that called 'chiasm The number of abl. abs. clauses follo is also noteworthy.

15. **defendere auso**: for the us this participle as abl. abs. with infin 1. 56, 6; H. 2. 56, 2; 4. 36, 3.

ıso factaque saepius eruptione et caesis, qui barbarorum propius ıggrediebantur, donec ignium iactu circumveniretur. peditum quis integer longinqua et avia, vulnerati castra repetivere, vir-tem regis, saevitiam et copias gentium, cuncta metu extollentes, cili credulitate eorum qui eadem pavebant. ne dux quidem ›niti adversis, sed cuncta militiae munia deseruerat, missis ›rum ad Corbulonem precibus, veniret propere, signa et aquilas nomen reliquum infelicis exercitus tueretur: se fidem interim, ›nec vita subpeditet, retenturos.

12. Ille interritus et parte copiarum apud Suriam relicta, ut unimenta Euphrati inposita retinerentur, qua proximum et mmeatibus non egenum, regionem Commagenam, exim Cap-dociam, inde Armenios petivit. comitabantur exercitum aeter alia sueta bello magna vis camelorum onusta frumenti, simul hostem famemque depelleret. primum e perculsis ıccium primi pili centurionem obvium habuit, dein plerosque ilitum; quos diversas fugae causas obtendentes redire ad signa clementiam Paeti experiri monebat; se nisi victoribus im-

. **suggrediebantur**: cp. 2. 12, 2, and e.

. **longinqua et avia**, sc. 'petivere,' plied from 'repetivere,' as 'emi' from dimi' in 1. 17, 6.

. **saevitiam**, 'fierceness' (not in bad se); so 'saevitia hostium' in 1. 67, 2; 1, 4; Sall. Iug. 7, 2.

entium, those composing the Par-n army; cp. c. 1, 2; 2. 58, 1, etc.

xtollentes, 'exaggerating.' Nipp. s the similar description of reports ad by the beaten side in H. 3. 61, 3.

. **facili credulitate**, repeated from 4, 2.

avebant, with accus.: cp. 5. 4, 2, note.

. **et parte . . . relicta**: for the in-on of 'et' cp. 14. 47, 1 and note.

. **munimenta**, those spoken of in c. 9.

ua proximum, etc. Madvig (Adv. 56) thinks that 'iter' must have been between 'proximum' and 'et,' but text is defended as it stands by Nipp. notes the use of 'proximum' else-re in Tacitus (H. 3. 16, 3; 4. 28, 1) in Livy (3. 27, 5; 5. 46, 9; 10. 17, ith 'qua' or 'qua cuique,' 'ut cui-' 'unde cuique,' in all of which the truction is apparently to be com-ed by supplying an infinitive from the wing verb (as here 'petere' from 'petivit'). The coordination of 'egenum' with 'proximum' appears to be a sacrifice of perspicuity to conciseness; the former term referring in strictness not to the route or line of march itself, but to the district through which the route lay.

12. **Commagenam**, here adject. On the country and its government see 2. 42, 7; 56, 5. The march of Corbulo was due north from Zeugma, but he did not enter Armenia, being met by Paetus on the Euphrates at the frontier of Cappadocia (c. 16, 4).

14. **onusta frumenti**; so Plaut. Aulul. 4. 2, 4 ('aulam onustam auri'). No other instance appears to be found, but such a genit. is analogous in sense to those with 'plenus,' etc.

16. **Paccium**: see 13. 36, 1 (where he is called 'primi pili honore perfunctum') and note there. Unless it is to be supposed that he had been degraded for the insubordination there mentioned, his rank must be taken to be here more loosely stated.

plerosque, 'many.'

18. **experiri**, 'to make trial of,' see whether Paetus would forgive them; so in 5. 6, 4; cp. 'misericordiam experiretur' (12. 18, 1).

se nisi, etc., 'his own forgiveness was to be won only by victory.'

mitem esse. simul suas legiones adire, hortari, priorum a monere, novam gloriam ostendere. non vicos aut oppida Arm niorum, sed castra Romana duasque in iis legiones pretiu laboris peti. si singulis manipularibus praecipua servati ci corona imperatoria manu tribueretur, quod illud et quantu decus, ubi par eorum numerus aspisceretur, qui adtulissent sa tem et qui accepissent! his atque talibus in commune alac (et erant quos pericula fratrum aut propinquorum propriis stim lis incenderent) continuum diu noctuque iter properabant.

13. Eoque intentius Vologeses premere obsessos, modo vallu legionum, modo castellum, quo inbellis aetas defendebatur, adpu

1. **priorum**, 'former victories'; those recorded in 13. 39, foll., 14. 23, foll.

4. **peti**, 'was their aim.'

praecipua, 'as a gift of special distinction.' The rewards accompanying the gift of a civic crown are stated by Pliny (N. H. 16. 4, 5, 13), 'accepta licet uti perpetuo, ludos ineunti semper adsurgi etiam ab senatu in more est. sedendi ius in proximo senatui. vacatio munerum omnium ipsi patrique et avo paterno.'

5. **imperatoria**, 'that of the emperor,' who alone was now competent to bestow it. Tiberius had recognised the right of the proconsul of Africa to confer such a distinction on legionary soldiers under his command (3. 21, 4); but no proconsul had now any such military force (see Introd. i. vii. p. 98), and the legati of Caesar carried on war under his, not their own, auspices.

6. **ubi par eorum numerus**, etc. This passage has been much commented upon by editors, and is also the subject of a dissertation by Joh. Müller (Beitr. iv. pp. 33–38). Halm and several recent edd. have followed Lips. in reading 'aspiceretur' for the Med. 'apisceretur,' so as to get rid of the absurdity of supposing that the preserved as well as the preservers were to win the crown; but the meaning yielded is still far from being altogether satisfactory. The general sense may be taken to be 'if the civic crown is given to a single soldier by the emperor's own hand as a most glorious honour, how much greater must be the glory where a whole army can be pointed to, as having saved a number equal to themselves.' 'Numerus' can certainly (as Jacob suggests) be taken to mean 'multitude,' as in 14. 49, 5, etc.; still we should have expected the passage to have been so worded, that the great number of preservers and preserved, especially the latter, should have been put p minently forward, rather than the equa between the two bodies, which does in itself add to the glory. We sho also have expected 'ac' to be used, rat than 'et,' in drawing the comparison tween them. It is nevertheless poss that there may be no deeper error t that of a sacrifice of clearness to bre and to a rhetorical mode of express in which the 'verba magnifica' of C bulo himself (13. 8, 4) seem to be clo followed. The chief alternative is proposed by Nipp., who reads 'ubi eorum numerum obrueretur,' and expl it to mean 'how much greater is glory (than that of the civic crown single soldier) where individual dist tion would be effaced (so 'obruere Agr. 17, 3; Dial. 38, 2) by the num of preservers and preserved.' Here difficulty in the use of 'et' is remo but the alteration is violent, and the se given to the whole passage is still strai and unsatisfactory.

7. **in commune**, 'as a whole'; distinction to the special incentives acting on some: cp. 13. 27, 6; and use of the term as opposed to 'singu (H. 1. 36, 4), to 'singularum genti (G. 27, 3), to 'in singulis' (G. 40, etc.

9. **diu**, 'by day'; so with 'noctu H. 2. 5, 1; an archaism adopted fr Plautus (Cas. 4. 4, 5), used also by lust (Iug. 38, 3; 44, 5; Fr. H. 2. 54, 63 K, 45 G).

iter properabant, transitive, as 1. 56, 2, etc.: cp. 13. 17, 3.

11. **castellum**, Arsamosata (c. 10, **adpugnare**, 'to make a demons-

ıre, propius incedens quam mos Parthis, si ea temeritate hostem proelium eliceret. at illi vix contuberniis extracti, nec aliud ıam munimenta propugnabant, pars iussu ducis, et alii propria navia aut Corbulonem opperientes, ac vis *si* ingrueret, provisis emplis *cladis* Caudinae Numantinaeque; neque eandem vim ımnitibus, Italico populo, ac Parthis, Romani imperii aemulis. lidam quoque et laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna

n against': for this Tacitean word cp. 81, 1; 4. 48, 4; in both of which ıces it denotes a feint attack.

ı. **propius incedens**, 'approaching ser': cp. 1. 35, 6. On the unwilling- s of Parthian troops to press a siege orously see c. 4, 5.

si, 'in case that.' The idea of ex- tation or design is here implied in the ion (see 1. 48, 1, and note).

2. **contuberniis extracti** (sc. 'sunt'), the simple abl. cp. 1. 39, 4, and note. e perfect may be used, as Dr. points , to express the general result; so that is needless to read 'extrahi' (with pp.), or to mark a lacuna and suppose loss of some such words as 'nolle em' (with Ritt.).

ıec **aliud quam**: cp. 4. 34, 7; 13. 6, and notes.

3. **propugnabant**, with accus.: cp. 13. 5, and note.

4. **aut Corbulonem opperientes.** pp. follows Rhen. and others in treat- the 'a' as a repetition from the end of preceding word, and reading 'ut' ('as , making the plea a pretence.

vis si ingrueret. All recent edd. ow Walth. in inserting 'si' here. The edd. had inserted it before 'vis,' ere it was less likely to have dropped .

. **exemplis,** etc. The Med. text emplis caudi nenum antineque eandem' ws that 'Caudinae Numantinaeque' be restored; and it is easy to suppose t after the ending of the latter word, que' has dropped out before 'eandem.' adis' is inserted here by most recent ., after Bezzenb., on the supposition it may have been skipped by a yist through the similarity of its nination to that of 'exemplis.' The er edd. chiefly follow G in reading udinae ac Numantinae cladis, neque'; . Agr. has 'deditionis' (in similar ition); both which insertions are less able of explanation. Baiter follows ase in reading 'Numantinaeque cladis, neque,' which, as also the insertion of 'pacis' in similar position (Madv. Adv. iii. 235), can be defended by the supposition that the copyist had skipped from '-neque' to 'eandem.' Orelli had avoided insertion by reading 'Caudii et Numantiae, neque,' and Ritt. supplies 'vis' (noting its use as a genit. in the MS. text of Dial. 26, 4) from the preceding nominative. On the Caudine disaster see Liv. 9, 1–6; by the Numantine, the capitulation of Mancinus in 617, B.C. 137 (App. Hisp. 80) is meant. The soldiers of Paetus felt that if they had to surrender, their disgrace would not be equal to either of these cases, as they surrendered to a greater power.

6. **Italico populo,** 'merely one among the peoples of Italy.' Nipp. points out that Tacitus appears to ignore the fact that the Roman confederacy was hardly then stronger than the Samnite. According to the reading here given (see next note), the Numantine power may be supposed to be dismissed without mention as evidently weaker.

ac Parthis. The Med. text 'aut poenis' has been very generally regarded as corrupt; for no good reason can be shown for bringing the Carthaginians into the comparison, nor would it be true that that power had never been as strong, relatively to Rome, as the Parthian empire. Orelli leaves the Med. text obelized; Halm reads as above; Nipp. prefers 'ut Parthis'; Ritt. (partly after Freinsh., partly after Gron.) reads 'aut Hispanis, ut Parthis,' treating the former name as the restoration of 'poenis,' and the latter words as having dropped out after it.

7. **antiquitatem** = 'antiquos Romanos,' cp. 3. 4, 3. Jacob notes that Livy (22. 59, 7) represents an orator as pleading the precedent of antiquity for redeeming the prisoners after Cannae.

quotiens fortuna contra daret, 'whenever fortune pronounced against them.' The phrase is repeated from H.

contra daret, saluti consuluisse. qua desperatione exercitus du subactus primas tamen literas ad Vologesen non supplices, se in modum querentis composuit, quod pro Armeniis semp Romanae dicionis aut subiectis regi, quem imperator delegisse hostilia faceret: pacem ex aequo utilem; ne praesentia tantu spectaret. ipsum adversus duas legiones totis regni virib advenisse: at Romanis orbem terrarum reliquum, quo bellu iuvarent.

14. Ad ea Vologeses nihil pro causa, sed opperiendos si fratres Pacorum ac Tiridaten rescripsit; illum locum tempusq consilio destinatum, quid de Armenia cernerent; adiecisse de dignum Arsacidarum, simul ut de legionibus Romanis statuerer missi posthac Paeto nuntii et regis conloquium petitum, q Vasacen praefectum equitatus ire iussit. tum Paetus Lucullo Pompeios et si qua Caesares optinendae donandaeve Armeni

1. 65, 5, and is a metaphor analogous to the juridical expression 'secundum aliquem dare.'

1. **dux subactus.** Dio (62. 21, 2) ignores the excuse here offered for the action taken by Paetus.

3. **pro Armeniis.** Nipp. notes that they were now certainly on the Parthian side (c. 15, 3), and that Paetus had advanced into Armenia as a hostile country, to make it a province (c. 6, 6). In c. 27, 4 certain of the 'megistanes' are called the leaders of revolt from Rome.

5. **ex aequo**, best taken with 'utilem' ('peace would be equally advantageous to both'); cp. the sense of the term in 13. 2, 2; H. 2. 77, 2; 4. 74, 2. Dr. would take 'pacem ex aequo' to mean 'peace on equal terms' (such being the meaning of 'ex aequo' in H. 4. 64, 5; Agr. 20, 3; Liv. 7, 30); but 'utilem' would seem thus to need a reference.

9. **pro causa** = 'pro re ipsa': 'causa' appears to have this force in H. 1. 80, 3 ('tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen . . . evaluit'). The force of 'pro causa' in H. 3. 7, 3; 9, 6, appears to be different.

10. **illum locum,** 'the place in which he was.' The assertion is inconsistent with the apparent suddenness of his invasion.

11. **consilio . . . quid,** etc., 'for deliberation, as to what,' etc.: cp. a similar elliptical expression in c. 16, 2 ('litterae . . . an').

cernerent. This verb is here alone used by Tacitus in the sense of 'decerner an archaic sense, found in judicial langua (Cic. de Legg. 3. 3, 6; Liv. 43. 12, 2), als with especial reference to decision combat, in old poets and in Verg. Aen. 1 708 ('cernere ferro'), a passage cited Sen. (Ep. 58, 3) to illustrate a sen obsolete in his time.

12. **dignum Arsacidarum,** 'a thi worthy of the Arsacidae'; 'dignum' is th used substantively in 6. 29, 7, and oth such adjectives in many places (Introd. v. § 4 b). The genit. with 'dignu though used by poets (e.g. Plaut. Trin. 2, 29; Ov. Tr. 4. 3, 57, and 'indignu Verg. Aen. 12, 649) and by Balbus in C Att. 8. 15 A, 1 ('dignissimam tuae v tutis') and others, is ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacit who elsewhere uses it very frequent with abl. There seems, however, no ne to suppose (with Ritt.) that 'decore' h dropped out. All recent edd. follo Vertr. and Urs. in reading 'ut' for 'et to be taken with 'simul' ('that at t same time').

13. **missi posthac Paeto.** Nipp. fo lows Haase in inserting 'a'; but 'Paet can be taken as a dat. of the agent (Intro i. v. § 18).

14. **Lucullos, Pompeios,** rhetori plurals. Lucullus had gained great vi tories over Tigranes I in 685, 686, B. 69, 68, and Pompeius had compelled hi to submission in 688, B.C. 66.

15. **et si qua Caesares**: so all rece edd. after Pich. for Med. 'et siquace The old edd. read, with some inferi

gerant, Vasaces imaginem retinendi largiendive penes nos, vim enes Parthos memorat. et multum in vicem disceptato, Monoazus Adiabenus in diem posterum testis iis quae pepigissent lhibetur. placuitque liberari obsidio legiones et decedere nnem militem finibus Armeniorum castellaque et commeatus arthis tradi, quibus perpetratis copia Vologesi fieret mittendi l Neronem legatos.

15. Interim flumini Arsaniae (is castra praefluebat) pontem nposuit, specie sibi illud iter expedientis, sed Parthi quasi ocumentum victoriae iusserant; namque iis usui fuit, nostri er diversum iere. addidit rumor sub iugum missas legiones et

SS., 'et si qui duces.' The intervention Augustus and his successors in Armenia ully set forth in Introd. pp. 102, foll. **obtinendae . . . Armeniae,** best en, with Nipp., as a dat. of purpose, her than as a genit. depending on ia.'

. **vim,** the real power of keeping or ing it; so opposed to 'speciem' in 3. 6; to 'nomen' in 6. 43, 4.

. **disceptato,** according to Dr., here ne used as abl. abs.; for analogous tances see Introd. i. v. § 31 a.

Monobazus: see c. 1, 3, and note.

. **quibus perpetratis,** 'after this had n fully accomplished.' Nipp. notes t the word is designedly chosen, to phasise the irony of the next sentence. en Armenia had been thoroughly surdered to Vologeses, he was to be owed as a favour to send ambassadors to o to ask for it. Cp. c. 25, 2 ('intellecto barum inrisu, qui peterent quod erent').

. **Arsaniae, is.** Med. has here 'Areti Is,' and the oldest edd. read, with rior MSS., 'Arsameti, is'; the correct n having been restored by Acid. from Med. 'Arsaniam' below (§ 6), and n Dio, 62. 21, 1. Some have followed ., who approaches somewhat nearer he Med. text by reading 'Arsaniae, tim is.' The river is mentioned as ng been crossed by Lucullus in his hward march from Tigranocerta ards Artaxata (Plut. Luc. 31, 513), is given by Pliny (N. H. 5. 29, 30, 6. 27, 31, 128), as one of the princi- confluents of the upper Euphrates. li and Nipp. take it to be the Arsen Ardjis, a tributary falling into the hrates south of Melitene; but as it is ntly a very considerable stream (see § 6), it is more generally taken to be the eastern and principal branch of the Euphrates itself, the Murad (on which see Introd. p. 110). It would appear from what is said here that the camp of Rhandeia (see note on c. 10, 1) was on its northern bank, so that the Parthians had to cross it, but the Romans could retreat towards Cappadocia without doing so.

praefluebat: cp. 2. 63, 1, and note.

9. **imposuit.** Ritt. thinks that 'Paetus' has dropped out after 'praefluebat.' The omission is certainly harsh, but the subject seems sufficiently indicated in contrast to 'Parthi.'

specie, 'under pretence of preparing this route for his retreat.' If the Murad be the river meant, the pretext would be so far plausible, that his most direct line of retreat to Cappadocia would have involved crossing it.

quasi documentum victoriae: 'quasi' here denotes a real motive. The account in Dio (62. 21, 4) appears here closely to follow Tacitus. He says that neither had the Parthians any real need of the bridge; that they had got there without it, and did not even use it to go away.

10. **usui fuit.** It appears from § 6 that it was used by some, probably by those who were conveying the booty taken in the camp.

11. **per diversum,** 'taking an opposite direction.'

addidit rumor. Dio says nothing about this report; Suet., on the contrary (Ner. 39), accepts it as an unquestioned fact, and further exaggerates ('ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus sub iugo missis, aegreque Syria retenta').

alia ex rebus infaustis, quorum simulacrum ab Armeniis usurp tum est. namque et munimenta ingressi sunt, antequam agm Romanum excederet, et circumstetere vias, captiva olim mancip aut iumenta adgnoscentes abstrahentesque: raptae etiam vest retenta arma, pavido milite et concedente, ne qua proelii cau existeret. Vologeses armis et corporibus caesorum aggerat quo cladem nostram testaretur, visu fugientium legionum a stinuit. fama moderationis quaerebatur, postquam superbia expleverat. flumen Arsaniam elephanto insidens, proxim quisque regem vi equorum perrupere, quia rumor incesser pontem cessurum oneri dolo fabricantium: sed qui ingredi a sunt, validum et fidum intellexere.

16. Ceterum obsessis adeo suppeditavisse rem frumentaria constitit, ut horreis ignem inicerent, contraque prodiderit Corbu Parthos inopes copiarum et pabulo attrito relicturos oppugr

1. **alia ex rebus infaustis.** Nipp. takes this as equivalent to 'alias res infaustas,' and supposes the expression to be similar to the neuter with genitive (Introd. i. v. § 32 b); but it seems better to take the words, with Burnouf and others, to mean 'other indignities suitable to their miserable plight': cp. 'ex memoria . . . fortunae' (2. 63, 1); 'ex severitate prisca' (11. 25, 5).

quorum simulacrum, 'some resemblance of which.' Though the legions did not pass under the yoke, they had to submit to such indignities as approached that ignominy (such as are described in the following sentences). 'Simulacrum' can hardly here mean an empty semblance (as in 1. 77, 3; 11. 31, 4; etc.), and there seems to be no strict parallel to its use for 'simile aliquid'; the nearest being that cited by Dr. from Plaut. Most. 1. 2, 6 ('quoius rei . . . similem esse arbitrarer simulacrumque habere').

3. **captiva** = 'capta,' 'formerly taken as booty': cp. 'captivos in agros' (12. 32, 5), 'captivum . . . ebur' (Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 193), etc.

4. **adgnoscentes.** Nipp. points out that this word has here the force of 'recognising as their own,' a sense nearly akin to that of 'adgnoscere crimen,' 'factum,' etc.

5. **retenta,** 'were detained' by the enemy.

6. **caesorum.** These must chiefly have consisted of the force mentioned in c. 11, 1, as the camp had not been assaulted.

aggeratis: so all edd. after He for the Med. 'aggregatis': cp. 1. 61, 6. 19, 3.

9. **insidens,** sc. 'ipse,' Dio (l. here again follows Tacitus closely, does not add the reason for not using bridge.

proximus, not elsewhere found w accus. in Tacitus, but so used by Pl (Poen. 5. 3, 1), Caes. (B. G. 1. 54, 1), Sl (Iug. 49, 6), as is also 'propior' (S Iug. 49, 1): with 'proxime' (cp. 16. 3), as also with 'propius,' the reg and classical construction is the acc though the dat. is also found.

10. **vi equorum.** We gather from expression that the stream, though f able to an elephant, had to be swum horses.

14. **ut horreis,** etc. They preferred doubt to destroy their store, rather t deliver it to the Parthians according the terms (c. 14, 5). It is therefore c proved that they had some corn left, that they had abundance.

prodiderit. The expression w show that Tacitus here quotes Corbul an author (cp. 12. 67, 1; 13. 20, 4; e i. e. his written memoirs, used by P (see N. H. 2. 70, 72, 180; 6. 8, 8, and the list of authors for Books 5 6). The subjunctive appears to be error, as there is no reason for exten the force of 'ut' beyond 'inicerent'; Ritter's emendation 'contra quae pr dit' gives no satisfactory sense.

15. **pabulo attrito,** 'their forage'

ɔnem, neque se plus tridui itinere afuisse. adicit iure iurando ıeti cautum apud signa, adstantibus iis quos testificando rex isisset, neminem Romanum Armeniam ingressurum, donec ferrentur litterae Neronis, an paci adnueret. quae ut augendae famiae composita, sic reliqua non in obscuro habentur, una die ıadraginta milium spatium emensum esse Paetum, desertis ıssim sauciis, neque minus deformem illam fugientium trepidaɔnem quam si terga in acie vertissent. Corbulo cum suis copiis ıud ripam Euphratis obvius non eam speciem insignium et morum praetulit, ut diversitatem exprobraret. maesti manipuli vicem commilitonum miserantes ne lacrimis quidem temperare; x prae fletu usurpata consalutatio. decesserat certamen virtutis

raging ground': cp. 6. 34, 1, and note) ng nearly exhausted' (worn thin): cp. tritus vomer' (Virg. G. 1, 46), 'attriopibus' (H. 1. 10, 2), 'rebus' (H. 2. 4); etc.

ɛlicturos. Nipp. notes that the ission of 'fuisse' (see Introd. i. v. § c) is here made less harsh by 'afuisse' owing.

. **adicit.** The reference is again to memoirs.

ure iurando, etc., 'that Paetus gave ırity by oath before the standards,' i.e., the 'principia,' where the standards, effigy of the emperor, and the altars sacrifice were kept (cp. 1. 39, 7, and e; also c. 24, 3; 29, 5).

. **testificando**: cp. 13. 11, 2, and e.

. **litterae . . . an**: cp. c. 14, 1; for the with 'adnuere' cp. 12. 48, 4, and e.

uae ut . . . composita, 'admitting these statements were made up (by bulo) to increase the disgrace of tus.' This admission, however guardshows that Tacitus did not consider memoirs of Corbulo altogether trustthy. Mommsen notes (Hist. v. 390, E. T. ii. 58, 1) that such an agreet as is here spoken of is so far ectly credible, inasmuch as it correɪds to what actually took place. It ıld, however, be observed that Paetus neeting Corbulo is made to propose nce to re-enter Armenia (c. 17, 1), that it appears to be assumed by generals that they were free to do Another and a more obvious exagtion is given by Dio (62. 21, 2), Paetus pledged Nero to give the dom to Tiridates.

5. **non in obscuro habentur,** 'are not reckoned as in uncertainty': cp. 'in incerto habeantur' (c. 17, 2).

6. **quadraginta.** Vegetius states (1, 9) that the ordinary Roman march on a summer day was five hours, in which time twenty miles were accomplished at the ordinary pace, twenty-four at quick march; that beyond this, 'quidquid addideris, iam cursus est.' Nipp. notes that the 'iustum iter' of Caes. B. C. 3. 76, 1, agrees with this, but that further on in the same chapter, 'xviii.' must be read for 'viii.'

9. **apud ripam Euphratis,** probably at or near Melitene, where he was intending to cross (see note on c. 7, 2). If Corbulo was only three days' march distant at the time of the surrender (§ 1), we should be led to infer that the one forced march of forty miles represented the whole distance travelled by Paetus to the meeting point. If, however, he had not crossed the Murad, but marched round by its junction with the Kara Su, the distance traversed by him must apparently have been greater, and Corbulo had no doubt intended to take a more direct route.

insignium: cp. 'neque insignibus fulgentes' 1. 24, 4 (and note); also c. 29, 4.

10. **ut diversitatem,** etc., 'as if to taunt them by the contrast.'

11. **lacrimis . . . temperare,** so in Liv. 30. 20, 1; probably to be taken as dative: cp. 'risui temperare' (13. 3, 2).

12. **consalutatio**: so, when the disgraced legions meet Cerialis, there is 'nulla inter coeuntes . . . consalutatio' (H. 4. 72, 4); and Livy similarly

et ambitio gloriae, felicium hominum adfectus: sola misericor valebat, et apud minores magis.

17. Ducum inter se brevis sermo secutus est, hoc conquere iam inritum laborem, potuisse bellum fuga Parthorum finiri: integra utrique cuncta respondit: converterent aquilas et iur invaderent Armeniam abscessu Vologesis infirmatam. non imperatoris habere mandata Corbulo: periculo legionum co motum e provincia egressum; quando in incerto habean Parthorum conatus, Suriam repetiturum: sic quoque optim Fortunam orandam, ut pedes confectus spatiis itinerum alacr et facilitate camporum praevenientem equitem adsequeret exim Paetus per Cappadociam hibernavit: at Vologesis Corbulonem missi nuntii, detraheret castella trans Euphra

describes the return from Caudium (9. 6, 12) 'non reddere salutem, non salutantibus dare responsum.' Nipp. notes that the ordinary salutation probably consisted in acclamations; the lowering of arms mentioned as part of the 'salutatio militaris' in Bell. Afr. 85, 5 being an acknowledgment of defeat.

2. **minores,** 'the lower ranks,' i.e. the rank and file. So in Ov. Ex P. 4. 7, 49 ('pugnat ad exemplum primi minor ordine pili'). Their feeling appears to be contrasted with that of the 'duces' (c. 17, 1).

3. **hoc,** 'Corbulone': by 'laborem' his long march is meant.

5. **integra utrique cuncta,** 'nothing was lost for either,' all could yet be restored for his position and that of Corbulo by a joint invasion.

7. **Corbulo,** sc. 'ait' (see Introd. i. v. § 38 a). Nipp. notes that the omission is here rendered less harsh by the preceding 'respondit.' The omission of 'se' is common enough (Id. § 8) to make it needless to insert it (with Ritt.) before 'habere.'

8. **quando** = 'quoniam;' so in 1. 44, 5, etc.: for 'in incerto' cp. c. 16, 3.

9. **sic quoque,** 'even as it was (cp. 4. 40, 4, and note) they must pray for fortune to be at her best' (cp. 'precandam modestiam' 4. 7, 3), i.e. it would be a rare stroke of good fortune if they got back in time.

10. **pedes,** his own army, consisting mainly of infantry (c. 10, 8), as contrasted with the Parthian army of horsemen ('equitem'), whom he supposed to be on their way to invade Syria.

alacrem, apparently in contrast 'confectus spatiis itinerum,' and refer (as Nipp. takes it) to their rest du the siege. They were also inspirited victory.

11. **facilitate camporum praeveni tem,** 'outstripping them by the eas moving over plains': cp. 'facilitate adulteriorum' (11. 26, 1); also 'diffi tates itineris' (13. 53, 3), 'locor (Agr. 17, 3).

12. **per Cappadociam hibernavit.** the reckoning adopted, the winter meant is the remainder of that spoke as impending in c. 8, 3 (where see n) The difficulty of supposing that so m had taken place within so short a tim less than that of the alternative supposit that a whole spring, summer, and aut had intervened, since the advance Vologeses (c. 9, 2), and that Rome been more than a year without news f the East, between the despatches Paetus (c. 8, 3) and the embassy f Vologeses (c. 24, 1). By 'per' sepa winter quarters are denoted. Dr. comp 'per fora ac templa' (11. 14, 5), etc.

13. **nuntii.** There is some harsh in supplying 'expostulabant' from next sentence, on which account I reads 'Vologeses' and 'missis nun (with only a comma after 'faceret'), also inclines to alter 'expostulabat the plural.

detraheret castella. The verb probably best taken (with Gerber Greef) in the sense of 'dirueret' 'diruta' below), as in H. 4. 64, 3 ('m . . . detrahatis'). Dr. takes it as a phrase, analogous to the use of the w

nnemque, ut olim, medium faceret. ille Armeniam quoque versis praesidiis vacuam fieri expostulabat. et postremo conssit rex; dirutaque quae Euphraten ultra communiverat Corılo, et Armenii sine arbitro relicti sunt.

18. At Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capitolini ontis sistebantur, decreta ab senatu integro adhuc bello neque m omissa, dum aspectui consulitur spreta conscientia. quin dissimulandis rerum externarum curis Nero frumentum plebis tustate corruptum in Tiberim iecit, quo securitatem annonae stentaret. cuius pretio nihil additum est, quamvis ducentas rme naves portu in ipso violentia tempestatis et centum alias beri subvectas fortuitus ignis absumpsisset. tris dein consulares,

withdrawing troops, etc. The forts those mentioned in c. 9, 2; 12, 1.

2. **diversis** = 'hostilibus'; so 'diversa es' (13. 57, 3; 14. 30, 1), etc.

expostulabat (= 'postulabat' as in 19, 3, etc.); so used with accus. and in H. 1. 82, 1; 3. 83, 1; and (in erent sense) in c. 5, 1. 'Postulo' es this construction in Cic., etc.

4. **sine arbitro,** 'without interference'; 'mortem sine arbitro' (16. 11, 6); 1. 26, 6, and note.

5. **tropaea**: cp. 2. 18, 2, and note. **arcusque,** possibly that which had n decreed four years previously (13. 5).

6. **integro adhuc bello,** 'while the was yet undecided'; so in H. 2. 57, n 2. 46, 2, the meaning is different): 'rebus integris' c. 25, 1.

7. **dum aspectui,** etc., 'inasmuch as earances are consulted, sense of truth oised.' The criticism is only so far , that the exaggerated despatches of tus 'quasi confecto bello' (c. 8, 3) been believed and perhaps still fur- magnified: the news of his subse- nt reverses was not received until the owing spring (c. 24, 1); so that the que tum omissa' is altogether unfair.

8. **dissimulandis . . . curis,** gerundive (Introd. i. v. § 22 b), 'to conceal anxiety about foreign affairs.' This utation of motive again is wholly uitous; nor could any disaster, or rehension of such, in Parthia, affect corn supply of Rome.

rumentum plebis. The context vs that this was stored not for gra- ous distribution, but for sale at a low ; it being part of the 'cura annonae' to regulate prices, not only by sale from public stores, but also in dear times by compensating merchants for selling below market value. (See c. 39, 2; 1. 2, 2; 2. 87, 1, and notes.) All costs connected with the 'frumentum publicum' were borne formerly by the 'aerarium,' especially, no doubt, by the revenues of the senatorial provinces of Sicily, Asia, and Africa, but appear from the time of Claudius or Nero to have been transferred to the 'fiscus' generally, and under the Flavian Caesars to a special 'fiscus frumentarius.' See Hirschfeld, Untersuch. p. 132; also Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. pp. 126, 133.

10. **sustentaret,** i. e. to keep up the confidence respecting plenty which the public had hitherto felt, by leading them to believe that there must be abundance of good corn in store. Nipp. follows Ryck. and others in reading 'ostentaret' (after MS. Agr.), taking 'securitatem' to mean 'safety' (i. e. 'assured abundance'), as in 11. 31, 2 ('securitati . . . consulere'); Agr. 3, 1 ('securitas publica'); Plin. N. H. 28. 2, 4, 21 ('securitatem itinerum'). The alteration perhaps gives a better sense, but is hardly necessary. Medals were struck inscribed 'Annona Augusti,' Ceres. S. C. (Cohen, i. p. 279).

11. **portu in ipso,** at Ostia.

12. **Tiberi subvectas,** i. e. which had reached Rome: for the expression cp. 'Nilo subvehebatur' (2. 60, 1).

tris . . . consulares. In appointing this commission he followed the precedent of Augustus, who in 759, A. D. 6, according to Dio (55. 25, 6) τὰ ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὓς

L. Pisonem, Ducenium Geminum, Pompeium Paulinum vectig libus publicis praeposuit, cum insectatione priorum principum, c gravitate sumptuum iustos reditus anteissent: se annuum se centiens sestertium rei publicae largiri.

19. Percrebruerat ea tempestate pravissimus mos, cum pr pinquis comitiis aut sorte provinciarum plerique orbi fictis ado tionibus adsciscerent filios, praeturasque et provincias inter patı

ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνέστειλε, τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε. Another commission, also selected by lot, was appointed for this purpose ('qui . . . modum publicis impensis facerent') together with others, at the accession of Vespasian (H. 4. 40, 3). Here Nero appears to have selected the persons instead of leaving the choice to the lot.

1. **L. Pisonem,** etc. On this person see 13. 28, 3; 31, 1. Ducenius Geminus (the date of whose consulship is unknown) was praef. urbis under (Galba H. 1. 14, 1). Mommsen reads the name 'M. Duceni Gemini' for 'Meceni Gemini' in a Delmatian inscription (C. I. L. iii. 2883, Wilm. 868, Or. 3452), as legatus of the Eleventh legion (which left Delmatia in Vespasian's time). On Paulinus Pompeius see 13. 53, 2, and note.

vectigalibus publicis. This would strictly include the corn dues and other indirect taxes payable into the 'aerarium publicum' (see 4. 6, 4, and note; 13. 50, 1, and note); but it is possible that the term is here taken widely, so as to include also the tribute of the senatorial provinces, and in fact the whole revenue of the 'aerarium.' The object was to produce such a balance between income and expenditure as should enable the treasury to meet its regular obligations.

2. **priorum.** Gaius, whose reckless expenditure Suet., on the contrary (Ner. 30), represents Nero as admiring, would seem here especially to be referred to.

3. **iustos reditus anteissent,** 'had forestalled in their extravagant expenditure the proper revenue,' i.e. had counted on public money before it was due, and then left the treasury always with a deficit. The princeps was so far responsible for the administration of the aerarium, that any decree for extraordinary expenditure from it was either directly originated by him (see 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1, etc.), or could at least be checked by his veto.

se, etc., 'whereas he annually gave the commonwealth sixty million sesterc' The statement is obscure, and has be very variously understood, but seems refer to some regular annual payme distinct from such subventions to t aerarium as are mentioned in 13. 31, It is perhaps best to suppose, w Hirschfeld (Unters. p. 133), that allusi is made to the transference of the cost the corn distribution from the aerariu to the fiscus, which appears to have be carried out by Claudius or Nero, and which, even if it had been the work the former, the latter may have chos to take credit. Nipp. and Momms (Staatsr. ii. 1009) would take 'reipu licae' in a general sense, and make h assert that his expenditure from the fisc for public purposes exceeded by that su the income derived by it from pub sources; the balance being a gift fr his 'res privata.' Augustus certai professed to have given very large su in this way (see note on 1. 8, 3), a similar acts are recorded of Antoni Pius (Eutr. 8, 8) and others.

5. **Percrebruerat:** cp. 2. 82, 1, a note.

6. **plerique** = 'permulti.' The obj was to evade the 'Lex Papia Poppae which prescribed that a candidate w had children, or who had more childr was to be preferred to one who had no or fewer: see vol. i. app. ii. p. 441; a 2. 51, 2.

8. **sortiti.** This word must be us of 'praeturas' by a zeugma, in the gene sense of being elected. The lot howe determined the jurisdiction and duties the several praetors of the year, as w as the assignment of provinces to e praetors; and appears only to have c tained among those who were otherw equal. Dio (53. 13, 2) describes Aug tus as ordaining with respect to t senatorial provinces, *κληρωτοὺς εἶν πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυπαιδίας ἢ γάμου προνο προσείη*: see also Momms. Staatsr. ii. 2 253. 'Comitiis,' as a general term, a

rtiti statim emitterent manu, quos adoptaverant. magna cum vidia senatum adeunt, ius naturae, labores educandi adversus audem et artes et brevitatem adoptionis enumerant. satis etii esse orbis, quod multa securitate, nullis oneribus gratiam nores cuncta prompta et obvia haberent. sibi promissa legum u exspectata in ludibrium verti, quando quis sine sollicitudine rens, sine luctu orbus longa patrum vota repente adaequaret. ctum ex eo senatus consultum, ne simulata adoptio in ulla rte muneris publici iuvaret ac ne usurpandis quidem heretatibus prodesset.

es to the election in the senate of all ıks of magistrates; but the praetorship specially instanced as most sought for . 14. 28, 1); because the lower magiscies were chiefly valuable as steppingnes to it, and because this magistracy ried with it eligibility to all senatorial vinces except Asia and Africa (Introd. vii. p. 95). The consulship is not ntioned, probably because there was real candidature for it, the office being olly filled up at the will of the prince. **nter patres**, 'among those who e really fathers of families.'

. **emitterent manu.** This variation the usual 'manu mittere' is found eral times in Plaut. and Ter. and in . 24. 18, 12, and later.

nagna cum invidia, 'with loud roaches': on this apparently Tacitean se of 'invidia' cp. 3. 67, 4, and note.

. **adeunt.** All edd. have followed n. in restoring 'adeunt, ius' for the d. 'adeuntibus'; but the text still ns corrupt. The complainants are lently such persons as really had chilh; but to supply such a subject to eunt' from 'inter patres,' or from the eral sense, is very harsh. It seems violent to mark a lacuna before gna' (with Nipp. and Ritt.) than, Dr., to insert 'at patres.' The old . had followed Put. in inserting 'qui,' ch might indeed have dropped out n the proximity of 'quos,' but which not remove the difficulty, as its rence would be wholly ambiguous.

us naturae, 'the right they have gained nature,' as opposed to 'fraudem et s' ('artifice'). It seems best to take wo latter terms as a hendiadys, rather (with Nipp.) to distinguish them by ing the latter denote the artificial acter of all adoptions (as against 'ius rae'), the former such adoptions as were not even made bona fide. The attack here appears to be on sham adoptions only.

adversus, 'in contrast to': cp. 12. 15, 3; Dial. 33, 2; Liv. 7. 32, 8. Nipp. compares 'contra' in c. 2, 2.

4. **securitate**, 'freedom from cares,' i. e. the 'labores educandi.'

5. **honores.** Nipp. takes this to mean that senators won the favour of a childless brother senator by voting him magistracies whenever it was possible to do so. But such a practice would too closely touch the special ground of complaint to be alluded to thus concessively. It would seem therefore that 'honores' means 'marks of respect' (cp. 1. 14, 2; 4. 37, 2, etc.), though we should certainly have rather expected 'honorem.' On the general court paid to the childless see 3. 25, 2 (and note); 13. 52, 3, etc.

6. **diu exspectata**, 'looked forward to from the time when they began to rear children': cp. 'longa patrum vota' below. Nipp. thinks it refers to the long time which might elapse after the legal age for office was reached, by preference given to those who had more interest. But this grievance would not be specially that of 'patres.'

in ludibrium verti, 'were turned into a laughing-stock,' as if they had never been seriously made.

sine sollicitudine, etc., 'a parent without the cares of paternity, and childless without the sorrows of bereavement.'

7. **longa patrum vota**, 'the aspirations long cherished by parents.'

8. **in ulla parte muneris publici**, 'in anything partaking of the nature of a public office,' i. e. not only in respect of actual tenure of magistracies, but also in allotment of provinces, functions, etc.

9. **ne usurpandis quidem heredi-**

20. Exim Claudius Timarchus Cretensis reus agitur, cet criminibus, ut solent praevalidi provincialium et opibus nir ad iniurias minorum elati: una vox eius usque ad contumeli senatus penetraverat, quod dictitasset in sua potestate situm, proconsulibus, qui Cretam obtinuissent, grates agerentur. qu occasionem Paetus Thrasea ad bonum publicum vertens, pc quam de reo censuerat provincia Creta depellendum, haec didit: 'usu probatum est, patres conscripti, leges egreg exempla honesta apud bonos ex delictis aliorum gigni. oratorum licentia Cinciam rogationem, candidatorum ambi Iulias leges, magistratuum avaritia Calpurnia scita pepereru

tatibus. On the disabilities of the unmarried and childless in this respect see vol. i. app. ii. p. 442.

1. **Cretensis.** Crete was a senatorial province, with Cyrene (see on 3. 38, 1; 70, 1); and the senatorial court would be the natural tribunal (see 13. 4, 3, and note) for considering any charge against a provincial which appeared too important to be left to the proconsul.

reus agitur: cp. 3. 13, 3, and note; 14. 18, 2.

ceteris criminibus, abl. abs., 'there being other charges.'

2. **ut solent.** The construction connects itself, as Nipp. points out, with 'reus agitur,' but the sense depends on 'ceteris criminibus,' the expression being equivalent to 'qualibus obnoxii esse solent.' Nipp. gives several instances in which 'ut' or 'ac' has the force of 'qualis' or 'quantus' (Agr. 20, 3; Cic. de Prov. Cons. 10, 25; in Vat. 4, 10); but none of them have the elliptical character here noticed.

3. **ad iniurias minorum elati,** 'so uplifted as to oppress their inferiors' (for this sense of 'minores' cp. c. 16, 6; 11. 21, 4, and notes). On the position of such wealthy persons, in the Hellenic provinces, see Mommsen, Hist. v. 259; E. T. i. 283. Their arrogance is alluded to in Plut. Praec. Rei Gerendae, 19, 3.

ad contumeliam senatus penetraverat, 'had gone to the length of insulting the senate' (in the person of its proconsul). No other instance of the metaphorical use of 'penetrare' appears to be quite parallel.

5. **grates agerentur.** This was done by a deputation sent to Rome on the motion of a 'concilium sociorum' (see c. 22, 2). Such a vote of thanks would be a valuable counter demonstratio case of complaint.

6. **Paetus Thrasea**: see 13. 4 etc.

7. **depellendum** = 'relegandum' in 3. 24, 2; 14. 50, 2; 16. 33, 3.

9. **exempla honesta.** Nipp. t this to mean 'honourable exemplary (cp. 13. 44, 8, etc.), and points out from this sense of the word is de that in which it is equivalent to 'po (12. 20, 4, etc.); a meaning which and others suppose to be intended l and which is perhaps most in accord with 'leges egregias' (the laws ref to being penal laws), and with 'po below. 'Apud bonos' is perhaps taken with 'gigni' ('originate among good').

10. **licentia,** 'wickedness' (cp. 'lib 12. 46, 3), here more especially of ruptibility or greed. On the Cin rogation see 11. 5, 3; 13. 42, 2.

11. **Iulias leges,** those of Augu who appears twice to have taken s action to punish and prevent this offe in 736 and 746, B.C. 18 and 8 (Dio 16, 1; 55. 5, 3); though it would l seem to have been on the latter occa that any general enactment took pl such as is referred to in Suet. Aug The plural may be rhetorical, like ' purnia scita.'

Calpurnia scita. The 'lex purnia de repetundis,' passed by the bune L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi in B.C. 149 (Cic. Brut. 27, 106, etc. remarkable as the first occasion of co tuting the 'quaestiones perpetuae.' N notes that the variation of terms ('r tionem,' 'leges,' 'scita') appears t only rhetorical. The enactments sp of were probably all in form plebisci

n culpa quam poena tempore prior, emendari quam peccare terius est. ergo adversus novam provincialium superbiam num fide constantiaque Romana capiamus consilium, quo elae sociorum nihil derogetur, nobis opinio decedat, qualis sque habeatur, alibi quam in civium iudicio esse.

1. Olim quidem non modo praetor aut consul, sed privati m mittebantur, qui provincias viserent et quid de cuiusque equio videretur referrent, trepidabantque gentes de aestimae singulorum: at nunc colimus externos et adulamur, et quo lo ad nutum alicuius grates, ita promptius accusatio decernitur. ernaturque et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali lo ostentandi: sed laus falsa et precibus expressa perinde beatur quam malitia, quam crudelitas. plura saepe peccandum demeremur quam dum offendimus. quaedam immo

am culpa, etc. The sentiment ap- to show traces of that ascribed by 34. 4, 8) to Cato, when speaking st the repeal of the Oppian law: ante morbos necesse est cognitos esse remedia eorum, sic cupiditates prius sunt quam leges quae iis modum it.' Nipp. points out that the second ('emendari quam peccare,' etc.) not merely repeat the sense of the , but brings in the idea of amend- as distinct from that of mere pun- it.

uperbiam, the arrogance implied votes of thanks.

de constantia. Jacob appears to distinguish these by taking the the honour or good faith shown in with allies, the latter of the sense ity that should keep Romans from g praise.

obis opinio decedat, 'we (magis- should get rid of the idea that it ith any but our fellow-citizens at to judge our character,' i. e. that e anything to gain from a provin- nonstration of this kind.

ivati etiam mittebantur. This to have been the idea of the al privilege of 'legatio libera,' in fact it was usually employed ate purposes. Professor Holbrooke s the commission of Cato s to manage the annexation of (Cic. pro Sest. 28, 60); but the e here appears to be to a more practice.

aestimatione singulorum, 'concerning the judgment of individuals respecting them.'

10. alicuius, sc. 'e provincialibus'; so also 'decernatur,' sc. 'a provincialibus.'

11. decernaturque, sc. 'accusatio.'

et maneat, etc. Halm, who admits the other instances of the elliptical gerundial genit. (c. 5, 3; 13. 26, 4), here inserts 'ius' before 'potentiam'; Ritt. inserts 'potestas' before 'provincialibus'; Madvig (Adv. ii. p. 556) more felicitously takes 'potentiam' to be a corruption of 'potestas sententiam.' The text is certainly here so far more difficult to defend than in the other instances, in that there is no adjective which could, even by a stretch of meaning, be taken substantivally; but it seems possible to consider the general idea of 'custom' to be implied in 'maneat,' or to suppose, with Nipp., that 'decernere accusationem' is supplied as subject of that verb, and that the genit. is added epexegetically. 'Ostentandi' is read by all edd., after G, for the Med. 'optentandi.'

12. expressa, 'extorted': cp. 1. 19, 5, etc.

13. malitia . . . crudelitas. The latter of these is clearly that of the governor, as 'laus falsa' is that of the subjects. It seems best to take 'malitia' also of the governor (cp. 13. 30, 4); though it could well be understood of spite on the part of the subject as the cause of false accusations.

14. demeremur, 'oblige': this verb, found here alone in Tacitus, is thus used as a deponent by Quint. and Sen., and in the gerund by Liv. (3. 18, 3) and others, also in the act. by Ov., etc., and (in a

virtutes odio sunt, severitas obstinata, invictus adversum gratia animus. inde initia magistratuum nostrorum meliora ferme finis inclinat, dum in modum candidatorum suffragia conqui mus: quae si arceantur, aequabilius atque constantius provinci regentur. nam ut metu repetundarum infracta avaritia est, i vetita gratiarum actione ambitio cohibebitur.'

22. Magno adsensu celebrata sententia, non tamen senat consultum perfici potuit, abnuentibus consulibus ea de re relatu mox auctore principe sanxere, ne quis ad concilium sociorum referret agendas apud senatum pro praetoribus prove consulib grates, neu quis ea legatione fungeretur.

Isdem consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, ef-

different sense) in Plaut. That the desire to win favour with the subjects, to set against possible complaints, was a frequent motive to crime, is shown by the cases of Pilate, Herod Agrippa (Acts 12, 3), Felix (Id. 24, 27), Festus (Id. 25, 9).

3. **inclinat,** 'declines': cp. 'si fortuna belli inclinat' (Liv. 3. 61, 5); so, passively, 'inclinata fortuna' (Cic. ad Fam. 2. 16, 1), and, actively, 'inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur' (Quint. 10. 1, 80).

4. **aequabilius atque constantius,** 'with more uniformity and consistency': the sentence is imitated from Sall. Cat., 2, 3 ('aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent'). For this sense of 'aequabilis' see 4. 20, 4, and note.

5. **repetundarum,** shortened for 'quaestionis repetundarum.' Nipp. compares 'maiestatem' (for 'crimen maiestatis') in H. 1. 77, 6.

6. **ambitio,** 'intrigue to win favour,' as in 2. 38, 4; 3. 12, 6, etc.

cohibebitur: so Halm, Nipp., and others, after Lips., as suitable to describe the effect of a law not yet enacted. The Med. 'cohibetur' can be retained by taking the maxim as a general truth.

8. **perfici.** The same term is used of the formal ratification of a senatus consultum in 14. 49, 2.

abnuentibus . . . relatum, sc. 'esse' (cp. 3. 34, 1): 'abnuere' has the force of 'negare' in 2. 78, 3; H. 1. 1, 4, etc., also in Cic. Leg. 1. 14, 40, and several times in Liv. (e. g. 3. 72, 7; 9. 17, 5, etc.). Senators, after speaking 'extra relationem' (see 2. 33, 2; 38, 3), might ask the consuls to bring the matter formally before the house (13. 49, 2); but this rested with their discretion; and they would naturally delay action till the pleasure of the princeps was known (see 13. 26, 2), especially as the question was not only important in itself, but also affected the legati of Caesar, as well as proconsuls (see below).

9. **sanxere, ne quis,** etc. Augustus had enacted in 764, A. D. 11, that subjects should decree no honour to a governor until sixty days after his retirement (Dio, 56. 25, 6). The custom of voting such honours under the Republic may be gathered from Cicero (e. g. Verr. 2. 2, 5, 13; ad Fam. 3. 8, 3; and many other passages cited in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 371, 1); and it does not appear that either the decree of Augustus or the present one were able to stop the practice afterwards: see Plin. Pan. 70; Vit. Al. Sev. 22, 6; Ammian. 30. 5, 8.

concilium sociorum. A diet of this kind, called also the 'commune,' or τὸ κοινόν, existed in all provinces, and appears usually to have met once a year. On its constitution and functions see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 369, foll.

10. **pro praetoribus prove consulibus.** By the first term, the 'legati Augusti propraetore' in the Caesarian provinces are meant; all governors of senatorial provinces (whether of praetorian or consular rank) having the proper title of proconsuls (see on 1. 74, 1). 'Proconsul legatusve' appear to be more commonly used (Momms. Staatsr. ii. 243, 1). The position of 've' is in accordance with the practice of Tacitus and others to treat such terms as two words ('pro consule,' etc.).

12. **gymnasium.** On its erection see 14. 47, 3. It appears from Philostr-

esque in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. et motu terrae ebre Campaniae oppidum Pompei magna ex parte proruit. functaque virgo Vestalis Laelia, in cuius locum Cornelia ex nilia Cossorum capta est.

23. Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo consulibus natam sibi Poppaea filiam Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit appellaque Augustam, dato et Poppaeae eodem cognomento. locus erperio colonia Antium fuit, ubi ipse generatus erat. iam atus uterum Poppaeae commendaverat dis votaque publice ceperat, quae multiplicata exsolutaque. et additae supplicanes templumque Fecunditati et certamen ad exemplar Actiacae

to have been rebuilt by 819, A. D. 66. fact that neither its destruction nor earthquake are noted as divine por-, though similar occurrences are tantly so designated, shows the iguous attitude of Tacitus on this ect.

motu terrae, etc. This earthquake, en years before the eruption which oyed the town, is mentioned by ca (Nat. Quaest. 6. 1, 1), 'Pompeios onsedisse terrae motu . . . audivimus. Nonis Februariis hic fuit motus lo et Verginio consulibus.' This nony, which must have been written shortly after the event, would make us wrong as to the year; but it has thought (see Friedl. iii. 179, 6) that ames of the consuls in Seneca have interpolated. Seneca adds that the earthquake overthrew part of Hereum, and caused destruction at ria and Neapolis. I am indebted to Haverfield for the reference to a o at Pompeii (Notizie degli Scavi, p. 517) 'pro salute Ner[onis] in e motu].'

Laelia, thought by Nipp. to have a daughter of Laelius Balbus (6. 47, nd the Laelia for whom Domitius (see 4. 52, 1) made a speech, from Quint. quotes (9. 4, 31).

Cossorum, possibly a daughter of onsul mentioned in 14. 20, 1. On election of Vestals and the use e term 'capere' see 2. 86, 1, and

Memmio Regulo et Verginio The full names are 'C. Memmio o (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2002), L. Verginio The former was son of the person death and character are recorded 47, 1; the latter, one of the most famous men of his age, is chiefly known from his conduct as governor of Upper Germany in 821, A. D. 68 (see Appendix to Book 16), and is frequently mentioned in the Histories. He received a second consulship from Vitellius, and a third from Nerva in 850, A. D. 97, in which year he died, and was succeeded by Tacitus, who spoke his 'laudatio' (Pl. Ep. 2, 1). Med. has here 'uirginio,' but in all other places 'uerginius' or 'uergenius.'

7. **Augustam.** She was called 'Claudia Augusta' (see C. I. L. vi. 1. 2043, 11).

dato et Poppaeae, etc. On this title as given to the emperor's wife see 12. 26, 1, and note. Medals are preserved, struck in Greek cities, giving her this title (Cohen i, 314, foll.).

8. **colonia Antium:** see 14. 3, 1, and note; also note on 14. 27, 3.

generatus = 'natus.' Dr. compares Mela 3. 8, 83 ('Phoenix . . . non partu generatur').

9. **votaque,** etc.: cp. 3. 71, 1, etc. It is to be understood that such vows were undertaken also by the priestly and other bodies (see 12. 68, 1; and the numerous passages cited in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 268). The Arval Acts (C. I. L. vi. 1. 2043) record on Jan. 21 in this year ['In capi]tolio vota soluta, quae susceper[ant pr]o partu et incolumitate Poppaeae'; which shows that the birth had taken place by that date.

10. **supplicationes.** This is not to be taken with 'Fecunditati'; being no doubt a general thanksgiving to all gods (cp. 'supplicatio . . . ad omnia pulvinaria' Liv. 22. 1, 15). 'Fecunditas' is nowhere else thus deified; for similar personifications see note on 1. 14, 3.

ad exemplar Actiacae religionis.

religionis decretum, utque Fortunarum effigies aureae in sc Capitolini Iovis locarentur, ludicrum circense, ut Iuliae genti ap Bovillas, ita Claudiae Domitiaeque apud Antium ederetur. q fluxa fuere, quartum intra mensem defuncta infante. rursus exortae adulationes censentium honorem divae et pulvinar aede que et sacerdotem. atque ipse ut laetitiae, ita maeroris inmc cus egit. adnotatum est, omni senatu Antium sub recent partum effuso, Thraseam prohibitum inmoto animo praenunti inminentis caedis contumeliam excepisse. secutam dehinc voc Caesaris ferunt, qua reconciliatum se Thraseae apud Senec iactaverit, ac Senecam Caesari gratulatum : unde gloria egre viris et pericula gliscebant.

The quinquennial Actian festival instituted by Augustus at Nicopolis (see 2. 53, 1, and note; Mommsen, Hist. v. 272; E. T. i. 296), after the model of the Olympian, was itself adopted elsewhere as a model. Mommsen quotes ἀγὼν ἰσάκτιος (C. I. G. 4472) and notes the analogous term ἰσολύμπιος. This 'certamen' (as also the temple) was of course to be at Rome, and may probably have been, as Nipp. thinks, the restoration of a former quinquennial festival originally commemorative of Actium at Rome (Dio, 53. 1, 4, etc.), which may have been suppressed by the general prohibition of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 23), or more probably was limited to the lifetime of Augustus, being in fact kept as a festival 'pro valetudine' (see Mommsen, R. G. D. A. 41, foll.; Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 434).

1. **utque**: on the change of construction cp. 13. 8, 1, and note.

Fortunarum. The great worship of Fortune at Antium represented the deity in the form of two sisters (Fortunae Antiates, cp. Or. Insc. 1738, 1740), taken to represent the fortune of war and of peace (Preller, Myth. Rom. iii. 193). Oracles were given from the statues (see Suet. Cal. 57; Macrob. Sat. 1, 23), whence Martial (5. 1, 3) calls them 'veridicae sorores.'

2. **apud Bovillas.** On the worship of the Iulii there see 2. 41, 1, and note.

4. **fluxa,** 'transitory': cp. 3. 50, 5; 13. 19, 1, etc.

5. **censentium,** with accus.: cp. 13. 8, 1, and note.

divae. In 16. 6, 3 she is called 'divina infans'; and medals are inscribed to her as 'diva Claudia, Ner. f.' (Cohen i. 315).

pulvinar, i.e. a position am the deities which shared in a 'l sternium': cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 43, 110 pulvinar haberet'); Liv. 24. 10, ('supplicatio omnibus deis, quorum vinaria Romae essent').

aedemque et sacerdotem. A ch (σηκός), with a body of twenty priests priestesses, had been previously decre Drusilla the sister of Gaius (Dio, 11, 3).

6. **inmodicus,** with genit. (see In i. v. § 33, e. γ), as in H. 1. 53, 1; in Sall. H. 1. 114 D, 113 K, 92 Vell. 2. 11, 1, etc.: cp. 'modicus' (2 3, and note).

7. **egit,** 'spent his time': cp. 3 4, etc.

senatu . . . effuso. On such tations of the princeps by senators Friedl. i. p. 135.

8. **prohibitum,** 'forbidden to pr himself.' This happened again lat Thrasea (16. 24, 1), and was n tantamount to formal 'renuntiatio citiae' (see 2. 70, 3, and note).

10. **ferunt.** The reference may b Orelli thinks, to the biography of Th by Arulenus Rusticus (Agr. 2, 1), c contemporary letters.

11. **iactaverit.** He had vaunted as a proof of his clemency; the an of Seneca implies that the friendsh Thrasea was worth more to Nero Nero's to him. This boldness of sp reflected glory both on the speaker a Thrasea, and embittered Nero ag them. Tacitus gives this as a report in the following sentence ('unde gliscebant') adopts it and remarks it.

gloria . . . et pericula. Np

24. Inter quae veris principio legati Parthorum mandata regis ologesis litterasque in eandem formam attulere: se priora et tons iactata super optinenda Armenia nunc omittere, quoniam di, amvis potentium populorum arbitri, possessionem Parthis non e ignominia Romana tradidissent. nuper clausum Tigranen; post etum legionesque, cum opprimere posset, incolumes dimisisse. :is adprobatam vim; datum et lenitatis experimentum. nec :usaturum Tiridaten accipiendo diademati in urbem venire, i sacerdotii religione attineretur. iturum ad signa et effigies ncipis, ubi legionibus coram regnum auspicaretur.

25. Talibus Vologesis literis, quia Paetus diversa tamquam ous integris scribebat, interrogatus centurio, qui cum legatis venerat, quo in statu Armenia esset, omnes inde Romanos :essisse respondit. tum intellecto barbarum inrisu, qui petet quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero,

pares the association 'famam fatum-' (Agr. 42, 4).

. **legati Parthorum**: cp. c. 14, 5.

andata, 'the message': cp. 1. 23, tc.

in eandem formam: cp. 13. 41, 5, note.

super, with gerundial abl.; so er iugandis feminis' (Hor. Carm. :. 18), 'super adimenda vita' (Amm. 7, 12).

quamvis potentium, 'however erful'; so adv. in 16. 16, 1; H. 1. 3; and often in Cic., etc.

ossessionem. Their subsequent uation of the country (c. 17, 5) is ignored.

clausum Tigranen: see c. 4–5.

incolumes, 'with their lives' (cp. , 1, and note): with 'dimisisse,' 'se' pplied.

satis adprobatam, etc., 'his gth had been sufficiently demoned; proof had also been given of his ency.' For this sense of 'adprobare' . 12. 8; H. 1. 3, 3; Agr. 34, 4; Cic. 1. 36, 63; for that of 'dare experium' cp. 13. 24, 1.

c recusaturum, sc. 'fuisse.'

venire, so used with gerundive n 6. 43, 3. Dr. compares the use of ari' (3. 39, 1), 'pergere' (12. 66, 1), edi' (11. 32, 2): see also Introd. i. 22 b.

sacerdotii religione. This seems iently explained by the statement of Pliny (N. H. 30. 2, 6, 16), that Tiridates was a Magian, and that it was one of his tenets not to pollute the sea by travelling upon it. When he subsequently went to Rome, he so far held to this as to cross only the Hellespont (Plin. l. l.), though he appears to have crossed from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium on his return (Dio, 63. 7, 1). Nipp. thinks that some more special priesthood must here be meant, by the obligation of which he was detained.

iturum ad signa, etc., i.e. he would go to some neighbouring camp, in Cappadocia or Syria, and there do homage to the eagles and the effigy of the emperor in the principia. See c. 29, 5; and, on the sanctity of the place, see 1. 39, 7; 4. 2, 4; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 814.

12. **integris**, 'undecided': cp. c. 18, 1, and note. The imperf. 'scribebat' seems to point to some despatch received from Paetus at the same time, not to those which he had previously written 'tamquam confecto bello' (c. 8, 3).

14. **barbarum**: cp. 14. 39, 1, and note.

qui peterent, etc. This is not strictly true, for Vologeses treats Armenia as won, and disdains to ask for it (c. 24, 1).

15. **primores civitatis**, those who were the usual counsellors of the princeps. On the existence of such a (perhaps permanent) privy council under the Empire see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 903.

bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret. nec dubitatum bello. et Corbulo militum atque hostium tot per annos gna gerendae rei praeficitur, ne cuius alterius inscitia rursum pec retur, quia Paeti piguerat. igitur inriti remittuntur, cum do tamen, unde spes fieret non frustra eadem oraturum Tiridater preces ipse attulisset. Suriaeque exsecutio C. Cestio, cop militares Corbuloni permissae, et quinta decuma legio duce Mario Celso e Pannonia adiecta est. scribitur tetrarchis regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus et qui praetorum fin

1. **nec dubitatum de bello.** On the apparently discrepant statement of Dio see below (on § 4).

3. **praeficitur.** Dr. notes this verb as used with gerundive dat. (on the analogy of 'praeesse') in Cic. pro Dom. 9, 20, and compares the use of 'praeponere' in 13. 8, 1).

cuius alterius. Nipp. considers that 'alterius' is here used because only two persons are compared in thought, Corbulo and a second, whoever he might be. But abundant instances are given in Lexicons to show that 'alterius' commonly serves as genit. of 'alius.'

4. **inriti,** 'baulked of their purpose': cp. 14. 7, 3, and note.

5. **unde spes fieret,** etc. The statement of Dio (62. 22, 3), that Nero distinctly offered to recognise Tiridates, on condition of his coming to Rome to do homage, is not inconsistent with what is here said, and is in full accordance with the sequel of events. Tacitus need not mean more than that the Parthian modified offer (c. 24, 3) was rejected.

6. **exsecutio**: so read for the Med. 'excutio.' The use of 'executio negotii' (3. 31, 7) is not parallel, but those of 'exsequi munia' (1. 11, 3), 'officia' (11, 11, 4), are somewhat nearer; and it is possible that Tacitus may have used 'exsecutio Suriae' as a condensed expression for 'executio rerum in Suria gerendarum.' It is, however, obvious that only the civil government of the province, as distinct from the command of its forces, is meant; whence Madvig (Adv. ii. 557) thinks that 'executio' must be altered to 'iurisdictio' (cp. 1. 80, 2), and Ritt. alters 'Suriaeque' to 'iurisque.'

C. Cestio: so Halm and others after Nipp. ('Cestio' Pigh.), for the Med. 'citio,' which Orelli formerly took to represent the name 'C. Itio'; others read, with some MSS., 'Cincio.' The reading here given is supported by the fact C. Cestius Gallus is known to have legatus of Syria in the autumn of A.D. 65 (coins of Antioch in Eckh 282), and in the following spring (Jos. 2. 14, 3), and to have died there (H 10, 2). On his action in that office Appendix to Book 16. He is also kn to have been cos. suff., on the resigna of Claudius, in April 795, A. D. 42 (I of Fer. Lat. C. I. L. vi. 1. 2015), and perhaps son of the cos. of 788, A. I (6. 31, 1: cp. 3. 36, 2, and note).

7. **quinta decuma,** one of the Pa nian legions in 767, A.D. 14 (1. 23, 6)

8. **Mario Celso,** frequently mention the Histories, as true to Galba and a wards to Otho, and as allowed by Vite to hold the consulship (H. 2. 60, 4 which he had been designated (H. 1. 1

scribitur, with inf.: cp. 12. 29 and note.

tetrarchis ac regibus. By the la those mentioned in 13. 7, 1; 14. 2 are meant. Polemo, king of Po Polemoniacus, died or retired in the following this, and his kingdom bec a province (see Marquardt, Staats 202, 13). The term 'tetrarch' lost etymological meaning in Roman ti and came to be applied generally to Oriental princes as were below the dig of βασιλεῖς.

9. **praefectis,** probably best taken, Nipp., to be those commanding 'cohortes' or 'alae' in the lesser vinces. We have also record in inscript of 'praefecti' as subordinate governo some provinces (see Henzen, Index 108; Wilm. do. p. 563). The 'proc tores' meant are those in comman minor provinces.

qui praetorum. This is prob here a general term (see 1. 74, 1, note), applicable either to the legat proconsuls of the Asiatic provinces.

as provincias regebant, iussis Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum rme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. ompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat. regressum Paetum, ım graviora metueret, facetiis insectari satis habuit Caesar, his rme verbis: ignoscere se statim, ne tam promptus in pavorem ngiore sollicitudine aegresceret.

26. At Corbulo quarta et duodecuma legionibus, quae fortismo quoque amisso et ceteris exterritis parum habiles proelio debantur, in Suriam translatis, sextam inde ac tertiam legiones, tegrum militem et crebris ac prosperis laboribus exercitum, Armeniam ducit. addiditque legionem quintam, quae per ontum agens expers cladis fuerat, simul quintadecumanos ecens adductos et vexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto, uodque alarum cohortiumque, et auxilia regum in unum conucta apud Melitenen, qua tramittere Euphraten parabat. tum

2. **Cn. Pompeio**, by the 'Lex Gabinia' 687, B.C. 67. His power even at that ne is called *οὐ ναυαρχία ἀλλὰ μοναρχία* Plut. (Pomp. 25, 631); but Mommsen ints out (Staatsr. ii. 655) that the rallel is inexact; as the power of mpeius under this law was only 'imrium aequum in omnibus provinciis m proconsulibus usque ad quinquasimum miliarium a mari' (Vell. 2. 31, ; and that the express 'imperium ius' afterwards held by Pompeius ic. Att. 4. 1, 7), or that of Brutus and ssius (App. B. C. 4. 58), would be a ore apt comparison. Corbulo had possed some exceptional extension of wer from the date of his appointment . 8, 4), and had probably now an nperium proconsulare' in the East, like t of Germanicus and others (see 2. 43, and note); though his official title, as own by an inscription later than this e (Eph. Epig. v. 35), still continued be that of 'legatus Augusti propraee' (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 853, 2).

. **aegresceret**, 'might fall ill'; a etical word (Lucr. 5, 350; Verg. Aen. 45, etc.), also in Pl. ma., and here ne in Tacitus.

. **quarta et duodecuma**, those which l been blockaded under Paetus: see o, 1, and note. Dio (62. 22, 4) makes removal of these troops the direct nction of Nero (*Παῖτον τῆς ἀρχῆς σας, τούς τε στρατιώτας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ομένους ἄλλοσέ ποι πέμψας*). He also adds that Nero had intended to take the field in person, but was deterred by an omen.

9. **sextam ac tertiam**: cp. c. 6, 5. No mention is here made of the Tenth legion, which must be supposed to have been left in Syria.

10. **exercitum**: cp. 14. 2, 4, and note. These legions had served with him in his previous campaigns (see 13. 38, 6; 40, 3).

11. **quintam**: see c. 6, 5; 9, 2.

12. **quintadecumanos**, c. 25, 5: for the adverbial use of 'recens' cp. 12. 18, 2, and note.

13. **vexilla delectorum**, 'detachments (see 1. 38, 1; 2. 78, 3, and notes) of picked troops.' Illyricum is taken in a wide sense as including Pannonia (cp. 1. 46, 1) as well as Delmatia. Nipp. thinks it may be taken to include all the Danubian provinces.

14. **quodque**, etc., 'and what he had of auxiliary horse and foot.'

regum, those of the kings and tetrarchs referred to in c. 25, 6. Nipp. notes that 'in unum conducta apud Melitenen' refers to these troops only: Corbulo on arriving with the rest of his army found them there.

15. **Melitenen**, the name of a district (Strab. 12. 2, 5, 537; Plin. N. H. 6. 3, 9), also of a town near the Euphrates, belonging strictly to Armenia minor (Ptol. 5. 7, 5), and, with it, forming afterwards part of the province of Cappadocia. From its important position, as commanding

lustratum rite exercitum ad contionem vocat orditurque mag- fica de auspiciis imperatoris rebusque a se gestis, adversa in scitiam Paeti declinans, multa auctoritate, quae viro militari p facundia erat.

27. Mox iter L. Lucullo quondam penetratum, apertis qu vetustas obsaepserat, pergit. et venientes Tiridatis Vologesisq de pace legatos haud aspernatus, adiungit iis centuriones cu mandatis non inmitibus: nec enim adhuc eo ventum, ut certami extremo opus esset. multa Romanis secunda, quaedam Parth evenisse, documento adversus superbiam. proinde et Tirid conducere intactum vastationibus regnum dono accipere, et Vol- gesen melius societate Romana quam damnis mutuis genti Pa- thorum consulturum. scire quantum intus discordiarum quamq

a passage of the Euphrates, it was made in 823, A.D. 70, the headquarters of the 'legio duodecima fulminata' (Jos. B. I. 7. 1, 3). It continued for some centuries to be a considerable town, and its existing ruins still preserve the name 'Malatia.'

1. **lustratum**, purified with 'suovetaurilia,' as was usual at the opening of a campaign: cp. 6. 37, 2, and note.

orditur magnifica. Corbulo is described as 'verbis magnificis' (13. 8, 4): cp. c. 12, 5; 30, 1. On the accus. with 'ordior' cp. 2. 10, 1, and note.

2. **auspiciis.** Any campaign undertaken would be said to be 'ductu Corbulonis, auspiciis Caesaris': cp. 2. 41, 1, etc.

3. **declinans**, 'turning off upon,' i.e. imputing to (so 'referebat' 14. 38, 5). This sense of 'declinare' is akin, though not strictly parallel, to that in 13. 4, 2; and the expression appears to be taken from Sall. (H. 2. 30 D, 36 K, 66 G): 'adversa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam (v. l. fortuita) in temeritatem declinando.'

auctoritate, 'weight': cp. 14. 43, 2; 47, 1. His words carried weight from the sense of his ability impressed on his hearers.

viro militari: cp. c. 10, 2, etc. To a man of action this gift was equivalent to eloquence.

5. **L. Lucullo.** In his campaign of 685, B.C. 69, Lucullus crossed the Euphrates, and marched through Sophene and over Mt. Taurus, and thence, after crossing the Tigris, to Tigranocerta (Plut. Luc. 24. 25, 508). The uncertainty as to the site of that city (see 12. 50, 2, a note) makes it difficult to trace his ro further than to say that it must have from Taurus apparently to Arsinia a Amida (Diarbekir): see Introd. p. 11

penetratum. The expression 'pe- netrare iter' is noted by Dr. as ἅπ. ε formed on the analogy of 'pergere it' and conveying the idea of an adva surmounting obstacles. The verb is u by Tacitus and others with simple acc. in the sense of 'forcing an entrance in' (so 'Tiberii animum' 1. 69, 4; 'Ti- rium' 3. 4, 3), and of crossing a river 2. 68, 2.

6. **vetustas**, the length of interven time (132 years).

et venientes, etc. Dio (62. 23, says nothing of any embassy sent Vologeses, but makes Corbulo send centurion, formally to order the king leave Armenia, but privately advis him to send his brother to Rome.

8. **nec enim.** The verb of speaking implied in 'mandatis.'

eo ventum ut: cp. 11. 26, 2, etc.

certamine extremo = 'quo res extrema perduceretur,' 'an internec conflict': cp. 'rebus extremis' (12. 17, 43, 3).

10. **documento**, 'so as to be a lesso (cp. 14. 33, 2, etc.): the use of such dative in apposition is very rare (Introd. i. v. § 23).

13. **scire**, etc., i.e. the Romans we well aware of the internal weakness the Parthian empire. The omission 'se' (see Introd. i. v. § 8) is here u usually harsh. Ritt. suggests that 'eu may have dropped out after 'scire,' a

ɪdomitas et praeferoces nationes regeret: contra imperatori suo nmotam ubique pacem et unum id bellum esse. simul consilio errorem adicere, et megistanas Armenios, qui primi a nobis de-cerant, pellit sedibus, castella eorum excindit, plana ēdita, vali-os invalidosque pari metu complet.

28. Non infensum nec cum hostili odio Corbulonis nomen iam barbaris habebatur, eoque consilium eius fidum credebant. go Vologeses neque atrox in summam, et quibusdam prae-cturis indutias petit: Tiridates locum diemque conloquio oscit. tempus propinquum, locus, in quo nuper obsessae cum aeto legiones erant, barbaris delectus est ob memoriam laetioris bi rei, Corbuloni non vitatus, ut dissimilitudo fortunae gloriam ɪgeret. neque infamia Paeti angebatur, quod eo maxime patuit,

ɪt the consciousness of Vologeses him-f is appealed to. In either case the perfect subjection of some races, as Hyrcanians, the frequent treachery subordinate governors, and the en-ɪragement thereby given to pretenders the sovereignty, are alluded to.

ɪ. **praeferoces**: cp. 4. 60, 6, and e.

3. **adicere et . . . pellit.** The histo-ɪl inf. is often thus combined with a te verb (see Introd. i. v. § 46).

negistanas, 'magnates,' elsewhere led 'proceres gentium' (2. 58, 1) or imores' (2. 2, 1). The term is taken n late Greek (LXX. N. T., etc.), and is d in Latin by Seneca (Ep. 21, 4) and t. (Cal. 5), and is the equivalent of the sian term 'mehestàn' (from the same eral root as μέγας, 'magnus,' etc.).

nobis defecerant. The same m of Armenia as Roman territory is lied, which is elsewhere put forward: c. 13, 4, etc.

Non...habebatur, 'was not regarded ı animosity, nor with the hatred of an ny.' The use of 'cum' (cp. 12. 48, nd note) is akin to those instances in ch the abl. with this prep. has the e of an adverb of manner (2. 58, 2; 6, 5, etc.).

neque atrox in summam, 'was unconciliatory as to the general issue.' compares 'temeritas . . . nihil in mam profutura' (H. 2. 16, 1), 'ad mam profectum aliquid puto' (Cic. 7. 13, 1). Jacob would take the ession here to be shortened for 'in mam pacis' (13. 38, 1).

ɪibusdam praefecturis, 'for some districts'; i.e. for those then menaced (c. 27, 4). The 'praefecturae' of Armenia (see 13. 37, 2, and note), not those of the whole Parthian Empire (see 11. 8, 4, and note), must be meant.

10. **tempus propinquum,** sc. 'delectum est,' supplied from below.

locus, Rhandeia: see note on c. 10, 1.

11. **delectus est.** Med. has 'cum' before 'barbaris,' which is retained by Walth. and Ritt., and defended by the former. Other editors have either struck out 'cum,' as having been probably repeated by error from the line above, or have followed G in reading 'esset'; the abbreviation of ('eſt') might easily have become 'est.' The latter correction is adopted by Halm, the former by Orelli, Nipp., Dr., Jacob, and gives the best construction to the whole passage; as it seems harsh to supply 'est' from 'cum . . . esset' with 'tempus,' and contrary to good sense to throw back the force of 'cum' to that clause (with Pfitzner).

12. **Corbuloni non vitatus.** This reading, adopted by most modern edd. from MS. Agr., comes nearer to that of Med. ('Corbulo non uitatus') than that of 'Corbulo non uitavit,' which Halm has adopted from Bekker. The last syllable of 'Corbuloni' might have been lost in the following 'non.'

13. **neque infamia Paeti angebatur,** 'nor was he distressed about the disgrace of Paetus'; he felt no sympathy for the way in which the associations of the place would recall the memory of his incapacity, and had no wish to spare him.

quia filio eius tribuno ducere manipulos atque operire reliqui malae pugnae imperavit. die pacta Tiberius Alexander, inlust eques Romanus, minister bello datus, et Vinicianus Annius, gen Corbulonis, nondum senatoria aetate sed pro legato quintae gioni inpositus, in castra Tiridatis venere, honori eius ac ne m tueret insidias tali pignore; viceni dehinc equites adsumpti. viso Corbulone rex prior equo desiluit; nec cunctatus Corbu sed pedes uterque dexteras miscuere.

This he showed by going out of his way to keep it up by sending his son to command the burying party. This interpretation seems to suit the words and the context better than that of Orelli, Nipp., and Jacob, who take the meaning to be that he had no superstitious fear that the spot, or the name of Paetus, had become ominous of disaster.

1. **filio,** evidently an older son than the one mentioned in c. 10, 6.

reliquias, the bones of the dead, broken arms, etc.: see c. 15, 5.

2. **imperavit,** with simple inf.: cp. 2. 25, 2, and note; Introd. i. v. § 43.

Tiberius Alexander. We learn from Josephus (Ant. 20. 5, 2) that this person was son of Alexander, the brother of Philo and Alabarch of Alexandria under Tiberius and Gaius (Id. 18. 6, 3, etc.); also that he renounced the Jewish religion, and was procurator of Judaea after Cuspius Fadus (799, A. D. 46). In 820–823, A. D. 67–70, he was praefect of Egypt, and in that position gave valuable aid to the cause of Vespasian (H. 1. 11, 2; 2. 74, 2; 79, 2; Jos. B. I. 2. 15, 1); which led to his appointment as lieutenant-general of the forces under Titus (πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπάρχοντος Jos. B. I. 6. 4, 3). One of his edicts in Egypt is extant, bearing date 28 Sept. 821, A. D. 68, and giving his full name 'Tiberius Iulius Alexander' (C. I. G. 4957). Nipp. suggests that the legatus of the same name under Trajan (Dio, 68. 30, 2) was probably his son.

inlustris eques: cp. 2. 59, 4, and note.

3. **minister bello.** Nipp. renders 'a war commissary,' to manage matters of finance and provision, and compares H. 1. 88, 2 ('non participes aut ministros bello').

Vinicianus: so all recent edd., after Ryck., for the Med. 'uinianus.' On his father, the conspirator against Claudius (Introd. p. 11), see 6. 9, 5, and note. He was probably brother of Annius Pollio (see c. 56, 4, and no Whether his wife was the same daugh of Corbulo who afterwards marr Domitian (see on 11. 18, 2) is unknown

4. **nondum senatoria aetate,** not t twenty-five years old (see Dio, 52. 20, the expression is used again in H. 4. 1, and 'quaestoria aetas' in Quint. 12 1. See also Momms. Staatsr. i. 573, The age for equestrian service was eig een (Dio, l. l.).

pro legato. He could not e properly 'legatus legionis'; that posit being always filled by senators, m commonly by men of praetorian r (see on 2. 36, 1). A similar instance a knight 'pro legato legionis' is fo in an inscription cited by Nipp. (C. I iii. 1. 605). It is mentioned by D (62. 23, 6) that Corbulo sent him af wards to escort Tiridates to Rome, pa as a pledge of his own fidelity, wh Nero recognised by making Vinicianus suff., apparently in 819, A. D. 66 (Bor Œuvr. iv. 488), though he had never b praetor, and could hardly have been twe eight years old. Schiller gives reas (p. 202, 2) for thinking that Dio m be in error, and that some lesser dist tion must have been given. Vinicianu thought to have been afterwards the lea of what Suet. (Ner. 36) mentions as 'coniuratio Viniciana,' formed at Be ventum and detected after that of P on which see Appendix to Book 16.

5. **honori eius.** Most edd. read, a G, 'honore'; which is a slighter cor tion of the Med. 'honor' and might taken as a causal abl.; but the dat. read by Halm, Nipp., and Dr., after L (see Introd. i. v. § 23), gives a be sense, and the parallel passage in H 44, 3 (where Med. has 'non hon Galbae') has been also corrected to The change of construction ('honori ac ne') resembles others noted in Int i. v. § 91, 8.

6. **tali pignore,** abl. abs.

8. **uterque.** The use of this pron

29. Exim Romanus laudat iuvenem omissis praecipitibus tuta t salutaria capessentem. ille de nobilitate generis multum praeıtus, cetera temperanter adiungit: iturum quippe Romam latuımque novum Caesari decus, non adversis Parthorum rebus upplicem Arsaciden. tum placuit Tiridaten ponere apud efgiem Caesaris insigne regium nec nisi manu Neronis resumere; t conloquium osculo finitum. dein paucis diebus interiectis, ıagna utrimque specie, inde eques compositus per turmas et ısignibus patriis, hinc agmina legionum stetere fulgentibus quilis signisque et simulacris deum in modum templi: medio ibunal sedem curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat. l quam progressus Tiridates, caesis ex more victimis, sublatum ıpiti diadema imagini subiecit, magnis apud cunctos animorum

th pl. predicate (cp. 4. 34, 6; H. 2. , 1; 3. 35, 2; 4. 34, 1), on the analogy collectives (Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 29 b), not found in Cic., rarely in classical ose (e.g. Caes. B. C. 3. 30, 3; Sall. t. 49, 2), more commonly in older tin and in the silver age.

dexteras miscuere, noted by Dr. as ıew phrase for 'dexteras iunxere.' In ıstration of the sacredness of this dge among Eastern races Lips. cites account of Artabanus in Jos. Ant. 18. 3 (τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδίδου, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρὰ τι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις παράδειγμα τοῦ σεῖν γίνεται τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν): cp. 'renoi dextras' (2. 58, 1).

. **praecipitibus**, 'desperate couns': cp. 2. 39, 3; also 'praeceps silium' (Suet. Aug. 8), 'cogitatio' (Id. . 48).

. **temperanter**, 'modestly.' This erb is very rare: in 4. 33, 2 it has the se of 'discreetly'; so Cic. (Att. 9. 2. a) opposes 'temperantius agere' to rdite se gerere.'

. **non adversis**, etc., i.e. he would ın Arsacid appearing in the form of a pliant, but voluntarily, not like the ed princes who usually took refuge at ne.

apud effigiem Caesaris: cp. c. 24, 3, note, and the similar symbolical nission of Zorsines (12. 17, 3).

insigne regium, so used for the dema' (§ 6) in 2. 56, 3.

osculo. This mode of salutation been always usual in the East (see . 1. 134, 1), and was adopted by ander (Arr. 7. 11, 10), and introd at Rome apparently in the time of Augustus (see Friedl. i. 142). Cp. the stipulation 'neu . . . complexu . . . arceretur' (c. 31, 1).

8. **inde . . . hinc**: cp. 13. 38, 3, and note.

eques, the Parthian army, all horsemen.

9. **insignibus patriis**, 'with their national decorations.' The construction of this abl. must be the same as that of the corresponding clause, 'fulgentibus aquilis,' etc. It is perhaps best to take them, with Nipp., as bold uses of the abl. of quality, similar to 'legionariis armis' (3. 43, 2). Dr. would take the abl. as that of manner; but the instances of this are hardly so apposite (see Introd. i. v. §§ 28, 29).

fulgentibus aquilis, etc. On such adornment in token of rejoicing see 1. 24, 4, and note.

10. **simulacris**, etc., 'with images of the gods, so as to represent (i.e. to give the place the sanctity of) a temple.' Nipp. seems in error in supposing that the force of 'fulgentibus' extends to this clause.

medio, 'between the armies' (cp. 1. 64, 7); abl. of place: see Introd. i. v. § 25.

11. **effigiem**; Dio (62. 23, 3) uses the pl. (εἰκόνες). Each legion, no doubt, had such an effigy, and they may have been all collected.

13. **capiti.** Halm, Nipp., and Ritt. here retain the dat. (Med. has 'sublati capiti' by an error of assimilation); which, though such a construction is ἅπ. εἰρ., can be defended by the analogy of that with 'abstrahere' (2. 26, 6), 'detrahere' (2.

motibus, quos augebat insita adhuc oculis exercituum Roman- rum caedes aut obsidio. at nunc versos casus: iturum Tiridat ostentui gentibus, quanto minus quam captivum?

30. Addidit gloriae Corbulo comitatem epulasque; et ro tante rege causas, quotiens novum aliquid adverterat, ut ini vigiliarum per centurionem nuntiari, convivium bucina dimitti structam ante augurale aram subdita face accendi, cuncta maius attollens admiratione prisci moris adfecit. postero

21, 3), 'extrahere' (6. 23, 5), 'deripere' (13. 57, 7): see Introd. I. v. § 15. Others adopt an old correction 'capite,' and take it as a poetical abl., like 'tollentes aequore currum' (Sil. 5, 55).

1. **insita oculis**, 'fixed in their eyes' (by memory); so used of what is firmly rooted in the mind or character: cp. 1. 4, 3; 6. 22, 2; H. 2. 94, 3; etc.

exercituum, either a rhetorical plural or = 'legionum' (cp. 1. 52, 3, and note).

2. **iturum . . . ostentui**, 'he would go to be a gazing-stock': cp. 'abiecta ostentui' (1. 29, 4), and other similar datives instanced in Introd. i. v. § 23.

3. **quanto minus quam captivum**, 'how little short of a captive' = 'quantum abesse quin captivus esset,' or 'tantummodo non captivum.' Jacob notes that such an expression seems taken from ὀλίγου δεῖν, and compares 'quod paulo minus utrumque evenit' (Suet. Tib. 39), and 'quantulo minus quam congesti frumenti pulverem vidimus' (Quint. Decl. 12. 18).

4. **gloriae**, 'to the glorification which the homage of Tiridates reflected upon him.'

rogitante rege. The accus. would rather have been expected: cp. 14. 10, 1, and note; also c. 51, 1.

5. **adverterat**, 'had noticed'; so in 4. 54, 2; 12. 51, 5, etc.

ut, 'as for instance.'

initia vigiliarum. The beginning of each of the four watches into which the night was divided was proclaimed with the bucina (Liv. 7. 35, 1, etc.), whence we have such an expression as 'tertia bucina' (Id. 26. 15, 6). This regulation devolved on the 'centurio primipilus' (Polyb. 6. 35, 12), who appears from this passage to have also reported the hour to the general. On the general watch system of the Romans see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 420, foll.

6. **convivium bucina dimitti.** Polybius mentions (14. 3, 6) the custom sounding all the bugles and trumpet the beginning of the first night watch, κ τὸν τοῦ δείπνου καιρόν. This would rat mean the beginning than the end dinner-time, and appears to correspon the time when the general dismissed council ('praetorium'): cp. Liv. 30. 3 'ubi, praetorio dimisso, signa c cinuissent . . . sub occasum solis . . . primam ferme vigiliam.' It is proba though apparently not otherwise kno that both the beginning and end dinner-time were marked by a bugle-c

7. **structam . . . aram . . . acce** Dr. and others would understand t words of kindling fire upon an altar ('adolere aras' or 'altaria'); but the wh sentence seems certainly to point to s an interpretation as that of Nipp., t the altar itself was a kind of pyre of co bustible materials, and was set on Whether its purpose was to light camp, to consume the libations of feast, or to pay respect to the divin of the night, is wholly unknown. seems distinct from the regular altar camp sacrifices (Marquardt, ii. 412, 4

augurale, perhaps here a name for 'praetorium' itself: see 2. 13, 1, and n

8. **attollens**, so used of rhetor exaggeration in H. 1. 70, 2; 90, 2, and here suitably to the general desc tion given (c. 26, 3; 13. 8, 4) of Corbu grandiloquence. The mention of 'p moris admiratio' may imply that dilated on the antiquity of these custo perhaps to suggest a contrast betw the ancient greatness of Rome and comparatively modern empire of Arsacidae.

adfecit. Ritt. inserts 'eum' a 'admiratione,' and Jacob notes that pronoun is usually in such cases expre by Tacitus (cp. 14. 10, 1; 16. 14, 6; 4, etc.); but the omission is not har than that in many other places Introd. i. v. § 8).

›atium oravit, quo tantum itineris aditurus fratres ante matrem-ue viseret; obsidem interea filiam tradit litterasque supplices ad Ieronem.

31. Et digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesen Ecbatanis ›pperit, non incuriosum fratris: quippe et propriis nuntiis a 'orbulone petierat, ne quam imaginem servitii Tiridates per-›rret neu ferrum traderet aut complexu provincias optinentium rceretur foribusve eorum adsisteret, tantusque ei Romae quantus ›nsulibus honor esset. scilicet externae superbiae sueto non ıerat notitia nostri, apud quos vis imperii valet, inania tramit-ıntur.

1. **spatium**, sc. 'temporis,' as in 1. 35, ; Agr. 22, 1, etc.

fratres, c. 31, 1. The statement of io (62. 23, 4) that Monobazus and ›logeses also came to Corbulo, is rtainly, as regards the latter, wholly ›consistent with the account of Tacitus re. Dio adds that they also gave ·stages, which may have been the case bsequently (see Appendix to Book 16).

4. **apud Medos**, in his own kingdom 2, 1).

Ecbatanis. The opinion of Sir H. ıwlinson, that two distinct cities under is name are confused in ancient ac-unts, will be found stated and discussed Mr. Vaux in D. of Geog. It will be served that the place here mentioned contrasted with 'apud Medos,' and is ıs implied to have been outside the ııits of Media Atropatene; which would ree with the site of Hamadàn, in Media ıgna.

5. **incuriosum**, with genit. in 2. 88, etc. (also in Pl. mi. and Gell.): for ıer constructions see 14. 38, 3, and ›e.

propriis, 'special,' as distinct from joint embassy of c. 27, 1.

6. **imaginem servitii**, 'semblance of ›jection': cp. c. 14, 3; 13. 28, 1, and ı ny other passages.

7. **ferrum**, the 'acinaces' (cp. 12. 51, ınd note), which was always worn by ›thians: cp. μαχαιροφορεῖν ἔθος ἅπασιν s. Ant. 18. 2, 4). Tigranes had been iged to deliver his sabre to the lictors Pompeius (Plut. Pomp. 33, 636); and › states (63. 2, 4) that Tiridates, on ng required to do the same before his ›oduction to Nero's presence (cp. 4. 3; 11. 22, 1), refused to do so, but ›ed it to the scabbard.

complexu, the same as the 'osculum' of c. 29, 3. Vologeses stipulates that his brother shall receive from the governors of all provinces through which he passes, this mark of respect, which appears to have been rigidly limited to persons of high rank. Septimius Severus is stated (Vit. 2, 6), when he was a legatus in Africa, to have put to death one who embraced him as an old friend, with the words 'legatum P. R. homo plebeius temere amplecti noli.'

8. **foribusve eorum adsisteret**, 'or be kept waiting at their doors' (for an interview). The insolence of the great at Rome in this respect is often noted (see 4. 74, 5, etc.); that the right of admission to a provincial governor was also jealously guarded, is shown by the contrast implied by Cicero (ad Att. 6. 2, 5) to his own conduct ('aditus autem ad me minime provinciales; nihil per cubicularium'), also in later times by the evidence of Salvianus (de Gub. Dei 3. 82) cited by Lips.

9. **externae superbiae**, 'barbaric pomp' (cp. 'more externo' 2. 3, 5, etc.): the case is best taken as dat., as also 1. 31, 4 (where see note). Dr. less well explains both passages to be genitives, on the analogy of that with 'insolens.'

10. **apud quos**, referring to 'nostri.'

vis imperii valet, 'the reality of dominion is valued': 'vis' is opposed to 'inania' (vanities of etiquette), as in c. 14, 3 to 'imago.'

tramittuntur, 'are passed over' (not cared for): cp. 4. 55, 3; 16. 12, 3, etc.; also in Curt. 9. 4, 17; Stat. Th. 8, 596. With this sentence closes the account of Eastern affairs in the extant Books of the Annals.

32. Eodem anno Caesar nationes Alpium maritimarum in i Latii transtulit. equitum Romanorum locos sedilibus pleb anteposuit apud circum; namque ad eam diem indiscreti inibar quia lex Roscia nihil nisi de quattuordecim ordinibus sanx spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit pari magnificentia priora; sed feminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures p arenam foedati sunt.

1. **Alpium maritimarum.** Along the coast the limits of Italy extended to the mouth of the Var (Introd. i. vii. p. 92); but the inland mountain district drained by that river, including part of the French departments of the Basses Alpes and Nice, was formed by Augustus in 740, B.C. 14 (Dio, 54. 24, 3) into a small province under an equestrian procurator (Strab. 4. 6, 4, 203): cp. H. 2. 12, 5; 3. 42, 3, and other references given in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 127.

ius Latii. This ancient status, which, as regards all communities within Italy, had long since merged in full Roman citizenship, was a great privilege to provincials, and an important stepping-stone by which many acquired the 'civitas': cp. Plin. Pan. 37 ('novi seu per Latium in civitatem seu beneficio principis venissent'). Augustus gave it to many (Suet. 47), and other emperors still more freely (cp. 'Latium externis dilargiri' H. 3. 55, 2). Pliny (N. H. 3, 20, 24, 136) gives from an inscription of 747, B.C. 7, the names of the Alpine tribes subjected by Augustus, and mentions many who had at some time received Latin rights; among them that of the Cottian Alps, which perhaps received the privilege at this same time, having become a province under Nero on the death of its king (Suet. Ner. 18). The reduction of Pontus Polemoniacus to a province (Suet. l. l.) belongs also to this date (see on c. 25, 6).

2. **equitum,** etc. The statements on this subject are not easy to reconcile with each other. It would appear from Suet. Cl. 21, and from this passage, that neither senators, till the time of Claudius, nor knights, previous to this regulation, had any distinct places at the circus; whereas other authorities make such distinctions to have been of much earlier date, or even of primitive institution (Liv. 1. 35, 8). It would seem that 'indiscreti' is an exaggeration, and that senators in Republican times, and knights also from the year 757, A.D. 4 (Dio, 55. 22, 4), sat by custom in some way separate fr the populace, but that the formal a permanent setting apart of a portion reserved seats for the former may be dat from the time of Claudius (Dio, 60. 7, and for the latter from this time (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 520, 6; Marquar iii. 507). The position is to be gather from Plin. N. H. 8. 6, 7, 21 ('Cae dictator . . . euripis arenam circumdec quos Nero princeps sustulit, equiti lo addens').

4. **lex Roscia,** that of Roscius Ot trib. pl. in 687, B.C. 67, by which t 'quattuordecim ordines' (6. 3, 1) n above the orchestra (which was reserv for senators) should be set apart for t equestrian order (Liv. Epit. 99). Taci means here that this law applied to t theatre alone.

5. **spectacula,** etc. It is suggest that these games were in especial co memoration of the birth of the ch (c. 23, 1).

6. **plures,** 'more than before.' Taci had previously mentioned only the a pearance of well-known knights in t arena (14. 14, 6), and that of persons great senatorial families (14. 14, 5), a even of high public honours (14. 15, as also that of women of rank (14. 15, on the pantomimic stage. But the expr sion used here gives support to the sta ments of Suet. and Dio, who make senat as well as knights, and women belongi to families of both these ranks, app also in the amphitheatre and in the cir as early as 812, A.D. 59, or even earl (see notes on 14. 14, 5, 6). Such hibitions of women were still one of t great scandals of Juvenal's time (see S 1, 22, and Prof. Mayor ad loc.; also 53; 6, 246–267), and continued till t end of the second century, when, by edict of Septimius Severus, ἐκωλύθη μηκ μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα μηδαμόθεν μονομαχ' (Dio, 75. 16, 1).

per arenam, i.e. by their appe ance in it (Nipp.).

33. C. Laecanio M. Licinio consulibus acriore in dies cupidine ligebatur Nero promiscas scaenas frequentandi. nam adhuc er domum aut hortos cecinerat Iuvenalibus ludis, quos ut parum lebres et tantae voci angustos spernebat. non tamen Romae cipere ausus Neapolim quasi Graecam urbam delegit: inde itium fore, ut transgressus in Achaiam insignesque et antiqui-s sacras coronas adeptus maiore fama studia civium eliceret. go contractum oppidanorum vulgus, et quos e proximis colo-is et municipiis eius rei fama acciverat, quique Caesarem per norem aut varios usus sectantur, etiam militum manipuli, eatrum Neapolitanorum complent.

34. Illic, plerique ut arbitrabantur, triste, ut ipse, providum

1. **C. Laecanio M. Licinio.** The l names are given in a military diploma enzen 6858; C. I. L. iii. 2, p. 846) as Laecanius Bassus (cp. also C. I. L. vi. 2002), M. Licinius Crassus Frugi. The mer, who died under Vespasian (Pl. H. 26. 1, 4, 5, where apparently 'atque ecanius' should be read for 'et Q. canius'), and appears from an inscrip-n of the time of Claudius (C. I. L. v. 598) to have had estates near Tergeste rieste), is thought by Nipp. to have been . of a C. Laecanius given in an inscrip-n as praet. urb. in 795, A.D. 32. The er was son of the cos. of 780, A.D. 27 e 4. 62, 1, and note), and descended ough his mother Scribonia from Pom-us (see note on 2. 27, 2), and was brother L. Piso Frugi Licinianus, adopted by lba (see H. 1. 14, 2). He appears to e been put to death by Nero, as his ther Cn. Pompeius Magnus had been Claudius (H. 1. 48, 1). Another ther surnamed Scribonianus was alive 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 47, 4). For his er Licinia Magna see note on 13. 28, 3. p. notes an honorary inscription at ens (C. I. Att. iii. 1. 609) to one ικος Λικίννιος Κράσσος Φροῦγι, who may his man or his father.

adigebatur, used absolutely (cp. 20, 2, and note; Agr. 28, 2): such appears to be rare, except where ramento' is implied (H. 4. 15, 1), or re the verb has a local sense, as in phrase 'adigere naves' (2. 7, 1, etc.).

romiscas, 'open to the public' 14. 14, 3). Suet. says (Ner. 20) he quoted a Greek proverb express-the sentiment 'occultae musicae nul-esse respectum.'

Iuvenalibus ludis: see 14. 15, 1, where it appears that these were held in a theatre of his own. See also Plin. N. H. 37. 2, 7, 19 ('theatrum peculiare trans Tiberim in hortis, quod a populo inpleri canente se, dum Pompeiano prae-ludit, etiam Neroni satis erat').

parum celebres, 'not thronged enough': cp. c. 34, 2; 13. 47, 2; 14. 33, 1, etc.

4. **tantae voci**, ironical. The lan-guage of courtiers spoke of his 'caelestis vox' (16. 22, 1); but tradition calls it feeble and hoarse ('exiguae vocis et fuscae' Suet. Ner. 20; βραχὺ καὶ μέλαν φώνημα ἔχων Dio, 61. 20, 2).

non . . . Romae. On his appear-ance there see 16. 4, 2.

5. **quasi**, 'as being' (cp. Introd. i. v. § 67). Neapolis was a colony from Cumae, which had been itself colonised from Chalcis (Liv. 8. 22, 5; Vell. 1. 4, 1); and Greek institutions, theatres, gym-nasia, games, etc., were there as matter of course kept up.

7. **coronas**, those of the great Greek games.

civium, 'the people of Rome' (cp. c. 36, 4; 3. 59, 6), in contrast to those of Naples ('oppidanorum').

9. **acciverat**: so Halm and Nipp., after MS. Bud., Rhen., etc. Others re-tain the Med. 'civerat,' which Dr. defends by 11. 30, 2; Liv. 9. 39, 8 ('cietur miles'), etc.

per honorem, etc., 'by way of re-spect or service of various kinds': cp. 'per officium' (1. 24, 4), 'per reveren-tiam' (12. 10, 3), etc.

10. **militum**, praetorians.

12. **triste**, 'something ill-omened': on the substantival use of this word and 'providum' ('providential') see Introd.

potius et secundis numinibus evenit: nam egresso qui adfue[t] populo vacuum et sine ullius noxa theatrum conlapsum e[st]. ergo per conpositos cantus grates dis atque ipsam recentis cas[s] fortunam celebrans petiturusque maris Hadriae traiectus ap[ud] Beneventum interim consedit, ubi gladiatorium munus a Vati[n]. celebre edebatur. Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae osten[ta] fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis sc[ur]rilibus, primo in contumelias adsumptus; dehinc optimi cuiusq[ue] criminatione eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi eti[am] malos praemineret.

35. Eius munus frequentanti Neroni ne inter voluptates q-

i. v. § 4. The latter term is explained by 'secundis numinibus,' which is an abl. abs. The Med. 'arbitrantur' would imply that such belief was still held in the historian's time, or by writers whom he follows, but does not go so well with 'ut ipse.' The correction of Rhen. as above is generally followed.

2. **conlapsum est.** Suet. (Ner. 20) says that the fall was due to an earthquake, and that Nero insisted on finishing his performance, even after the first shock was felt.

3. **conpositos**, apparently rightly explained by Nipp. to mean 'elaborated' (cp. 6. 24, 3; 16. 4, 4, etc.), not merely extemporised. It appears to be implied that they were composed by himself.

grates, used by zeugma with the aoristic 'celebrans,' taken in the sense of 'agens.'

4. **Hadriae.** This form of the name of the Hadriatic is used several times in Horace, also in H. 3. 42, 2; and in Lucan, Mela, Pl. ma.

traiectus, so used of a place of crossing in Bell. Al. 56, 5; Pl. N. H. 6. 23, 26, 98.

5. **Beneventum.** This town lay on the Appian way (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 71), by which Nero was journeying to Brundisium. It was the native town of Vatinius: see Juv. quoted below.

6. **celebre.** Cp. c. 33, 1.

ostenta, 'monstrosities.' The word is equivalent to 'monstrum,' 'portentum,' and 'prodigium' (Cic. N. D. 2. 3, 7); and is so used of Vitellius in H. 3. 56, 2.

7. **sutrinae tabernae.** He was also either a manufacturer of cheap drinking cups, or in some other way gave his name to such: cp. Mart. 10. 3, 4; 14. 96, 1 ('vilia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini'); Juv. 5, 46 ('tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem Siccabis c[ali]cem').

corpore detorto: cp. the desc[rip]tion of Paelignus in 12. 49, 1. The l[on]g nose of Vatinius is satirized in Martial l. ('sed nasus longior ille fuit').

facetiis scurrilibus, abl. of qua[lity] (answering to 'corpore detorto'): [se]e Introd. i. v. § 29.

8. **in contumelias**, 'to be a mark [for] insults' (a laughing-stock). Such [wa]s often the position of a parasite even [in] old times; and there is abundant [evi]dence that regular persons to jest and [be] jested at, called 'copreae' (Suet. Tib. 61, etc.), and usually chosen on the gro[un]d of some personal deformity, were an [in]stitution of the imperial court (see Fri[edl]. Sittenge. i. p. 134). Among such [ma]y be mentioned Sarmentus (the quality [of] whose jests may be judged from H[or]. Sat. 1. 5, 51, foll.) and Gabba (or Gal[ba]) under Augustus (Juv. 5, 3), Paelignus [in] the household of Claudius (12. 49, 1), and Crispinus, the 'purpureus . . . scur[ra] Palati' (Juv. 4, 31) under Domitian.

optimi cuiusque: acc. to Dio [63. 15, 1)], he was the author of the say[ing] μισῶ σε, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι συγκλητικὸς εἶ.

9. **etiam malos**; i.e. only the [ba]d rose at Nero's court, and he, as [th]e worst, rose even among them: on the [us]e of 'praeminere' with accus. cp. 3. 56, 2, and note. In H. 1. 37, 8 Vatinius [i]s mentioned with the rich and rapacious freedmen of Nero. Nothing is kn[ow]n respecting the allusion in Dial. 11, 3, where Maternus is made to say 'imp[ro]bam et studiorum quoque sacra pr[ofa]nantem Vatinii potentiam fregi.' [Th]e allusion in Hist. l. l. implies that he [wa]s then dead.

em a sceleribus cessabatur. isdem quippe illis diebus Torquatus lanus mori adigitur, quia super Iuniae familiae claritudinem vum Augustum abavum ferebat. iussi accusatores obicere odigum largitionibus, neque aliam spem quam in rebus novis se. quin eum inter libertos habere, quos ab epistulis et libellis rationibus appellet, nomina summae curae et meditamenta. m intimus quisque libertorum vincti abreptique. et cum mnatio instaret, brachiorum venas Torquatus interscidit. secuque Neronis oratio ex more, quamvis sontem et defensioni

. **Torquatus Silanus**: for his full ne, etc. see 12. 58, 1, and note. Dio . 27, 2) puts his death in the following r.

. **mori adigitur**: cp. 13. 25, 2.

laritudinem, 'the nobility': the s Iunia included many very distinshed plebeian families, the Bruti, ulci, Norbani, etc.

. **abavum**: so all recent edd., after k and Ruperti, for the Med. 'atauum'; ch, if sound, must be taken as an r of the author (see the pedigree in od. i. ix. p. 139). Cp. 14. 53, 3, and note.

erebat, 'displayed': cp. 'avuncu- Augustum ferens' (2. 43, 6), and the r expression 'prae se ferre' (G. 39, Agr. 43, 3), etc.

prodigum, 'that he had wasted fortune.' Dio (l. l.) suggests that he have designedly impoverished himto escape the peril of being rich.

quin eum inter libertos: so m, Nipp., Dr., for the Med. 'qui ne biles'; which many edd. followed n. in correcting to 'quin eum nobiles'; it was evidently impossible to sup- that, at a time when those holding departments in the household of ar (see on 11. 29, 1) were as yet no than freedmen (see H. 1. 58, 1), private citizen should have had ns of any higher rank so designated; it is plain from 16. 8, 1 that the ns so styled were freedmen, and that harge was that he had dared to give ns in his household the titles borne e chief freedmen of Caesar. The ition of text here adopted is certainly at, but would have the merit of more ntly expressing what is meant than immo viles' (Rup.) or 'quin eum iles habere' (Ritt.), which are nly nearer to the MS. text. Orelli l read 'quin eum habere' (bracketing 'nobiles' as an ignorant gloss); and many other attempts at correction may be seen in his critical note and those of Halm and Walther. This restriction of titles originally supposed to be such as might be borne by the freedmen of any great house, is a fact to be noted: see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 837, 2; Hirschf. 31, 1. It is also probable (Momms. iii. 558, 1) that the title of procurator gradually became similarly restricted.

6. **nomina summae curae et meditamenta**, 'titles of the highest (i. e. of imperial) duties, and a preparation for them' (an evident prelude to an attempt for the principate). Cp. 'tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas' (16. 8, 1). 'Meditamentum' (not found before Tacitus) is so used of military operations undertaken to train soldiers for war in H. 4. 26, 3. Cp. 'meditans' in 3. 31, 2, etc., 'meditamina belli' in Sil. 8, 326.

7. **cum damnatio instaret.** The reasons for thus anticipating sentence are given in 6. 29, 1.

8. **interscidit**: for this verb (which appears to be nowhere else so used) Zumpt (see Halm, Not. Crit.) would read 'intercidit,' from comparison of 16. 14, 6 (where see note); but 'venas abscindere' is used in c. 69, 3; 16. 11, 4; and it is characteristic of Tacitus thus to invent new expressions for facts often mentioned (see Introd. i. v. § 93).

9. **ex more.** Compare the expressions of Nero at the trial of Antistius (14. 49, 4), and the similar language of Tiberius in 2. 31, 4. As Nero calls himself 'iudex,' it is probable that Silanus had been tried personally before him (cp. 11. 2, 1, etc.); but a sentence passed by the senate could equally have been modified by his tribunitian power.

quamvis = 'quantumvis.'

merito diffisum victurum tamen fuisse, si clementiam iudi expectasset.

36. Nec multo post, omissa in praesens Achaia (causae incerto fuere) urbem revisit, provincias orientis, maxime Aegy tum, secretis imaginationibus agitans. dehinc edicto testifica non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in re publica perinde i mota ac prospera fore, super ea profectione adiit Capitoli illic veneratus deos, cum Vestae quoque templum inisset, repe cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente, seu facinor recordatione numquam timore vacuus, deseruit inceptum, cunc sibi curas amore patriae leviores dictitans. vidisse maes civium vultus, audire secretas querimonias, quod tantum *itine* aditurus esset, cuius ne modicos quidem egressus tolerare sueti adversum fortuita aspectu principis refoveri. ergo ut privatis necessitudinibus proxima pignora praevalerent, *in re publica* populum Romanum vim plurimam habere par

3. **in praesens**: for his intention see c. 33, 2; for its subsequent execution see Appendix to Book 16.

5. **secretis imaginationibus agitans,** 'contemplating in his private thoughts': 'agitare provincias' is a concise expression for 'agitare iter ad provincias.' 'Imaginatio,' used only here in Tacitus, is found earlier only in Pl. N. H. 20. 7, 26, 68 ('imaginationes in somno'): cp. 'imaginari' (c. 69, 4), and the subjective sense of 'imago' (1. 62, 3, etc.).

7. **super,** 'about,' i. e., as Nipp. explains, to pray for protection and to offer vows for his return.

8. **Vestae,** the temple of Vesta, near the Forum, recently discovered. A general reason for the adoration of this goddess on such occasions is given in Cic. N. D. 2. 27, 67 ('vis eius ad aras et focos pertinet. Itaque in ea dea, quae est rerum custos intimarum, omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est'). Professor Holbrooke suggests that Nero went there to bid a solemn farewell to the Penates of Rome.

9. **numine exterrente.** According to Suet. (Ner. 19) 'consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhaesit, deinde tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset.'

10. **numquam timore vacuus**: cp. 14. 10, 5; 16. 15, 2; Suet. Ner. 46; Introd. pp. 64, 78.

deseruit inceptum. According to Suet. (19), 'Alexandrina (peregrinatione) ipso profectionis die destitit.' preparation had been already made him at Alexandria is to be gathered f Suet. 35. Schiller thinks (p. 181) the cause for the change of plan ma found in some hint of the Piso conspiracy.

cunctas . . . curas = 'omnia curae essent' (Orelli), 'all his interes

11. **dictitans,** i. e. in another edic

12. **tantum itineris.** Halm and N follow Heins. in inserting this g (which he had placed after 'esset') comparison of c. 30, 2; Agr. 3 Orelli follows the older edd., who, somewhat less violent change, ins 'iter' (after G.); Madvig (Adv. ii. would read 'tantum abiturus'; 'tantum' hardly seems able to bea meaning of 'tam diu' or 'tam longe

14. **fortuita,** 'chance misfortunes' 'firmior adversus fortuita' (H. 4. 5,

ut, etc., 'as in private ties nearest are dearest': so 'pignora,' out genit., for pledges of affection, 57, 3; Agr. 38, 1.

16. **in republica.** Halm (Ed. follows Wurm and Orelli in inse these words, which might perhaps been dropped out before 'pop Romanum'; Ritt. inserts 'publice'; N and Dr. 'apud se.' Other edd. mak insertion; and the Med. text as it st hardly seems to be beyond what so co an author might possibly have writte

ımque retinenti. haec atque talia plebi volentia fuere, voluptum cupidine et, quae praecipua cura est, rei frumentariae ıgustias, si abesset, metuenti. senatus et primores in incerto ant, procul an coram atrocior haberetur: dehinc, quae natura agnis timoribus, deterius credebant quod evenerat.

37. Ipse quo fidem adquireret nihil usquam perinde laetum ɔi, publicis locis struere convivia totaque urbe quasi domo uti. celeberrimae luxu famaque epulae fuere, quas a Tigellino ratas ut exemplum referam, ne saepius eadem prodigentia rranda sit. igitur in stagno Agrippae fabricatus est ratem, i superpositum convivium navium aliarum tractu moveretur. ves auro et ebore distinctae, remigesque exoleti per aetates scientiam libidinum componebantur. volucres et feras diversis

. **volentia**, 'welcome' (= 'quae ebant'), as in H. 3. 52, 4: so 'volentia ɔi facturus' (Sall. H. 4. 31 D, 56 K, G).

oluptatum, etc. While he was ent, their amusements were in abeye, and they could put no pressure on to lower the price of corn. The two gs, besides being the chief objects of people ('panem et Circenses'), were nected, as the games gave occasion for ressions of discontent (6. 13, 1, etc.). the coordination of causal abl. and iciple see Introd. i. v. § 91, 3.

haberetur, 'whether they would him.' Nipp. compares 'habebantur' . 73, 2.

quod evenerat, the alternative ch had befallen them.

nihil usquam, etc., 'that he enjoyed place as much as Rome.'

publicis locis: cp. Suet. (Ner. 27), nitabatque nonnumquam et in pub- naumachia praeclusa vel Martio ıpo vel Circo Maximo, inter scortorum s urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria.' adds that Nero often forced his ds to give such feasts.

celeberrimae luxu famaque.). compares the expression in c. 50, vita famaque laudatum') and thinks in both places fame is spoken of as a nd of further fame. It seems, how- better to take both as Dr. takes the s here, and to explain the expression kind of hendiadys, here equivalent to a propter luxum.' It was in its vagance and profligacy that the iety of this banquet consisted. Dio (62, 15) describes it with many additional details, and makes it take place in a theatre or amphitheatre where a sea-fight and gladiatorial combat had already been held.

9. **prodigentia**: cp. 13. 1, 4.

10. **stagno Agrippae**. It is thought that this pond or basin is that referred to by Strabo, who says (13. 1, 19, 590) *ἐντεῦθεν δὲ (ἐκ Λαμψάκου) μετήνεγκεν Ἀγρίππας τὸν πεπτωκότα λέοντα, Λυσίππου ἔργον· ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τοῦ εὐρίπου*. Ammianus also (29. 6, 19) mentions an 'Agrippae lavacrum.' It is supposed to have been in that part of the Campus Martius called the 'Campus Agrippae' (Dio, 55. 8, 3; Gell. 14. 5); which would appear from the 'Notitia' to have been at the foot of the Quirinal or of the Pincian (see Dyer, D. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 839; Burn, 331).

11. **navium aliarum**. The raft and the boats towing it are here combined, as Nipp. notes, in the general idea 'naves.'

tractu, in this sense almost wholly poetical (Verg. G. 3, 183; Val. Fl. 6, 359, etc.).

12. **per aetates**, i. e. those of the same age and accomplishment in profligacy were grouped together.

13. **feras**, etc. Friedl. has collected (ii. 353) instances of the quantity of foreign animals brought together at Roman public shows, as by Augustus (Mon. Anc. 4. 39, and Momms. ad loc.), Titus (Suet. Tit. 7), and Trajan (Dio, 68. 15, 1).

diversis, 'distant': cp. 1. 17, 5, and note.

e terris et animalia maris Oceano abusque petiverat. crepi nibus stagni lupanaria adstabant inlustribus feminis comple et contra scorta visebantur nudis corporibus. iam gestus mot que obsceni; et postquam tenebrae incedebant, quantum iux nemoris et circumiecta tecta consonare cantu et luminibus clar cere. ipse per licita atque inlicita foedatus nihil flagitii relique quo corruptior ageret, nisi paucos post dies uni ex illo contami torum grege (nomen Pythagorae fuit) in modum solemni coniugiorum denupsisset. inditum imperatori flammeum, v auspices, dos et genialis torus et faces nuptiales, cuncta deniq spectata, quae etiam in femina nox operit.

1. **Oceano abusque**: for this preposition cp. 13. 47, 2, and note.

crepidinibus, local abl.: see Introd. i. v. § 25.

3. **iam gestus**, etc. Suet. (Ner. 27) speaks as if such scenes were common: 'quotiens Ostiam Tiberi deflueret aut Baianum sinum praeternavigaret, dispositae per litora et ripas deversoriae tabernae parabantur insignes ganea et matronarum institoria copas imitantium atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret.'

4. **incedebant** = 'ingruebant.' Tacitus uses this verb in various metaphorical senses (cp. 1. 5, 2; 3. 26, 4; 4. 68, 1, etc.).

5. **clarescere**: cp. 'eloquentia, sicut flamma, . . . urendo clarescit' (Dial. 36, 1). This sense is noted by Dr. as rare, and not found before the silver age (Sen. Trag., etc.); the metaphorical sense (11. 16, 5, etc.) being more common.

6. **licita atque inlicita**; by the former such acts as are not abhorrent to the law of nature are meant: cp. 'fas nefasque' (H. 2. 56, 1; 3. 51, 1).

7. **contaminatorum grege**, a reminiscence of Hor. Od. 1. 37, 9.

8. **Pythagorae**, to be taken as genit. (cp. 14. 50, 1; 4. 59, 2, and note). Dio (62. 28, 3) speaks of him as a freedman and notes this and another similar enormity after the death of Poppaea (see 16. 6, 1). Later on, he says (63. 13, 2) *κἀκ τούτου συνεγίνοντο ἅμα τῷ Νέρωνι Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ, Σπόρος δὲ ὡς γυνή.* Suet. (Ner. 29) substitutes, apparently by error, the name of Doryphorus (see 14. 65, 1) for that of Pythagoras: 'cui etiam, sicut ipsi Sporus, ita ipse denupsit, voces quoque et eiulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus.'

in modum, etc. Aurelius Victor (de Caes. 5, 5) has evidently here followed Tacitus or his authorities: 'eo progre est, ut neque suae neque aliorum pudici parcens, ad extremum amictus nubent virginum specie, palam senatu, dote d cunctis festa more celebrantibus manum conveniret lecto ex omni prodigiosis.' It is more important note the verbal resemblance in Sulpi Severus (Chron. 2. 28, 2), who here elsewhere (see on c. 44, 6), can hardl doubted to have transcribed from Taci 'adnotasse contentus sum hunc . . . processisse ut . . . Pythagorae cuidar modum solemniorum coniugiorum beret; inditumque imperatori flamme dos et genialis torus et faces nupti cuncta denique quae vel in femina sine verecundia conspiciuntur, spect Such an outrage at later date is descr in Juv. 2, 117, foll.

9. **denupsisset.** On this verb c 27, 1, and note.

imperatori, emphatic.

flammeum: cp. 'dudum sedet parato flammeolo' (Juv. 10, 333).

visi: so Halm, Orelli, Dr., Rhen. for Med. 'misit.' Nipp. others follow Lips. in reading 'missi' 'a Pythagora'); and other suggest are 'missi et' (Doed.), 'visi et' (H Not. Crit.). On the presence of 'ausp at a marriage see 11. 27, 1, and The whole passage there may be pared with this.

10. **dos**: cp. 'dote inter auspices signata' (Suet. Cl. 26). The dow wealthy families appears to have usually a million H.S.: see 2. 86, 2; 10. 335.

genialis torus: cp. Juv. l. l. Genius was apparently invoked to the marriage, that the family migh die out. See Preller, Myth. Rom. 1. p

11. **in femina**, i. e. when the uni

38. Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam rumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus quae huic urbi per olentiam ignium acciderunt gravior atque atrocior. initium ea parte circi ortum, quae Palatino Caelioque montibus ontigua est, ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat 1o flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento tus longitudinem circi corripuit. neque enim domus munientis saeptae vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud morae teriacebat. impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, einde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando, anteiit media velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque

t revolting to nature. For the use of ι' ('in the case of') cp. 'in Druso' 41, 5).

ι. **incertum.** We owe it to Tacitus it any doubt is left on the subject. et. (Ner. 38) and Dio (62. 16, 1) follow hesitatingly those authors who charged ro with the crime; the former suppos- that he desired the glory of rebuilding me with grandeur, the latter, that he ired to realise the spectacle which am had witnessed. Pliny also (N. H. 1, 1, 5) speaks of 'Neronis principis endia quibus cremavit urbem'; and a ilar view is taken by the author of the ctavia' (831–833), and is followed by osius (7, 7); while Sulp. Severus (see c. 40, 3) more closely follows Tacitus; however at least inclines to charge o with the second outbreak (c. 40, 3).

. **omnibus.** The most famous of old e was that caused by the Gauls (cp. 41, 3); the notices of the principal s under the Empire are collected in edl. i. 25, foll. Two under Tiberius e been already mentioned by Tacitus 64, 1; 6. 45, 1). The date of out- k of this fire is given in c. 41, 3.

. **in ea parte**, the north-eastern cor- of the Circus.

tabernas. Dionysius says (3, 38) δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἔξωθεν α στοὰ μονόστεγος, ἐργαστήρια ἔχουσα ὐτῇ καὶ οἰκήσεις ὑπὲρ αὐτά. His ds would imply that this colonnade not part of the Circus itself; but it ht easily have been the case that s existed in many arches of the outer nnade of the actual building, fronting ards, and extending inwards under rows of seats. Several notices of s and callings carried on in the us exist (see Friedl. ii. 286).

mercimonium, here alone in Tacitus, and noted as an archaism (see Introd. i. v. § 96), being found previously only in Plaut. (Amph. Prol. 1, etc.) and Turpilius (ap. Non. 213, 8).

7. **citus**, probably best taken as a participle ('impelled'): cp. 2. 6, 3.

domus, here 'palaces,' as opposed to 'insulae' (cp. c. 41, 1; 43, 3; 6. 45, 1). Such mansions usually stood isolated in their own grounds, whose substantial boundary walls, or walls of protection ('munimenta'), might arrest a fire. Temples also would often have outer walls ('muri') surrounding the precinct of the actual structure. These two kinds of obstruction to fire are distinguished from each other by 'vel,' and from all others by 'aut' (cp. 14. 3, 1, and note).

9. **impetu**, 'impetuously,' modal abl.: see Introd. i. v. § 28. Nipp. notes that the words are arranged as if 'pervagatum' were to extend over the other clauses, but the construction is changed as it were by an afterthought.

10. **adsurgens . . . populando**: for a similar coordination cp. 13. 47, 1.

11. **et obnoxia urbe** (abl. abs.), 'and from the fact that the city lay at its mercy,' was peculiarly liable to such ravages (for the reasons here given). 'Obnoxius' is frequently used of persons subject to a particular influence or dominion (cp. 3. 58, 4; H. 1. 1, 2; 2. 56, 2, etc.). For its use of things Nipp. compares Sen. Ep. 65, 21, where the body is called 'obnoxium' (dependent on circumstances) in contrast with the soul; also Plin. N. H. 14. 2, 3, 27, where a vine is spoken of as 'numquam floris obnoxii' (liable to attacks of weather), and 31. 6, 32, 60, where 'obnoxia cor-

et illuc flexis atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. hoc lamenta paventium feminarum, fessa aetate aut ru pueritiae [aetas], quique sibi quique aliis consulebant, d trahunt invalidos aut opperiuntur, pars mora, pars festina cuncta impediebant. et saepe, dum in tergum respecta lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur, vel si in proxima e serant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam quae longinqua cre derant in eodem casu reperiebant. postremo, quid vitar quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quid amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii carit suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effu

pora' is used in the sense of liable to disease.

itineribus, causal abl.

1. **vicis.** The rows of houses forming the sides of the streets are here meant, which were 'enormes' ('shapeless and irregular, built on no plan'): so perhaps in Agr. 10, 4 ('inmensum et enorme spatium . . . terrarum'); also Quint. (11. 3, 139) uses 'enormis toga' of an ill-cut and ill-fitting gown. Livy 5. 55, 4 ascribes the irregularity of the Rome of his day to the hasty rebuilding after the destruction by the Gauls.

ad hoc, 'besides': cp. 12. 20, 2, and note.

2. **fessa**, etc. The Med. text here ('fessa aetate aut rudis pueritiae aetas') would oblige us to suppose that Tacitus either used such an expression as 'fessa aetate aetas,' or that he has coordinated with 'lamenta feminarum' an abl. of quality, and then a nominative ('rudis aetas'). A single inferior MS. (Agr.) gives 'senum' for 'aetate,' which has generally been treated as a mere conjecture, but has been adopted by some older edd., and by Walth. and Ritt. Halm, Nipp., and Dr. follow Jac. Gron. in bracketing or omitting 'aetas' as an ignorant gloss, and thus suppose an abl. and genit. of quality, both taken brachylogically (see Introd. i. v. §§ 29, 34), to be coordinated ('persons of feeble age or ignorant childhood'). This construction would be extremely harsh, and it may seem somewhat less objectionable to follow Orelli and others, who adopt, from Lips., the excision of 'aetate' as a gloss; and to suppose that both clauses are nominatives, and that 'fessa aetas' is left to explain itself, and 'rudis' is explained by 'pueritiae.' It is also possible to take 'aetas rudis pueritiae' (with Pfitzner coordinating a genit. of quality with nom. 'fessa.' Haase would bracket omit both 'aetate' and 'pueritiae.' expression 'fessa aetas' is one of wh Tacitus is fond (cp. 1. 46, 3; 3. 59, 14. 33, 3; H. 1. 12, 3; 3. 67, 2), 'rudis aetas' is also found (4. 8, 5); it is certainly difficult to suppose tha any of these emendations the true w of Tacitus are restored to us.

3. **dum . . . opperiuntur.** N points out that these words belong to 'qui aliis consulebant.' 'Invali is supplied also with 'opperiuntur.'

4. **mora . . . festinans**, a similar ordination to that in c. 36, 6.

6. **lateribus aut fronte**, local a cp. c. 37, 6, etc.

7. **etiam quae**, etc. Those who having made for some near spot, when flames overtook them there, went or a locality which they had supposed to far beyond the danger, found when t got there that the fire had reached All recent edd. follow Gron. in rea 'reperiebant' for 'reperiebantur,' wh seems erroneously assimilated to 'circ veniebantur.'

9. **ambigui**, 'uncertain,' used similar construction in 11. 10, 6.

10. **diurni**, 'for the day' (cp. 'd num stipendium' (1. 26, 2), i.e. fo single day. From 'fortunis' some ge ral idea of 'means of providing' app to be supplied. The omission is ha but it hardly seems possible to take genit., with Dr., as appositional, or ne ful to insert 'copia' (with Nipp.), 'alimentis' (with Ritt.), or to read urno quoque victu' (with Brot.).

caritate, causal abl., as often 17, 1; 12. 4, 3, etc.).

teriere. nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum inis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces iaciebant que esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius ercerent seu iussu.

39. Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem gressus est quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis ortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. neque tamen sisti otuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. d solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis ac onumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit et subaria aedificia exstruxit, quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; bvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pre-

1. **defendere**, 'to check the fire.'
crebris . . . minis, abl. abs. with usal sense.

3. **esse sibi auctorem**, 'that they ed under authority.' Tacitus leaves it en whether this was an invention or t. Suet. states positively (Ner. 38) at several consulars found Nero's slaves their grounds spreading the flames, d dared not lay hands on them, and at he allowed no one to go back to the ns of his house to recover his proty. We have no means of sifting se statemants.

5. **Antii**: see 14. 4, 3, etc.

6. **domui eius**. Suet. says (Ner. 31) omum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, am primo transitoriam, mox incendio sumptam restitutamque, auream (see 42, 1) nominavit.' The gardens of aecenas, bequeathed by him to Augus-, and at one time occupied by Tiberius uet. Tib. 15), were on the Esquiline, the site partly afterwards occupied by Baths of Titus. The 'domus transiia' must therefore have occupied the ley where the Colosseum now stands, l may not have been originally much re than a long corridor carried over street traffic, somewhat similar to t which joins the Uffizi and Pitti aces at Florence.

. **continuaverat**, 'had connected toher': cp. the expressions 'continuare nos' (Sall. C. 20, 11), 'fundos' (Cic. r. 3. 4, 14), 'agros' (Liv. 34. 4, 9).

isti potuit: cp. 3. 52, 3; 14. 14, For the use of 'quin' Dr. compares x . . . quin obruatur Romana res, resi posse' (Liv. 4. 43, 11).

. **haurirentur**: cp. 3. 72, 4, and e.

9. **populo exturbato**, etc.: so Suet. (l. l.) speaks of the people as 'ad monumentorum bustorumque diversoria compulsa.'

10. **monumenta Agrippae**. Besides the 'campus Agrippae' already noted (on c. 37, 3), a number of splendid buildings erected by him stood on the other side of the Campus Martius, the 'septa,' in which the tribes voted (Dio 53. 23, 1), the 'diribitorium,' in which the votes were counted (Id. 55. 8, 3; Pl. N. H. 16. 44, 76, 201, etc.), the 'Thermae' (Mart. 3. 20, 15, etc.), the 'porticus Vipsania' (H. 1. 31, 2), probably identical with that called 'porticus Neptuni' or 'Argonautarum' (Dio 53. 27, 1), the Pantheon (Dio l. l.; Pl. N. H. 36. 5, 38), and his family tomb (Dio 54. 28, 5).

hortos, those on the Vatican (14. 14, 3). In the anastrophe of 'quin etiam' (cp. G. 3, 3; Agr. 26, 3, etc.), Tacitus appears to have followed Vergil (Aen. 2, 768). Nipp. notes also that of 'quin immo' (G. 14, 5, etc.), 'quamquam' (5. 9, 1), etc. See Introd. i. v. § 78.

subitaria: cp. 14. 20, 3, and note.

12. **utensilia**, 'food': cp. 1. 70, 6, and note.

pretium frumenti. For such imperial reductions of the market price of corn under pressure of exceptional difficulties see c. 18, 3; 2. 87, 1, and other passages cited in Marquardt ii. 126. The price here quoted, which is evidently to be taken as much below average, was the regular price of the 'modius' (about a peck) in the time of Cic. (Verr. 3. 75, 174). Pliny (N. H. 18. 10, 29, 90) gives 40 asses as the average price of a modius of flour or meal (equivalent to two 'mo-

tiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. q quamquam popularia in inritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rur ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaen et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetu cladibus adsimulantem.

40. Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incen factus, prorutis per inmensum aedificiis, ut continuae violent campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. necdum posi metus, et rediit haut levius rursum grassatus ignis patulis ma urbis locis, eoque strages hominum minor: delubra deum porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. plusque infam id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini Aemilianis pro

dii' of corn) not of the finest quality (the best, 'siligo,' being twice that price).

2. **in inritum cadebant** (cp. H. 3. 53, 6), apparently imitated from Liv. 2. 6, 1 ('ad inritum cadentis spei').

3. **ipso tempore.** Possibly Ritt. is right in reading (as suggested by Ern.) 'in ipso tempore,' as indicated by the Med. 'rumori ipso.'

domesticam scaenam: cp. c. 33, 1: Suet. (Ner. 38) and Dio (62. 18, 1), who affirm as a fact what Tacitus here gives as a rumour, describe him as declaiming from the top of his palace, or from the tower of Maecenas on the Esquiline.

5. **adsimulantem:** cp. 11. 11, 6, and note. We must suppose, with Nipp., that he was said to have described what he saw before him, under colour of describing the burning of Troy. The passage may have formed part of his 'Troica.'

6. **Sexto:** so Suet. (Ner. 38) says that it lasted 'per sex dies septemque noctes.' Nipp. points out that this can be reconciled with the words of a votive inscription, not now extant, but stated to have been found near St. Peter's (Or. 736; C. I. L. vi. 1. 826), 'quando urbs per novem dies arsit Neronianis temporibus,' by supposing that the second outbreak, here mentioned by Tacitus, lasted three days.

7. **prorutis,** 'having been demolished': so most edd. after J. F. Gron. for the Med. 'proruptis': cp. 12. 43, 1, etc., and the similar charge generally made in H. 1. 86, 2.

8. **velut vacuum caelum.** The hyperbole of the expression is softened by 'velut.' It is meant that nothing was standing against the horizon.

necdum positus, sc. 'erat.' Med. text, 'necdum p' ('post') m aut rediebat lebis rursum,' has given to a great variety of emendations Walth., Orelli, Halm, Not. Crit.). text as here given is that read by Or Halm, and Nipp., which is also tha Dr., Pfitzner, and Jacob, except these read 'redibat,' defending the perf. by such passages as 1. 21, 1; H 95, 4. Ritt. reads 'necdum posito m (followed by 'haud rediebat levis,' br eted as a gloss. Madvig (Adv. iii. calls attention to a gap of three le after 'lebis' in Med., and thinks whole should be read 'necdum dem metus aut redierat plebi spes: ru grassatur,' etc. Nipp. gives several stances in which 'et' has nearly the s force as 'cum.'

9. **ignis,** etc. The coincidence of homoeoteleuta is remarkable (see not 1. 24, 1).

11. **latius procidere,** 'were widely ruined.'

plus infamiae habuit, 'had gre infamy attached to it.'

12. **praediis Tigellini Aemilia** In Varro, R. R. 3, 2, the name 'Ae ana' is given to a district apparent poor houses ('qui habitant extra po Flumentanam aut in Aemilianis'). locality is thought to have been near of the Forum of Trajan. A fire taken place there in the time of Cla (Suet. Cl. 18); and it was now tho that Tigellinus had set fire to his prop there to please Nero.

proruperat: cp. 13. 44, 6, note.

rat; videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento) appellandae gloriam quaerere. quippe in regiones quat-ordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, s solo tenus deiectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia oererant, lacera et semusta.

41. Domuum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, nerum inire haud promptum fuerit: sed vetustissima religione, od Servius Tullius Lunae, et magna ara fanumque, quae esenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat, aedesque Statoris

videbaturque, etc. Sulp. Severus 9) has again followed Tacitus, though closely: 'sed opinio omnium in-am incendii in principem retorquebat, ebaturque imperator gloriam inno-lae urbis quaesisse.'

quattuordecim: cp. 14. 12, 3. Of four which wholly escaped one must been the 14th (Transtiberina), and others are thought to have been the Porta Capena), the 5th (Esquilina), 6th (Alta Semita, the Quirinal). Of hree wholly destroyed, two must have the 11th and 10th (Circus and Pa-m), and the other is thought to have the 3rd (Isis et Serapis, the Subura). account in Dio (62. 18, 2) states isedly that the whole Palatine Mount the theatre (amphitheatre) of Taurus, two thirds of the rest of the city were t. As regards the destruction of te houses, these accounts may prob- be true; but it seems evident that temples and other great buildings either have altogether escaped or have capable of speedy restoration. The is itself must have been used in the wing year, and the 'aedes Cereris' it is spoken of at the same date 3, 1, 4). On the Palatine, remains ght to be older than the Neronian are still preserved; the 'domus riana' is spoken of in H. 1. 27, 4; temple of Apollo at the time of 's return from Greece (Suet. Ner. the Sibylline books kept there were inly preserved (c. 44, 1); and the iction of the library seems doubtful note on c. 41, 2). Another story . 39, 3, and note) would imply the rvation of the other extremity of the e of Nero. The buildings on the ol were certainly intact, as were also bly most of the temples and basili-ound the Forum (see 16. 27, 1). In ampus Martius, the Augustan portico of the Pantheon still remains, and the theatre of Pompeius was used for the Neronia immediately after the conspiracy (see 16. 4, 2, and note).

6. **Domuum et insularum,** so contrasted in 6. 45, 1; the former being the palaces or mansions of the rich, the latter the blocks of building let out in flats or single rooms to the poorer classes. Suet. says (Ner. 38), 'praeter inmensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis ornatae, deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae . . .' Besides the few temples and public buildings here mentioned, Dio (see on c. 40, 4) speaks of the amphitheatre of Taurus, Pliny (N. H. 12. 19, 42, 94) of the temple to Augustus on the Palatine, as destroyed.

7. **fuerit,** potential subj. of modest assertion: see Introd. i. v. § 51, c.

vetustissima religione, sc. 'templa' (implied in the expression).

8. **quod Servius Tullius Lunae.** The temple of Luna was on the Aventine (Liv. 40. 2, 2; Ov. F. 8, 884), at the part nearest to the Circus (see Burn, p. 298), and is mentioned by Vitruvius (5. 5) as containing some of the bronzes brought by Mummius from Corinth. Servius Tullius is not elsewhere spoken of as its founder; but the more famous temple of Diana in the same locality, which it may have adjoined, is ascribed to him (Liv. 1. 45, 2; Dion. Hal. 4. 26). The two may have been confused, but appear to be clearly distinct (see Dyer, D. of Geog. s.v. 'Roma,' p. 811; Burn, pp. 205, 207).

magna ara fanumque. On this altar see 12. 24, 2. The 'fanum' may have been only a consecrated site and may not have had a 'templum' (see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. 155).

9. **Evander.** Most authorities agree with this (see note on 12. 24, 2); but

Iovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae c Penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot victoriis quaesi et Graecarum artium decora, exim monumenta ingenior antiqua et incorrupta, *ut* quamvis in tanta resurgentis ur pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari neq bant. fuere qui adnotarent XIIII Kal. Sextiles principium cendii huius ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaver

Ovid (F. 1, 581) has followed a tradition making Hercules himself the founder.

Statoris Iovis. This temple to Jove the stayer of flight, represented as vowed when Romulus was being worsted by the Sabines (Liv. 1. 12, 6), stood on the part of the Palatine nearest to the 'summa Sacra via,' i. e. near the spot where the Arch of Titus stands. Its supposed site is shown there, but the identification is questioned (Burn, p. 162; Middleton, p. 93).

1. **Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae.** These two buildings stood close together (Plut. Num. 14. 69), and are associated by writers: cp. 'monumenta regis, Templaque Vestae' (Hor. Od. 1. 2, 15); 'hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem: Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae' (Ov. Tr. 3. 1, 27). On the site of the temple see c. 36, 3, and note. It had been previously burnt in 513, B. C. 241, and suffered the same fate again in the time of Commodus. The existing fragments belong to the rebuilding of Severus (Middleton, p. 183). The 'Regia,' long the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, was given over to the Vestals by Augustus, and some of its foundations are still traceable under the buildings of their 'atrium,' or convent (Id. p. 187).

cum Penatibus, etc. An 'aedes Penatium,' existing in the Velian district (Mon. Anc. 4. 7), in a line leading from the Forum to the Carinae, and thought to be represented by the vestibule of S. Cosma e Damiano (Burn, p. 163), is spoken of by Dion. Hal. (1. 68) as containing figures which all might see, and which he describes. It is supposed however, from the close connexion with the 'delubrum Vestae,' that the Penates here spoken of were certain other figures, never seen, believed to have been brought, with the Palladium of Troy, by Aeneas (Aen. 3, 147, etc.), and preserved somewhere in the 'penetralia Vestae,' with other mysterious sacred things, of w little is known. The connexion of t worship with that of Vesta is attestec passages from several authors (see M quardt, iii. p. 253, 3).

2. **opes . . . decora.** Nipp. rig distinguishes these, the first as 'prec objects,' articles of material value, as were often dedicated in temple vow or otherwise (cp. c. 45, 2), the la as the 'masterpieces of Greek art,' as the Corinthian bronzes (see note § 1).

3. **monumenta ingeniorum,** 'rec of genius' (works of great authors) 4. 61, 1; Agr. 2, 1: by 'incorrupta distinguishes the oldest and most t worthy copies from others afterw interpolated or falsified. The words to allude to the loss of the Pala Library, which is not otherwise know have so suffered previously to its destruction in A. D. 363 (Lancian 186). The temple of Apollo is m tioned in H. 1. 27, 1. Tacitus possibly mean to refer to original co preserved in the archives of an aut family.

4. **ut . . . meminerint.** Nipp. Dr. follow Halm in inserting 'ut.' C retains the Med. text, placing a semic after 'decora,' and taking 'memine as a potential subjunctive (='memi possunt'), supposing that the 'senie are those still living when Tacitus w when so much more had been don beautify and adorn Rome. Others, posing the rebuilding under Nero t alone alluded to, read 'memine (Rhen., etc.) or 'meminerunt' (F The allusion to the 'pulchritudo,' shows that the buildings and worl art lost are chiefly thought of.

6. **quartum decimum,** sc. 'diem c 12. 69, 1, etc.), July 19. This woul sume the burning of Rome by the Ga have begun on the day after the Alliensis.'

7. **quo et:** so most edd. after He

ii eo usque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque dies inter utraque incendia numerent.

42. Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis exstruxitque domum, qua haud proinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita idem et luxu volgata, quam arva et stagna et in modum solitunum hinc silvae inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et achinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia at etiam, quae natura denegavisset, per artem temptare et ribus principis inludere. namque ab lacu Averno navigabilem

Med. 'et quo,' which Orelli retains, ing it as 'et illius quo,' but the tances quoted by him (c. 25, 6; 2. 28, 6. 44, 4) are hardly parallel. Ritt. ds 'quo . . . et quo,' thinking that an usion to the 'dies Cremerensis' (see . 6. 1, 11) has been lost. But this uld hardly enter into the comparison e.

. **totidem annos.** This space of e would be 454 years, reckoned lusively; and Grotefend has shown hein. Mus. 1843, p. 153, foll.) that would be almost exactly 418 years, months, and 418 days. If the years reckoned as 453, 417 of each would e a nearly correct result.

. **numerent.** The present is used, xtant histories are spoken of.

. **usus est,** 'profited by,' i. e. he ropriated as much as he chose of the ant space (which would be extremely uable), apparently without payment Martial quoted below): hence his ce is called 'spoliis civium exstructa ius' in c. 52, 2. The story in Suet. . 38, that he was supposed to have ropriated valuables from the ruins red at his cost, would not appear to here alluded to, and is nowhere rsed by Tacitus.

omum, the 'domus aurea' of Suet. . 31), who describes its 'tanta laxitas porticus triplices miliarias haberet; stagnum maris instar circumsaeptum iciis ad urbium speciem; rura per arvis atque vinetis et pascuis que varia.' He also describes some s arrangements and decorations, and ions the colossal statue 120 feet high s vestibule, and adds the remark of , 'se quasi hominem tandem habitare sse.' Also Martial, writing when its was partly filled by the Colosseum, hat of the Esquiline portion of the e by the Baths of Titus, says (de Sp. -8), 'Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant. Hic, ubi miramur velocia munera thermas, Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.' It is added that 'Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras, Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.' The 'porticus Claudia' stood near the present church of S. Pietro in Vincoli (Dyer in D. of Geog. p. 828). Pliny also tells us of the many works of the painter Fabullus 'imprisoned' in the palace (N. H. 35. 10, 37, 120), and of the temple of Fortune enclosed within its precincts (Id. 36. 22, 46, 163). These and all other extant statements respecting it have been carefully collected in an Excursus by Brotier (see also Lemaire's edition). The building, if it was ever really completed (see Introd. p. 93, 8), must have occupied the greater part of the Palatine and Esquiline, and of the intermediate valley; the rest of this space being filled by the pleasure grounds, which probably also stretched away to the agger of Servius, and to the site of the present railway station on the Viminal. This would make it include a vast space of the best and most central part of the city; but Signor Lanciani's estimate (p. 124) of nearly a square mile seems somewhat excessive, and we can hardly suppose but that some thoroughfare was left through its centre, so as not to cut off the 'Via Sacra.' Remains of it are traced along the Palatine near the Arch of Titus, and considerable portions exist under the foundations of the Baths of Titus. For further description see Burn, Rome and Campagna, pp. 231–233, Middleton, pp. 347–352.

4. **proinde . . . quam**: cp. 13. 21, 3, and note.

7. **Severo et Celere.** These architects and engineers appear to be nowhere else mentioned.

9. **viribus principis inludere,** 'to fool away the resources of an emperor'

fossam usque ad ostia Tiberina depressuros promiserant, sq lenti litore aut per montes adversos. neque enim aliud umid gignendis aquis occurrit quam Pomptinae paludes: cetera abru aut arentia, ac si perrumpi possent, intolerandus labor nec sa causae. Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere pr ima Averno iuga conisus est, manentque vestigia inritae spei.

43. Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gal incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis corum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificior

(C. and B.); i.e. to indulge in the pleasure of inventing extravagances out of his means. Nipp. compares 'tamquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere' (H. 2. 94, 4), and 'quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae' (Sall. Cat. 13, 2).

lacu Averno. It appears that some passage through the Lucrine to this lake from the bay of Baiae continued to exist, though the works made by Agrippa (Verg. G. 2, 164) were no longer kept up: see Sir E. Bunbury in D. of Geog. i. 351.

1. **depressuros**, sc. 'se,' i.e. 'that they would dig out': cp. 12. 57, 1, and note. Suet. states (Ner. 31) that the projected canal was to be 160 miles long, and broad enough to allow two quinqueremes to pass, and that all the convicts that could be got together were set to work on it.

squalenti litore, 'along the barren shore,' abl. of direction (Introd. i. v. § 25): cp. 'squalent . . . arva' (Verg. G. 1, 507), etc. The works were probably carried on at various places, as Pliny mentions (N. H. 14. 6, 8, 61) the injury done by them to the Caecuban vineyards near the bay of Amynclae.

2. **neque enim**, assigning a reason for the folly of the attempt.

3. **gignendis aquis**, to give water to feed the canal.

4. **nec satis causae.** The object suggested for it was that of facilitating the corn transport by making a safe passage from the principal Campanian harbours, as well as that of draining the Pomptine marshes into the canal: see Schiller, p. 641; Merivale, ch. 53, p. 172. The dangers of the coast may be illustrated from c. 46, 3.

5. **cupitor**: cp. 12. 7, 4, and note. Tacitus treats the scheme as a freak similar to those ascribed to Gaius, who, according to Suet. (Cal. 37), 'nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur.'

7. **quae domui supererant.** Th the Medicean text, has been retaine most recent edd., and explained as ironical reference to the 'domus au just described ('such parts of the cit the palace left space for'). The exagg tion is somewhat beneath the usual dig of the author's style, though in the s vein with the contemporary epig cited in Suet. Ner. 39 ('Roma do fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites, Si no Veios occupet illa domus'), and t Martial, de Sp. 2, 4 ('Unaque iam t stabat in urbe domus'). The Med. here was first noticed by Jac. Gron., the earlier edd. had followed Put reading 'quae domus supererant'; w might be taken in the same sense by p plying 'domui Neronis,' but which see incongruous with 'erecta,' and sugge the conjecture of Lips. ('quae d perierant'), which has been followe Halm in his last ed. Ritt. takes 'do to be a gradual corruption of 'domi and takes the meaning to be 'wha mained to the houses,' i.e. the walls foundations (which still gives a sens consistent with 'erecta'). It shoul noted that throughout this narr 'domus' is either used, in the sing of the palace of Nero (c. 39, 1; 4 or, in the plural, of mansions, as dis from 'insulae' (c. 38, 3; 41, 1; 43 and would thus hardly be used he dwellings in general, so as to be foll by 'insularum' below. Hence Her who otherwise follows Lips., propose bold reading 'quae domus insula perierant.'

8. **erecta**, altered by Lips. to 'ere to suit his reading above.

dimensis vicorum ordini 'with rows of streets regularly mea out': cp. 'dimensis principiis' (1. 6 3

9. **cohibita . . . altitudine.** The to the height of buildings introduce Augustus (see Introd. i. vii. p. 88)

itudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus, quae frontem ıularum protegerent. eas porticus Nero sua pecunia ex-ucturum purgatasque areas dominis traditurum pollicitus est. didit praemia pro cuiusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis, ivitque tempus intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apis-·entur. ruderi accipiendo Ostienses paludes destinabat, utique ves, quae frumentum Tiberi subvectavissent, onustae rudere currerent, aedificiaque ipsa certa sui parte sine trabibus saxo bino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius ; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et ıribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes, et subsidia repri-

rs to have been neglected, as we read he time of Tiberius a strong complaint he subject (M. Seneca, Controv. 2. 9). limit fixed by Nero would appear to e exceeded 60 feet, as it was reduced hat by Trajan (Aur. Vict. Epit. 13); the height of buildings was excessive he time of Juvenal (3, 269) and much r: cp. 'Aemula vicinis fastigia con-: astris' (Claud. de cons. Stil. iii. 134), other passages cited in Friedl. i. 6.

. **patefactis areis**, probably court-ls inside the 'insulae,' which would to prevent the spread of fire from portion to another.

dditisque porticibus: cp. Suet. . 16 'formam aedificiorum novam gitavit, et ut ante insulas et domos icus essent, de quarum solariis in-lia arcerentur.' The idea of such ts of colonnades may have been taken those constructed by Antiochus hanes at Antioch.

purgatas areas, 'the building sites r of rubbish.' With 'exstructurum' 'purgaturum,' 'se' is supplied.

intra quod, taken with the abl. abs. ctis': 'a time within which they t finish the mansions or blocks of ling to claim the gift.' Nipp. com-s various other places in which the ive thus applies to a subordinate part he sentence, as 6. 45, 2; 11. 38, 1, It would appear that the rebuilding not complete on Vespasian's acces-(Suet. Vesp. 8).

ruderi. This word is so used for bish' in Suet. Aug. 30; Vesp. 8; commonly for concrete or coarse er.

ludes destinabat utique: cp. onstruction in 1. 15, 4, and note.

subvectavissent: so Halm for Med. 'subvecta essent': others read 'sub-vectassent.' The word is almost wholly poetical (Plaut., Verg., etc.), and is used here alone by Tacitus; who however is fond of frequentative forms (Introd. i. v. § 69, 4).

8. **saxo Gabino Albanove.** Both these were varieties of the 'peperino' of the Campagna; the Gabine being best of the two, and both better than the 'tufa' of Rome itself. The former is seen in the facing of the Tabularium, the latter in the exit of the Cloaca (Middle-ton, pp. 5, 6). The quarries of Gabii (half way between Rome and Praeneste), are still to be seen near the fortress of Castiglione, and are noticed by Strabo (5. 3, 10, 238) as in great use at Rome (*λατόμιον ὑπουργὸν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων*). The Alban stone, quarried near Marino, is among those classed by Vi-truvius (2. 7) as 'molles.' All kinds of 'tufa' were inferior in ornamental and weatherproof qualities ('tophus aedificiis inutilis est mortalitate, mollitia' Plin. N. H. 36. 22, 48, 166), but are contrasted by Vitruvius in respect of being fireproof with the harder kinds of stone, as the 'lapis Tiburtinus' (the 'travertine' of the Colosseum, etc.), of which he says (l. l.) 'ab igni non possunt esse tuta . . . dissiliunt et dissipantur.'

9. **solidarentur.** The addition of 'sine trabibus' shows this to mean that the lower stories were to be vaulted in stone. The verb appears to be first found in Verg. G. 1, 179.

10. **aqua**, that flowing into Rome by the aqueducts, cut off ('intercepta') here and there by individuals for them-selves.

11. **custodes.** Nipp. rightly argues that to make this depend on 'quisque

mendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec communi parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. ea ex utilit accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. erant tamen crederent, veterem illam formam salubritati magis conduxis quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perin solis vapore perrumperentur; at nunc patulam latitudinem nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere.

44. Et haec quidem humanis consiliis providebantur. m petita dis piacula aditique Sibullae libri, ex quibus supplicat Volcano et Cereri Proserpinaeque, ac propitiata Iuno per mat

haberet' is contrary to sense; and to supply 'essent' or 'constituerentur' (with 'custodes' as subject) from 'haberet' would be a zeugma of extreme harshness. The force of 'destinabat' extends over the whole passage, but its construction with the accus. (as Nipp. here takes it) has been dropped ever since the first sentence. It appears necessary unless we are to take this as an extremely strong instance of the Tacitean omission of the verb 'esse' (Introd. i. v. § 39), to suppose, with Madvig (Adv. iii. p. 236), that 'essent' has dropped out after 'custodes.' Orelli supposes the persons here mentioned to be the same as those known in inscriptions as slaves employed as 'castellarii' (keepers of the watertowers or 'dividicula,' where water was taken off from the main supply) or 'aquarii' (Or. 2899, 3203).

subsidia. Such are mentioned in Plin. ad Trai. 33 [42], 2 'nullus usquam in publico sipho, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda.'

1. **nec communione parietum**, etc., abstr. for concr. ('communibus parietibus'). Some such verb as 'uterentur' must be supplied from 'ambirentur,' and in both clauses 'aedificia' (implied in 'quaeque') is supplied. The resumption of this subject, after the intervening clauses, seems so out of place as to make Nipp. consider that the sentences must be transposed and 'nec . . . ambirentur' made to follow 'impervius est'; by which the following sentence ('ea ex utilitate,' etc.) appears to become less apposite. Common walls had been always forbidden; the name 'insula' implies isolation; and Orelli cites the Twelve Tables as ordering a space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet round each 'domus' or 'insula' ('ambitus parietum sestertius pes esto').

3. **accepta,** probably to be taken Or. as 'ob utilitatem grata': cp. 4. 5; 12. 29, 1; and 'acceptius' (6. 45

5. **angustiae itinerum.** The 'an tissimae semitae' of ancient Rome c. 38, 4) are contrasted with the bro streets of Capua in Cic. de Leg. Ag 35, 96, and in the time of M. Seneca note on § 1), and may probably been even narrower than those of peii. Martial describes (7. 61, 2) a fur widening of streets under Dom ('Iussisti tenues, Germanice, cre vicos, Et modo quae fuerat semita, via est'), which may have dealt parts of old Rome which had esc this fire.

6. **vapore,** 'the heat' (cp. 11. 3 This remark may be illustrated by comparative coolness of the narrow st (formed by high houses) in the Italian cities at the present day.

9. **diis,** 'for the gods,' i.e. to win favour (cp. 'deum placamentis' bel Most edd. (except Walther and Rup have followed this correction of Gron. for the Med. 'a diis'; w though standing well in antithesi 'humanis consiliis,' would require hardly possible meaning that the were asked what expiation they w to receive. A sufficient antithesi 'humanis consiliis' is implied in 'a que Sibullae libri.'

Sibullae libri: see 6. 12, 1: name is there so read in the first M whence Halm corrects the Med. 'Siby here.

10. **Volcano, etc.** The first of was, of course, propitiated as the fire The temple of Ceres and Prose (Libera) was no doubt near the where the fire had broken out (see 2. 49 but the supplication to them may have rested on some more general re

s, primum in Capitolio, deinde apud proximum mare, unde usta aqua templum et simulacrum deae perspersum est; et llisternia ac pervigilia celebravere feminae quibus mariti ınt. sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut um placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum incendium ederetur. ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quaeissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christi-

ve find special rites to Ceres prescribed ther times by the Sibylline Books to iate prodigies (Liv. 36. 37, 4). It has n thought (see Jacob) that she was insed as goddess of the soil on which the buildings were to rise.

ropitiata. This verb is used also Dial. 9, 5, and appears to have been pted by Val. Max. and subsequent se writers, from old poets, as Plaut.

. **apud proximum mare**, i. e. at ia, where invocation was made, and nce lustral water was brought, to wash 'cella' and statue in the Capitol. ıetimes the statues were taken to the and washed there: cp. Ov. F. 4, 129, The custom is Greek (cp. Eur. Iph. 199).

perspersum. This verb is very but found in Cat. R. R. 130; Cic. de 1. 34, 159. The old edd. read 'prosum' (which is nowhere found). enb. suggests 'respersum,' from 16. 4.

sellisternia. These answer in the of goddesses to the 'lectisternia' in ur of gods; the distinction being ded on the Roman custom, by which ıen sat on 'sellae' at dinner, while reclined on couches. According to Max. (2. 1, 2), the custom of women is respect was much relaxed when he e. The word 'sellisternium' is alunknown in literature; 'lectister-' being commonly used as a general 1.

rvigilia. Such nightly festivals νυχίδες) were an ancient custom in ce, but apparently a late intro-on at Rome, though common under mpire (Plin. N. H. 18. 12, 32, 124; Cal. 54; Galb. 4; Vit. 10, etc.). are frequently noted by Juv. and s as giving licence to immorality; their use is strictly limited in Cic. . 2. 9.

sed non, etc. On the general subof the remainder of this chapter see ndix to this Book.

ope humana, apparently explained by 'largitionibus principis.' No assistance rendered by other persons has been mentioned, nor, if such there were, could it be expected to avert suspicion from Nero.

5. **placamentis,** used in H. 1. 63, 2, and previously in Plin. N. H. 21. 7, 19, 42. Livy has 'placamen' (7. 2, 3).

quin iussum incendium crederetur. By 'iussum,' 'ordered by Nero' is meant. 'Quin' has here its epexegetical force, and is equivalent to 'ut non,' or almost to 'sed' (cp. Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 186; Roby 1698). Sulpicius Severus (Chron. 2. 29) has here again (see note on c. 37, 8) verbally transcribed much of the narrative of Tacitus. His words are 'neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo iussum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos; actaeque in innoxios crudelissimae quaestiones; quin et novae mortes excogitatae, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirerent. Multi crucibus affixi aut flamma usti: plerique in id reservati ut, cum defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.'

6. **abolendo rumori,** dat. of purpose: cp. Introd. i. v. § 22 b.

subdidit reos, so used of fraudulent substitution in 1. 6, 6 (where see note): cp. 'subdidit testamentum' (14. 40, 2), etc. That Tacitus did not consider the Christians really guilty, is shown by the expression here and by the suggestion in c. 38, 1 of only two alternative causes for the fire ('forte an dolo principis'): see notes on §§ 5, 8.

quaesitissimis = 'exquisitissimis': cp. 5. 3, 3; 12. 26, 1, etc.

7. **per flagitia,** 'by reason of their abominations.' It is evident from this passage and from the mention of 'flagitia cohaerentia nomini' in Pliny's letter (§ 2), that in the time of these writers, and even, if Tacitus is to be believed (see Appendix, p. 575), in the Neronian period, such imputations as those designated by Θυέστεια δεῖπνα and Οἰδιπόδειοι μίξεις (see C. F. Arnold, p. 11, etc.), i.e. those of infanticide,

anos appellabat. auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imp tante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfec erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum er pebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda conflu

cannibalism, and incest, otherwise known to us through the apologists of the second century (Min. Fel. Oct. 9; Tert. Apol. 7, foll., etc.), were already current against Christians. Tacitus entirely believes the charge, and repeats it under other expressions (§ 4); but Pliny frankly owns that such evidence as he could get, even under torture, went to show a very different rule of life. The epithet 'malefica,' given to this 'superstitio' in Suet. Ner. 16, may either be taken as referring generally to such misdeeds (cp. 4. 21, 5, etc.), or may have a specific reference (cp. 2. 69, 5) to the charges of magic frequently brought against the Christians (Arnold, p. 69. 1, and 71).

vulgus Christianos appellabat. It appears to be implied that they had not yet begun to call themselves such, but were already popularly so called in Rome (see Appendix, p. 574). The origin of the name at Antioch (Acts 11, 26) is connected by Suidas (s. v.) with the appointment of Euodius to the charge of that church by St. Peter, an event dated by Jerome (on Eus. Chron.) in the year 798, A.D. 45. The formation of such a name from 'Christus' is in accordance with late Latin usage (cp. 'Augustiani' 14. 15, 8, 'Tertullianus,' etc.), but it has been shown that it could equally well have originated among Asiatic Greeks (C. F. Arnold, p. 53, foll.).

1. **Christus**, given by Tacitus (as also in Plin. l. l.) as a proper name, probably the only name of our Lord known to him, and in any case the appropriate one to use here, as explaining 'Christianus.' This passage is the earliest record of the event in any non-Christian writer.

imperitante. Hochart (see Appendix, p. 571, 1) strangely notes this as an unusual expression in Tacitus. Besides the five strictly parallel instances which he admits (3. 24, 5; 4. 62, 3; 11. 14, 5; 13. 32, 5; 42, 1), the verb is one of the frequentative forms which Tacitus so often prefers.

2. **Pontium Pilatum**, mentioned here alone by any Roman historian. Josephus gives the duration of his procuratorship as ten years (Ant. 18. 4, 2) from 780–790, A.D. 27-37, and mentions his recal order of Vitellius, legate of Syria. S account of his government is give Philo, Leg. 38, and the story of his sui in exile is mentioned in Eus. H. E. It has been thought remarkable (see pendix, p. 572, 1) that he is here descr simply as 'procurator,' without speci tion of his province; but the mentio 'Iudaea' below as the 'origo eius m would leave no doubt of it; and it w be in accordance with the manne Tacitus to avoid, even somewhat ficially, the mention of the country t within so short a space.

3. **repressa in praesens . . . erun bat.** The statement that Christianity temporarily checked, and then bega break out again here and there, s likely to have been an inference draw Tacitus or his authorities from the that the Crucifixion of Christ was kn to have taken place in the time of berius, and that the outer world heard nothing of Christianity until s years after that date, and then inter tently.

exitiabilis superstitio. Any reign religion, not Greek, would bably be called 'superstitio': cp. 2 5; 3. 60, 5; 13. 32, 3, etc. 'Exitiab is so used of disease in 16. 5, 2, would probably here mean that it pernicious to the character (cp. 6. 7 probably in reference to its 'flagitia' (It is thus much stronger than the 'su stitio prava inmodica' of Pliny's l (§ 8), and would more answer to 'malefica' of Suet. (see on § 3).

4. **non modo**, etc.; i.e. it was sc from being confined to Judaea, that it extended itself to Rome. The sprea Christianity elsewhere is not notice being foreign to what Tacitus had to and the inference of Schiller (p. 437), he only knew of it as then existin these two localities, is unwarranted.

5. **cuncta . . . atrocia aut pude** 'all that is horrible and shameful.' allusion no doubt is to the 'flagitia,' vie both as hideous cruelties (cp. 6. 24 40. 1, etc.) and as immoralities. By

elebranturque. igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde dicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii uam odio humani generis convicti sunt. et pereuntibus addita dibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, ut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies,

'cuncta,' he would refer also to the ac or other foreign mysteries, at which moralities were known to take place.

1. **celebrantur,** 'are constantly pracd': cp. 2. 56, 2, and note.

igitur, used to mark the return to main subject, as in 1. 62, 1; 14. 3, 1; 1, etc.

primum correpti qui fatebantur. is can only mean, 'those were first ught to trial (cp. 3. 28, 5; 12. 42, 4,) who were admitting the charge' (cp. 1, 2, etc.); but it is not necessary to ow those who assume that the charge nitted was that of incendiarism. Such nifest incendiaries as are mentioned in 8, 8, if they could then have been said eri incendium,' would hardly be likely, less would any others (even religious nusiasts) be likely to be (as the tense uires) still openly acknowledging the ne when these proceedings were taken e time afterwards. It is no doubt that those who were 'making open ession of Christianity' would ordily be said 'profiteri' (cp. 'Cynicam am professo' H. 4. 40, 5), not 'fateri.' this difficulty would disappear on the osition that the Christians as a body been already marked out by some ns as the incendiaries (see Append. p. , so that the question whether a person a Christian became the most essential of the charge against him. The ession could thus be used with the propriety as in Pliny's letter (§ 3): rrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. itentes iterum . . . interrogavi . . . neenim dubitabam, qualecumque esset faterentur,' etc.

multitudo ingens. The difficulty d by these words (see App. p. 575) may ssened by remembering that the exion is rhetorical, and that the somesimilar 'inmensa strages' of 6. 19, s been thought to mean no more twenty executions in one day (see there).

ud proinde . . . quam. On this ssion (here and in c. 42, 1, not al by Halm to 'perinde,' as usual) see 1, 3, and note. The words would r to mean that although incendiarism was that of which they were formally convicted, there were few, if any, cases in which any direct evidence of such was attempted to be set up; their notorious 'hatred of the human race' being held to prove their guilt.

in crimine: cp. Cic. de Inv. 2. 10, 32 ('in peccato convictus'), and pro Sull. 30, 83 ('in hoc scelere convictus'), and similar constructions in Plin. ma. and Suet.

3. **odio humani generis,** best taken, with Nipp., by supplying 'in' before 'odio.' Walth. and Ritt. explain it less well; the former taking the abl. as causal, and the latter taking the expression subjectively, referring to 'invisos' above. Tacitus charges the Jews in H. 5. 5, 2 with a similar hatred of mankind ('adversus omnes alios hostile odium'). The probable explanation of such a charge here is to be found in their abstinence from social gatherings and popular amusements, perhaps also in misinterpretations of expressions used respecting 'the world' (in a Christian sense).

convicti: so all other MSS. and all edd. for Med. 'coniuncti'; which it has been less well proposed to retain, with an insertion of 'reperti' before 'sunt.' According to the interpretation here given, 'convicti' answers to 'correpti,' and both apply as well to the 'qui fatebantur' as to the 'multitudo.'

4. **tergis,** 'hides': cp. 4. 72, 2, and note.

5. **aut crucibus adfixi aut flammandi atque.** The Med. text is here given as it stands, though it can hardly be free from corruption. Those who defend it would supply 'interirent' again after 'flammandi' (to which in that case the 'flammati' of MS. Agr. would be preferable), or endeavour to force the whole sentence into dependence on 'urerentur' (see Pfitzner's note). Nipp. (who reads 'flammati') brackets the whole 'aut crucibus . . . flammati' as a very old gloss, older than the time of Sulpicius Severus (see note on § 2), on the ground that the deaths here spoken of involve no 'ludibrium' (which is true, except that they are shown in § 7 to form part of the

in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. hortos suos ei spectac Nero obtulerat et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae p mixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. unde quamquam adver sontes et novissima exempla meritos miseratio oriebatur, ta quam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerent

45. Interea conferendis pecuniis pervastata Italia, provinc

'spectaculum'). Halm thinks that Sulpicius has preserved the trace of the true text, and reads 'multi crucibus adfixi aut flamma usti, aliique, ubi,' etc. By supplying 'interirent' after 'usti' a fair sense is given; but the use of the latter word with 'urerentur' so soon following throws some suspicion on the reading; though Tacitus sometimes thus repeats words (see Nipp. on 1. 81). Arnold suggests 'multi crucibus adfixi sunt flammandi, utque . . . urerentur,' noting the interchange of gerundive and final clause in 2. 36, 1; 4. 9, 1, etc., and explaining by the supposition that these victims were crucified to be afterwards set on fire. This reading departs less than Halm's from the Med. text, but is less in accordance with what Sulpicius would seem to have followed, and gives a description very different from that in the supposed allusion to such a scene in Juv. 1, 159.

flammandi. This verb is so used by Lucr. and other poets, and by Tacitus elsewhere figuratively (H. 2. 74, 3; 4. 24, 4). Those executed by burning were usually dressed in the 'tunica molesta,' noticed by Juvenal (8, 235) as the appropriate punishment for incendiaries, and also mentioned by Martial (10. 25, 5), and described by Seneca (Ep. 14, 5) as 'illam tunicam alimentis ignium et inlitam et textam.' As an additional mockery, this garment was often made externally of gold and purple and other rich materials (see Plut. de sera num. vind., and other references in Friedl. Sitteng. ii. 366).

ubi defecisset, best taken, with Dr., as the subjunct. of action frequently repeated: see Introd. i.v. § 52.

1. **in usum nocturni luminis** (so all edd. for the Med. 'in usu') = 'unde nocturnum lumen pararetur': cp. 'natis in usum laetitiae scyphis' (Hor. Od. 1. 27, 1).

hortos suos: cp. c. 39, 2. On the circus there see 14. 14, 3, and note. On the practice of making a spectacle of the torture and execution of malefactors see Friedl. l.c.

3. **curriculo insistens:** so in 14. 1; here so read by all edd. after R with MS. Agr., for Med. 'circulo.'

unde, i.e. from the observation his brutal demeanour.

4. **sontes.** Schiller's remark (p. 1), that Tacitus in these words con dicts himself (see note on § 3), seems founded. It is possible that (as C Arnold thinks) reference is again inten to the 'flagitia' (§ 3); perhaps n probable that 'sontes' is used in rela to the charge of incendiarism, but Tacitus is giving, not his own view, that of the spectators, who, belie them to be guilty, yet felt pity for the

novissima exempla meritos: 12. 20, 4, and note.

tamquam, 'on the ground th cp. 12. 39, 5, etc.

5. **utilitate publica,** abl. of objec cause: see Introd. i.v. § 30.

in saevitiam unius, 'with a to (i.e. to gratify) the cruelty of Nipp. compares 'in spem . . . corrupt (14. 63, 1).

6. **conferendis pecuniis** (dativ purpose); i.e. for the new palace, other buildings. Suet. says (c. 38) ' lationibus non receptis modo, veru efflagitatis, provincias privatorumque sus prope exhausit.' Dio speaks in s lar terms, and says (62. 18, 5) tha even withdrew the corn allowance Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρέσιον παρε σατο); which, in the light of Tacitus states in c. 39, 2, is most probable.

provinciae. Nipp. thinks that this term here the 'stipendiarii' alon meant, by 'socii populii' the 'civi foederatae,' and by 'quae civita liberae vocantur' the 'civitates libe and those called 'liberae et immu and that the privileges of both classes were now, as on many othe casions, set at nought. It is also pos to take 'socii populi' of the states vassal princes, or to suppose (see Mon Staatsr. iii. 725, 4) that 'socii po and 'liberae civitates' are here a sp

versae sociique populi et quae civitatium liberae vocantur. inque am praedam etiam di cessere, spoliatis in urbe templis egestoque uro, quod triumphis, quod votis omnis populi Romani aetas rospere aut in metu sacraverat. enimvero per Asiam atque chaiam non dona tantum sed simulacra numinum abripie-antur, missis in eas provincias Acrato ac Secundo Carrinate. le libertus cuicumque flagitio promptus, hic Graeca doctrina re tenus exercitus animum bonis artibus non inbuerat. ferebatur eneca, quo invidiam sacrilegii a semet averteret, longinqui ruris ecessum oravisse, et postquam non concedebatur, ficta valetudine,

scription of 'provinciae,' and refer spectively to the unprivileged and pri-leged peoples. This explanation would supported by 'foedera sociis dilargiri' I. 3. 55, 2); though Tacitus elsewhere es 'socii' more generally, as in 'foederi ciae urbis' (2. 53, 3).

1. **eversae**, 'were ruined'; so 'ever-ti funditus civitates' (Cic. Pis. 35, 86), :.

in eam praedam . . . cessere, ormed part of that plunder.' Dr. notes at the use of these expressions with a rsonal subject (cp. 6. 43, 1; also 'Nori-s in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros' 1. 70, 4) is rare, that with things (as 1, 3; 2. 23, 3; H. 3. 83, 1) more com-on. Here the personal subject is meta-orical only; the treasures in the temples ng really spoken of.

3. **auro**: such offerings of gold are en mentioned in Livy, etc.

triumphis . . . votis, 'on occasions triumphs or vows.' The construction ms analogous to the simple abl. of e and place: cp. 'proconsulatu' (H. 48, 6), and other expressions quoted by p. on 4. 51, 1.

. **prospere aut in metu**, 'in success panic.' We should expect 'prospere raverat' to have a different meaning; the sense of 'per prospera' or 'rebus speris' is clearly required by the anti-sis 'in metu,' which may here denote ate of circumstances, rather than a ne of mind, as in 1. 40, 1 (where see), etc. Adverbs and nouns are some-es co-ordinated, as in 2. 11, 3; 16. 5, 3.

dona, answering to the 'aurum' n from temples in Rome: 'sed'= l etiam,' as in 1. 60, 1, etc.

mulacra numinum. Pausanias says 7, 1) that Nero took 500 statues n Delphi alone, and elsewhere (6. 25, 9; 26, 3) specifies statues taken from Olympia. Pliny enumerates a long list of statues, the finest of which had been pillaged by Nero for the Golden House, and were afterwards given by Vespasian to various temples built by him (see N. H. 34. 8, 19, 84). Pergamum appears to have offered active resistance to the ex-tortion (16. 23, 1); and Dio Chrys. men-tions (Or. 31. p. 644 R) that Rhodes was for some reason specially exempted by Nero, and gave up nothing of its great abundance. Such pillage on a smaller scale was common at all times: see Juv. 8, 102, foll.

6. **Acrato**, only mentioned here and in 16. 23, 1 (where see note as to the diffi-culty of date), and Dio Chrys. l. l.

Secundo Carrinate, probably a son of the rhetorician exiled by Gaius (Dio 59. 20, 6; Juv. 7, 204). Med. has here 'Caprinatae,' Put. and other old edd. 'Carinate' (which is also the form in Dio, l. l.); the name being restored as above by Nipp. from the form in 13. 10, 3, and Juv. l. l. Or. adds that it is so written in inscriptions.

7. **ille**: sc. 'erat.'

8. **ore tenus**, i.e. 'so as to talk of it'; he could use the language of Greek moral philosophy without believing its tenets: cp. 'nomine tenus' (c. 6, 6), 'titulo tenus' (Suet. Iul. 76), etc., and the same sentiment expressed in other words in 16. 32, 3.

animum . . . non inbuerat: so Halm, after Lips., for the Med. 'induerat,' which most others retain, as a somewhat bold metaphor grounded on the ordinary sense of 'induere se aliqua re.'

9. **invidiam**, 'the odium': the word is used with a similar genit. in c. 64, 1; 12. 67, 2; Agr. 42, 3, etc.

10. **secessum oravisse.** It is to be

quasi aeger nervis, cubiculum non egressus. tradidere quida venenum ei per libertum ipsius, cui nomen Cleonicus, parata iussu Neronis vitatumque a Seneca proditione liberti seu propr formidine, dum persimplici victu et agrestibus pomis, ac si sit admoneret, profluente aqua vitam tolerat.

46. Per idem tempus gladiatores apud oppidum Praenes temptata eruptione praesidio militis, qui custos adesset, coerci sunt, iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus ferente popul ut est novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque. nec multo po clades rei navalis accipitur, non bello (quippe haud alias ta immota pax), sed certum ad diem in Campaniam redire classe Nero iusserat, non exceptis maris casibus. ergo gubernatore

inferred that his former request for retirement from the court (14. 52–56) had not been granted, and that he was still one of Nero's 'concilium.' On the alleged acceptance at this time of his resignation of his property, see note on c. 64, 6.

1. **aeger nervis**, 'having a muscular complaint' (neuralgia or gout). Nipp. compares Suet. Vesp. 7 ('propter nervorum valitudinem vix ingredi'), and Fronto. ad am. 1. 15, p. 184 Nab. ('nervorum dolor me invasit').

egressus, with accus.: cp. 1. 30, 2, and note.

3. **proditione . . . seu**, etc. Schiller (p. 17) thinks that, if the second version be true, the whole story may probably have been an invention: see c. 60, 3, and note.

4. **persimplici**, ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar words used by Tacitus see Introd. i. v. § 69, 3. Halm and Nipp. needlessly alter the text to 'per simplicem victum.' In his Epistles, written at this time, Seneca describes the simplicity of his life. Thus (83, 6): 'panis deinde siccus et sine mensa prandium, post quod non sunt lavandae manus.' . . . 'brevissimo somno utor.' Again (108, 16) 'inde in omnem vitam unguento abstinemus, . . . inde vino carens stomachus: inde in omnem vitam balneum fugimus.'

et agrestibus pomis, explanatory of 'persimplici victu.' By 'agrestia' the apples growing in fields (as distinct from more highly cultivated garden fruit) are meant: cp. 'cibi simplices, agrestia poma' (G. 23, 1); 'Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent' (Verg. Aen. 7, 111).

dum . . . tolerat. On such indicatives in oratio obliqua see Introd. i. v. § 49.

6. **Praeneste**, Palaestrina, about miles east of Rome. It is to be gather from this passage that a training-sch of gladiators was kept there by t emperor to furnish a supply for t Roman exhibitions. Similar schools isted at Capua, Alexandria, and at ma places in the provinces, and we hear one at Rome in the time of Cicero (C. 2. 5, 9), and others subsequently: see 35, 7, and note.

7. **adesset.** Halm, Orelli, and R. follow Walth. in restoring the Med. te which it is possible to explain by supp ing one of the harsh ellipses not unus in Tacitus, such as 'existente' or 'i locata' ('a military force being pos there to be a guard on the spot'). Oth read 'aderat' (with MS. Agr.). Nip by a far less violent alteration, re 'adest,' explaining the present as used denote a standing institution.

8. **Spartacum.** The celebrated serv war led by him (681–683, B.C. 73–) had begun with the outbreak of only gladiators from the school at Capua (Mommsen, Hist. B. v. ch. 2). On panic in Rome at any rising of ser character see 4. 27, 3; also 14. 42–45.

rumoribus ferente: so 'sermoni ferre' (Dial. 10, 7; Liv. 4. 5, 6), 'fa ferre' (Liv. 23. 31, 13): cp. 5. 4, 4; 2, 2.

11. **immota pax.** The war in the E was virtually over. Coins are found presenting the temple of Janus s (Cohen i. p. 287).

classem, the 'classis praetoria,' s tioned at Misenum (see 4. 5, 1).

[uamvis saeviente pelago, a Formiis movere: et gravi Africo, lum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoriıus inpacti triremium plerasque et minora navigia passim miserunt.

47. Fine anni vulgantur prodigia, inminentium malorum nuntia. is fulgurum non alias crebrior, et sidus cometes, sanguine ılustri semper Neroni expiatum. bicipites hominum aliorumve nimalium partus abiecti in publicum aut in sacrificiis, quibus ravidas hostias inmolari mos est, reperti. et in agro Placentino iam propter natus vitulus, cui caput in crure esset; secutaque aruspicum interpretatio, parari rerum humanarum aliud caput, ed non fore validum neque occultum, quia in utero repressum ut iter iuxta editum sit.

1. **Formiis**, Mola di Gaëta, on the ıast of Latium.

movere, intrans.: so 'postquam . . . overat' (Cic. Att. 9. 1, 1), 'movisse omanos audivit' (Liv. 37. 28, 4): see trod. i. v. § 41.

Africo. This well-known stormy nd (Verg. Aen. 1, 86; Hor. Od. 1. 14, ;, the Greek Λίψ, and Italian Libeccio, ows from W. S.W.

2. **promunturium Miseni**: on the pression cp. 6. 50, 2, and note. They ould have to round the cape to reach eir station.

Cumanis. Cumae lay some six les north of the cape of Misenum.

3. **plerasque** = 'permultas' (3. 1, 2, :.).

passim, 'in crowds': cp. c. 57, 4; . 15, 1, etc.

5. **prodigia**: see 12. 43, 1, and note.

7. **semper Neroni expiatum.** Tacitus s only recorded one previous comet (. 22, 1), and that as followed only the exile of Rubellius Plautus, whose ıth, as well as that of Cornelius Sulla, . not take place till two years afterrds (14. 57–59). It is possible that re may have been other occasions ich Tacitus has omitted to notice, as ny speaks of a comet as constantly earing ('adsiduum prope ac saevum') he time of Nero (N. H. 2. 25, 23, 92). re probably 'semper' is a rhetorical ggeration, like 'saepe' in 13. 6, 1. t. (Ner. 36) speaks obviously of the net here mentioned; its expiation being nd (as Tacitus also no doubt here olies) in the execution of the conators. Dio, alluding apparently to the earlier comet (61. 18, 2), mentions Nero as dissuaded from bloodshed by the advice of Seneca, and expiating the portent by a costly festival.

8. **quibus**, 'to the deities to which.' That one of these was Tellus is to be seen from Ov. F. 4, 629–634 ('Telluri plenae victima plena datur'). The same passage records the tradition of a like sacrifice by Numa to Faunus. Festus (s. v. 'horda') gives the name of such festivals as 'hordicidia' ('horda' = 'praegnans vacca').

9. **Placentino**, of Placentia (Piacenza), an old and famous colony.

10. **esset.** The subjunctive seems best explained (with Orelli and Ritt.) as throwing the statement into the form of a report (='esse ferebatur'). Nipp., Dr. and Jacob take it as expressing a peculiarity, with some such ellipse as 'qui ita natus erat ut . . . esset.' The references given to 1. 11, 4; 13. 1, 2, seem hardly apposite.

11. **haruspicum.** On this college see 11. 15, 1, foll.

12. **validum . . . occultum.** These appear to refer in sense not so much to 'caput' as to the conspiracy implied in 'parari . . . caput.'

in utero repressum, explained by Ern. to mean that the head had been distorted in the womb and attached to the hind quarters, so as not to come to its proper strength and development. Thus the conspiracy would be frustrated by internal discord.

13. **aut**='et rursus' (cp. 'tolerans aut declinans' 6. 51, 3, and many other instances in Gerber and Greef, Lex. pp. 124–126). As 'utero repressum' answers

48. Ineunt deinde consulatum Silius Nerva et Atticus Vest nus, coepta simul et aucta coniuratione, in quam certatim nomi dederant senatores eques miles, feminae etiam, cum odio Neron tum favore in C. Pisonem. is Calpurnio genere ortus ac mult insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus, claro apu vulgum rumore erat per virtutem aut species virtutibus simile namque facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat, largitionem ad versum amicos, et ignotis quoque comi sermone et congressu

to 'non fore validum,' so this clause answers to 'neque occultum.' Nipp. follows Ern. in reading 'et.'

editum sit. Similar uses of the perf. subjunct. for the pluperf. are found in 1. 10, 1, etc.

1. **Silius Nerva et Atticus Vestinus.** Their full names are given in Phleg. de Mir. 23, as A. Licinius Nerva Silianus and M. Vestinus Atticus. Nipp. shows that the former name might be also written A. Licinius Silius Nerva, and that this person is probably grandson of the consul of the same name in 760, A. D. 7 (Arg. Dio 55), and son of the consul of 781, A. D. 28 (4. 68, 1). The other consul was no doubt one of the sons of the Viennese knight, for whom honours are bespoken in the 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 11. (See Appendix to Book 11).

2. **coepta,** etc.; 'after a conspiracy had been set on foot and had gathered strength at once.' That the participles are to be taken in a past sense is pointed out by Nipp. as shown by the tense of 'dederant.' We should gather from 14. 65, 2, that the first movement had taken place in 815–816, A. D. 62–63, and from c. 50, 6, that it had been intended to kill Nero during the confusion at the time of the fire. That the plot was detected and suppressed in the latter part of April in this year will appear from the notes on c. 53, 1; 70, 1.

nomina dederant: cp. 14. 15, 1, and note.

3. **senatores eques miles.** On the change of number see Introd. 1. v. § 2.

4. **C. Pisonem.** The parentage of this C. Calpurnius Piso is unknown. Gaius Caesar took from him his wife Livia Orestilla at the wedding feast, restored her in a few days, but afterwards exiled the pair for having resumed intercourse (Suet. Cal. 25; Dio 59. 8, 7). The old Schol. on Juv. 5, 105 mentions his return under Claudius, his consulship (which Baiter thinks may have been as su in 801, A. D. 48), and enrichment by i heritance from his mother, also his fa as a tragic actor and chessplayer, and h munificent gifts to clients and othe His name occurs among the Arvales fro 791, A. D. 38; and the record (C. I. vi. 1. 2028–2048) would show that h exile cannot have begun till after Ju 793, A. D. 40 (after which there are more Tables till 796, A. D. 43). Ma particulars are recorded in a panegy on him of 261 lines (see Bährens, Po Lat. Min. i. 220–236), which has be assigned to Saleius Bassus and oth authors, and with more probability Calpurnius, whose name would point his having been a client of the fami On his second wife and his death s c. 59; on the death of his son, H. 4. 11,

5. **complexus,** 'uniting': cp. 2. 82,

claro rumore erat: cp. 3. 76, 2.

7. **tuendis civibus.** He took t popular side, that of the defence; Suillius falsely claims to have done (42, 4). This, and his eloquence in doi so, are celebrated by his panegyrist 32, 39, 40): 'cum tua maestos Defensu reos vocem facundia mittet.'

adversum 'towards': cp. 11. 4, etc. In this trait also, as well as th of his courtesy, Tacitus follows the pan gyrist (v. 109).

8. **et ignotis quoque.** The dat., a cording to this stopping, depends on th abl. of quality 'comi . . . congressu,' whi is substituted for another accus. (such 'comitatem') depending upon 'exerceb (cp. a similar change in 11. 21, 4); ' . . . quoque' being used as in 4. 7, 4, e Orelli and Nipp. place the comma af 'ignotis,' which is thus taken, witho precedent, to depend on 'exercebat,' a can hardly be defended by such instan of interchange of the dat. with acc. and prep. as those cited from 12. 55, 13. 21, 9; 14. 38, 5. Nipp. thinks Taci

lerant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum, decora facies: sed rocul gravitas morum aut voluptatum parsimonia; levitati ac agnificentiae et aliquando luxu indulgebat. idque pluribus robabatur, qui in tanta vitiorum dulcedine summum imperium on restrictum nec perseverum volunt.

49. Initium coniurationi non a cupidine ipsius fuit; nec men facile memoraverim, quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu ncitum sit quod tam multi sumpserunt. promptissimos ubrium Flavum tribunum praetoriae cohortis et Sulpicium sprum centurionem extitisse constantia exitus docuit: et ucanus Annaeus Plautiusque Lateranus vivida odia intulere. ucanum propriae causae accendebant, quod famam carminum us premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimula-

ly have written 'ignotos,' but even thus e sentence would have a weak ending.

2. **parsimonia**, 'sparingness.' Jacob es an approach to this meaning from aut. Most. 1. 3, 78 ('dies noctesque ur, bibitur, neque quisquam parcimon- n adhibet'). Dr. illustrates this use the objective genit. by such expressions 'vulgi largitio,' 'adpulsu litoris' (H. 46, 7; 2. 59, 2).

levitati: so most edd. after Ern. the Med. 'lenitati,' which could hardly used otherwise than in a good sense; l 'levitas' is naturally opposed to avitas,' as 'magnificentia' and 'luxus' 'parsimonia.'

3. **luxu**: on this form of dat. cp. 3. 4, and note.

pluribus: cp. 'pluribus ipsa li- tia placebat' (14. 21, 1).

. **restrictum**, 'strict'; so used ad- ively only here, and in Appul. etc.; the adv. has this sense in Cic. etc. c. so uses 'adstrictus mos' (3. 55, 5), 'adductius imperitare' (H. 3. 7, 2): note on 12. 7, 6.

perseverum, *ἅπ. εἰρ.*: cp. 'persim- x' (c. 45, 6), and note.

. **ipsius**: sc. 'Pisonis.'

. **Subrium Flavum.** The Med. text uium' is thus corrected by Bekk. and sequent edd. from the other places in ch the name occurs (c. 58, 4; 67, 1 ; 'flaus' c. 50, 6). In Dio (62. 24, 1) *βιος* (or *Σούβριος*) *Φλαούιος* is read.

Sulpicium Asprum. The second ne is *Ἄπρος* (or *Ἄσπρος*) in Dio (l. c.).

0. **exitus**, often used of death, as in 3, 4, 1. 10, 2, etc.

1. **Lucanus Annaeus**, here first mentioned. According to an old life prefixed to his works, he was only twenty-six at the time of his death (c. 70, 1); but the biography ascribed to Suet. states that he had been already quaestor. On his father, the brother of Seneca, see 16. 17, 4. The enumeration of his works in the anonymous life above mentioned can be partly illustrated from Stat. Sylv. 2. 7, and other writers. On his relations to Nero, and his expressions of opinion in the 'Pharsalia,' see Introd. p. 76, foll.

Plautius Lateranus, nephew of Plautius Silvanus, the first legatus of Britain (see 11. 36, 5, etc.). The words 'consul designatus' here following in Med. appear to be interpolated, as that fact is mentioned just below in an appropriate connexion with 'nulla iniuria.' Ritt. retains the words here and brackets those below.

intulere, brought into the plot. Doed. compares 'misericordiam . . . simul atque intuleris' (Cic. de Or. 2. 53, 214).

13. **ostentare**, 'to display his talent' by publication or recitation. It has been doubted whether the whole of the 'Pharsalia' had not been at least made known in the latter way (see Introd. p. 77, 2); and the statement of Dio (62. 29, 4) and the anonymous biographer, that he was forbidden to write poetry at all, is an apparent exaggeration; as are perhaps other stories told of their literary rivalries; though the general fact of such rivalry (see Heitland, Introd. to Lucan, p. xxviii) may be accepted.

vanus adsimulatione, 'vainglorious in his comparison' (of himself to Lucan). The noun is not elsewhere used by Tacitus,

tione: Lateranum consulem designatum nulla iniuria, sed an rei publicae sociavit. at Flavius Scaevinus et Afranius Qu tianus, uterque senatorii ordinis, contra famam sui principi tanti facinoris capessivere. nam Scaevino dissoluta luxu m et proinde vita somno languida: Quintianus mollitia corp infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus contumel ultum ibat.

50. Ergo dum scelera principis, et finem adesse impe deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret, inter se aut in amicos iaciunt, adgregavere Claudium Senecionem, Cervari Proculum, Vulcatium Araricum, Iulium Augurinum, Munati Gratum, Antonium Natalem, Marcium Festum, equites Ron nos. ex quibus Senecio, e praecipua familiaritate Nero speciem amicitiae etiam tum retinens eo pluribus pericu conflictabatur; Natalis particeps ad omne secretum Pis erat; ceteris spes ex novis rebus petebatur. adscitae su super Subrium et Sulpicium, de quibus rettuli, militares man

and is otherwise rare; but the meaning here given may be illustrated from that of 'adsimulantem' in c. 39, 3. Nipp. follows Lips. and Urs. in reading 'aemulatione,' taking it to mean 'made foolish by jealousy,' supposing that he could suppress the fame of Lucan by such paltry devices. A story of some apparent affront is given in the Vit. Suet. 'aegre ferens recitante se subito ac nulla nisi refrigerandi sui causa indicto senatu Neronem recessisse.'

2. **Flavius Scaevinus**: see c. 53, 3, etc.

Afranius Quintianus: see c. 56, 4; 70, 2.

3. **famam sui**, 'their reputation' (cp. 2. 13, 1; Introd. i. v. § 33 a).

principium . . . capessivere, 'took the lead': cp. 'primas sibi partes expostulante Scaevino' (c. 53, 3). The words here point the contrast of 'contra famam sui.' Nipp. thinks that allusion is also implied to their subsequent weakness (c. 56, 3, 4).

5. **somno**, 'indolence': cp. 'somno et luxu pudendus' (H. 2. 90, 1).

mollitia corporis: cp. 11. 2, 1.

6. **probroso carmine.** Another lampoon of Nero on one Clodius Pollio, of praetorian rank, is alluded to in Suet. Dom. 1.

diffamatus: cp. 14. 22, 5, and note.

8. **finem adesse**: probably an allusion to the augury of the comet (c. 47, 1).

9. **fessis rebus succurreret**: f Verg. Aen. 11, 335.

10. **iaciunt**, 'they drop hints': cp. 1. 8, etc.

adgregavere: sc. 'sibi' ('t gathered to themselves'). Dr. note parallel ellipse of 'iis' in Caes. B. G 26, 1 ('alius alia ex navi, quibuscun signis occurreret, se adgregabat').

Claudium Senecionem: see 13. 1. The other knights here mentio are previously unknown. Proculus again mentioned in c. 66, 3; 71, Natalis in c. 54, 1; 55, 6; etc. name 'Claudium' is here wron 'Tullium' in Med.; also 'Vulcatium' correction of Rhen. (cp. 4. 43, 8; 16 3; H. 4. 9, 2) for 'uulgacium.' 'Augurinum,' old edd. read 'Tugurin and 'Aurinum.'

13. **ex quibus.** This, as Jacob po out, extends its force also to 'Nata and 'ceteri.' The two first had spe reasons for joining, Senecio as expose danger from the conspirators themsel on the ground of friendship to Ne Natalis, as intimately connected with head of the conspiracy; the others st on equal ground as having something hope for from a revolution.

e praecipua familiaritate = praecipuis familiaribus'; abstr. for co as 'amicitia' in 2. 27, 3, etc.

17. **militares manus**, ἅπ. εἰρ.

avius Silvanus et Statius Proximus tribuni cohortium prae-riarum, Maximus Scaurus et Venetus Paulus centuriones. sed mmum robur in Faenio Rufo praefecto videbatur, quem vita naque laudatum per saevitiam inpudicitiamque Tigellinus animo principis anteibat, fatigabatque criminationibus ac epe in metum adduxerat quasi adulterum Agrippinae et siderio eius ultioni intentum. igitur ubi coniuratis prae-tum quoque praetorii in partes descendisse crebro ipsius ser-one facta fides, promptius iam de tempore ac loco caedis itabant. et cepisse impetum Subrius Flavus ferebatur in ena canentem Neronem adgrediendi, aut cum ardente domo noctem huc illuc cursaret incustoditus. hic occasio solitu-is, ibi ipsa frequentia tanti decoris testis pulcherrima animum stimulaverant, nisi impunitatis cupido retinuisset, magnis nper conatibus adversa.

litares viri' (c. 26, 3, etc.). The ession has, no doubt, special reference e action on hand.

Gavius Silvanus: see c. 60, 6; 4. His antecedents are shown by an iption (Or. 3568; C. I. L. v. 2. 7003) d at Turin (which may have been his place): 'C. Gavio, L. f., Stell.(atina), Silvano, primipilari leg. viii. (ustae), tribuno coh. ii. vigilum, tri- coh. xiii. urban(ae), tribuno coh. praetor(iae), donis donato a divo d(io), bello Britannico, torquibus, ar-s, phaleris, corona aurea, patrono i(ae), d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).' This iption gives evidence of the increase e praetorian cohorts since the time of rius (see 4. 5, 5; Introd. p. 36, 2).

atius Proximus: see c. 71, 4.

Faenio Rufo, appointed joint ect with Tigellinus on the death of us: see 14. 51, 5, and note.

a famaque; so coupled in 6. 51, or 'fama laudatum,' cp. 'celeberri- fama' (c. 37, 2, and note).

in animo principis, 'in the good- of the prince': cp. 4. 12, 6; 12. 3, d note.

adulterum Agrippinae: he had ne praef. annonae during her lifetime 22, 1), and evidently through her nce.

cepisse impetum, 'conceived an se,' an analogous phrase to 'cepisse ium.' Cp. 'infregit impetum' (c. .

in scaena canentem. Nipp. thinks the occasion would be the Juvenalia; which may have been kept up until the date of the conspiracy (see note on 14. 15, 1). There may also have been other such occasions as that mentioned in c. 33, 2.

11. **ardente domo**, during the fire of the preceding year (c. 39, 1). The conspiracy, as shown in 14. 65, 2, had originated before that date; and to take advantage of such an occasion, though it could not have entered into the plan of the conspirators, might well have been a sudden impulse ('impetus'). It is remarkable, on the other hand, that no such conduct on the part of Nero is related at the time by Tacitus or any other author; whence Orelli and Madvig may be right in thinking the sentence corrupt; though such emendations as 'abscedens domo,' 'arte dormiente domo,' 'ardens amore,' are infelicitous.

12. **hic . . . ibi**, 'in this case . . . in that.' Nipp. compares Agr. 32, 5, 'hic dux, hic exercitus, ibi tributa,' etc.

13. **pulcherrima**: so most modern edd. after Urlichs: the old edd., with Med., read 'pulcherrimum' (taken with 'animum'), which Baiter retains. Orelli had previously read 'pulcherrimum ad facinus.' Ritt. inserts 'eius' after 'animum.'

14. **exstimulaverant.** This, the correction by an old hand of the original Med. text, 'exstimulauerat,' has been generally followed, and is in accordance

51. Interim cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem ac metun Epicharis quaedam, incertum quonam modo sciscitata (nequ illi ante ulla rerum honestarum cura fuerat), accendere et arguer coniuratos, ac postremum lentitudinis eorum pertaesa et i Campania agens primores classiariorum Misenensium labefacer et conscientia inligare conisa est tali initio. erat navarchus i ea classe Volusius Proculus, occidendae matris Neroni inte ministros, non ex magnitudine sceleris provectus, ut rebatu is mulieri olim cognitus, seu recens orta amicitia, dum merit erga Neronem sua et quam in inritum cecidissent aperit adicitqu questus et destinationem vindictae, si facultas oreretur, spe dedit posse inpelli et plures conciliare: nec leve auxilium i classe, crebras occasiones, quia Nero multo apud Puteolos e Misenum maris usu laetabatur. ergo Epicharis plura et omni

with Tacitean usage: see 3. 62, 1, and note; Halm, Not. Crit. on 16. 20, 2. On the indic. see Introd. i. v. § 50 b. 2.

impunitatis cupido, etc. Nipp. notes the similar sentiment 'spe vitae, quae plerumque magnos animos infringit' (H. 5. 26, 1).

1. **cunctantibus prolatantibusque,** concise abl. abs. (see Introd. i. v. § 31, c.). Here 'coniuratis' can be supplied from the accus. below, as the accus. from the abl. in c. 30, 1.

spem ac metum. Their hesitation prolonged the period of uncertainty, instead of bringing hopes and fears to an end by decision.

2. **sciscitata.** This word implies active inquiry, not chance knowledge; and the context may be taken to imply that such interest in it on her part was unexpected. But we should expect some such words as 'quam ob causam' rather than 'quonam modo,' and there is some reason for the conjecture 'suscitata' (Vertran.), which Madvig (Adv. iii. 237) thinks required by the context.

3. **accendere et arguere,** 'kindles their spirit and censures their feebleness.' The conjecture 'urguere' (Halm and Ritt., after Pluygers) is needless.

4. **pertaesa.** This participle appears to be elsewhere always used impersonally with such a genit., or personally with accus. (Suet.).

et . . . agens; another reason for her conduct is subjoined. She was weary of their dilatoriness, and, being in Campania, had an opportunity of acting on her own impulse.

5. **primores,** 'the officers.' Nip compares 'primores castrorum' (H. 31, 3).

labefacere, 'to undermine'; in th sense of 'fidem eorum labefacere' (c Suet. Vesp. 4). Tacitus elsewhere uses in the sense of shaking a person's positi (4. 60, 4; 6. 29, 5).

6. **conscientia inligare,** 'to entang them in complicity': cp. 'conscient matris innexum' (3. 10, 4). 'Conito is so used with inf. in Liv. 9. 31, 12.

navarchus: Med. has 'era uarchus' (Ritt.). Several older edd. h followed Lips. in reading 'chiliarchu (with some inferior MSS.); but no su naval officer is known. The te 'nauarchus' appears to be distinct inscriptions from 'trierarchus' (see He zen, Ind. p. 142), and denotes, accordi to Vegetius (5, 2), the captain of Liburnian ship ('singulae Liburnae sing los nauarchos . . . habebant'), but m sometimes be used of a 'trierarchus,' perhaps 'liburnica' of a 'triremis' (s note on 16. 14, 5, and cp. H. 2. 16, 2, etc Proculus is not mentioned in the narrati of the death of Agrippina (14. 5–8).

9. **recens,** adv., as in 2. 21, 1; 12. 2, etc.

merita . . . et quam, etc. On t coordination of a noun with such sentence see Introd. i. v. § 91, 8.

10. **in inritum cecidissent:** cp. 39, 3.

11. **destinationem vindictae,** ' purpose of vengeance.'

14. **plura.** Madvig (Adv. ii. 5 thinks the verb of speaking can hardly

ɜra principis orditur; neque senatui *neque populo* quidquam ere. sed provisum quonam modo poenas eversae rei pub- daret: accingeretur modo navare operam et militum rimos ducere in partes, ac digna pretia exspectaret; nomina en coniuratorum reticuit. unde Proculi indicium inritum quamvis ea quae audierat ad Neronem detulisset. accita pe Epicharis et cum indice composita nullis testibus in- n facile confutavit. sed ipsa in custodia retenta est, ectante Nerone haud falsa esse etiam quae vera non pro- ntur.

2. Coniuratis tamen metu proditionis permotis placitum ırare caedem apud Baias in villa Pisonis, cuius amoenitate ıs Caesar crebro ventitabat balneasque et epulas inibat sis excubiis et fortunae suae mole. sed abnuit Piso, invi- praetendens, si sacra mensae dique hospitales caede scumque principis cruentarentur: melius apud urbem in ıvisa et spoliis civium exstructa domo vel in publico patra-

ɜd from 'orditur'; and would deplorare,' which does not suit the t well.

eque senatui, etc. Halm adopts Madvig (l. l.), with a variation of this emendation of the Med. senatui quid manere,' which has ise to many conjectures; one of that of Thomas ('neque sancti nanere'), is adopted by Orelli, and Jacob. The latter, however, that the Med. text as it stands express the aristocratic language Epicharis was but repeating, ng to which the retrenchment of rogative of the senate was tanta- o 'eversio reipublicae.'

cingeretur. The inf. after this pears to be taken from Verg. G. 'accingar dicere pugnas'): see i. v. § 43.

partes, 'to the party' (of con- s): cp. 2. 43, 3.

amvis, here used, like 'quam- o denote a fact ('although he had '): cp. 11. 20, 3, etc.; Introd. i.

mposita, 'confronted'; in a sense that borrowed from the arena (cp. 16. 10, 3, and notes).

nfutavit, 'silenced him'; so re verbis' (Ter. Heaut. 5. 1, 76; 3. 1, 13), 'audaciam confutet' rt. Or. 38, 134), etc.

9. **suspectante**: cp. 1. 5, 1, and note.
quae vera, etc., 'that what was not proved to be true might yet not be false.'

13. **ventitabat**: 'eo' can be supplied from 'cuius,' which therefore need not be altered (with Pichena) to 'quo, eius.'

balneas. Med. has here 'ualneas,' and in H. 3. 11, 3, 'balnearum,' but elsewhere either the form 'balneum' (c. 64, 5; 69, 3; 14. 64, 3) or 'balineae' (H. 3. 32, 5; 83, 2; probably also 16. 11, 4; H. 2. 16, 5), to which form Ritt. corrects these places.

14. **fortunae suae mole,** 'the cumbrous pride of his state,' i.e. the retinue belonging to his rank: 'moles' is used for the burden of empire in 1. 4, 3, etc. For the sense of 'fortuna' cp. 14. 53, 3, etc.

invidiam, the odium attaching to such an act (2. 65, 6; 13. 15, 4).

15. **sacra mensae**: cp. 13. 17, 3, and note: here 'di hospitales' seems to be explanatory, and to mean the Lares.

16. **qualiscumque principis,** 'of a prince, however wicked.'

in illa . . . domo: cp. c. 42, 1, and note. Dr. notes the emphasis laid on the epithets by the order of words, as in Dial. 12, 4 ('apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges'). Tacitus appears to forget that the building of the new palace could only just have been commenced. Nero was residing, at the time of the intended

turos quod pro re publica suscepissent. haec in commu ceterum timore occulto, ne L. Silanus eximia nobilitate di plinaque C. Cassii, apud quem educatus erat, ad omnem cl tudinem sublatus imperium invaderet, prompte daturis qu coniuratione integri essent quique miserarentur Neronem t quam per scelus interfectum. plerique Vestini quoque cons acre ingenium vitavisse Pisonem crediderunt, ne ad libertat oreretur, vel delecto imperatore alio sui muneris rem public faceret. etenim expers coniurationis erat, quamvis super crimine Nero vetus adversum insontem odium expleverit.

53. Tandem statuere circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri c bratur, exsequi destinata, quia Caesar rarus egressu domo

attack, in the Servilian Gardens (c. 55, 1).

1. **in commune,** 'before all' (in contrast to 'timore occulto'): cp. c. 63, 1, and note. The phrase has more generally the sense of 'communiter,' as in 3. 27, 5; 13. 27, 6; 15. 12, 6, etc.

2. **ceterum** = 'revera autem': cp. 1. 10, 1, and note.

timore occulto, etc. The fear was lest Silanus and Vestinus should be able to take prompt measures in Rome on Nero's death, without any one to counteract them on the spot.

Silanus, L. Junius Silanus Torquatus, a direct descendant of Augustus (see Introd. i. ix. p. 139). A Greek inscription (C. I. G. 369) shows him to have been 'flamen Iulianus,' one of the 'sodales Augustales' (1. 54, 1), and to have held the youthful offices of 'praefectus urbis' ('ob ferias Latinas': cp. 4. 36, 1) and 'triumvir monetalis,' probably also to have been 'quaestor Neronis' (this part is mutilated). On his death, see 16. 7, 2, foll.

3. **C. Cassii,** the jurist; see 12. 11, 4, and note.

ad omnem claritudinem: sc. 'capessendam.'

4. **prompte daturis,** 'since those would readily give it' ('imperium' is supplied from the context). The old edd. all read 'daturis operam,' with inferior MSS.

a coniuratione integri. This construction is rare, but classical: cp. Sall. H. 1. 52 D, 55 K, 62 G ('a populi suffragiis integer'); Caes. B. G. 3. 26, 2 ('integrae [v. l. 'intritae'] ab labore'); Liv. 9. 41, 8 ('gentis integrae a cladibus').

7. **acre ingenium,** 'the ener spirit.' On Vestinus see c. 48, 1, note.

ad libertatem oreretur, 'sh lead a movement to a republican co tution.' This seems to be the correction of the Med. text 'ad libe moreretur' (cp. the text in 11. 23, 7); such a sense of 'orior' is wholly unp dented. Jac. Gron. would read 'm retur' (a word hardly suitable t 'acre ingenium'); Lips. 'aut libert moliretur.' For the sense of 'libe cp. 1. 33, 4, etc.

8. **sui muneris,** 'matter of his stowal.' The genit. is analogou 'morum' (1. 80, 2), 'flagitii' (3. 2 see Introd. i. v. § 35. The expre may show a trace of Hor. Od. 4. ('totum muneris hoc tui est').

9. **super eo crimine,** 'in relati that charge'; i.e. taking it as a pre cp. 'biduum super hac imagine nitionis absumptum' (3. 17, 6); 6. 49, 3; c. 36, 2, etc.

10. **vetus .... odium expleverit** c. 68 and 69.

11. **circensium ... die**: cp. 'Circen Cerealium ludicrum' (c. 74, 1). T games to Ceres are shown by old kale (Or. Insc. ii. p. 388, foll.) and by O 4, 389, foll., to have begun on the 12 April and lasted to the 19th, and to been circensian on the first and last The date of the festival fixes that o discovery of the plot.

12. **rarus egressu.** The form c pression is varied from that of 14. ('rarus in publicum egressus,' sc. ' paeae') and 14. 56, 6 ('rarus per ur sc. 'Seneca'); and the constructi here that of a supine: cp. 3. 1,

ıortis clausus ad ludicra circi ventitabat promptioresque s erant laetitia spectaculi. ordinem insidiis composuerant, ıteranus, quasi subsidium rei familiari oraret, deprecabundus nibus principis accidens prosterneret incautum premeretque, i validus et corpore ingens. tum iacentem et impeditum ıi et centuriones et ceterorum, ut quisque audentiae habuisdcurrerent trucidarentque, primas sibi partes expostulante ino, qui pugionem templo Salutis sive, ut alii tradidere, ınae Ferentino in oppido detraxerat gestabatque velut o operi sacrum. interim Piso apud aedem Cereris opperi-

etc., also 'rarius dictu' (Gell. 9.

aetitia spectaculi, causal abl., to the gaiety of the show' (all ff their guard). Prof. Holbrooke es 'convivii laetitia' (13. 16, 7).

posuerant, 'they had arranged': o, 3, and note.

ıasi subsidium . . . oraret: for peals from individuals to the prince 5, 6; 2. 37, 1, etc.

ecabundus, ἅπ. εἰρ. It is hat the plan of attack resembles opted in the assassination of Julius

ıimi: on this genit. see Introd. e γ.

ibuni et centuriones, i. e. the men who had joined the plot ; 50, 3). The insertion of 'caeafter the latter word (Ritt.) would se persons a prominence inconwith that claimed here by Scae-

uisque audentiae habuisset: ' is supplied again with 'ceter- The genit. with 'habere' is a a, adopted from a frequent use of of respect with ἔχειν (also with l κεῖσθαι), as ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαdt. 8. 107, 2), ὥς τις εὐνοίας ἢ χοι (Thuc. i. 22, 3): see Jelf § 528. 'Audentia' is used only od sense (G. 31, 1; 34, 3); 'authe reading here of some inferior d old edd.) is more frequently ı malam partem.'

currerent. The simple accus. verb, found (according to Dr.) only in Apul., is analogous to ıer such in Tacitus (see Introd. i.); and the irregularity is here (as Nipp. points out) by the of 'trucidarent.'

8. **Salutis sive . . . Fortunae.** It is probable, as Orelli notes, that the same goddess is really meant, both names being synonyms for the Tuscan Nortia (on whom see Juv. 10, 74, and Mayor ad loc.). The words 'in Etruria,' inserted after 'Salutis' in Med., have been bracketed or omitted as a gloss by most edd. after Ern., who rightly notes that so vague a description would not have been used.

9. **Ferentino in oppido.** The place meant is probably not the old Latin or Hernican town (Liv. 4. 51. 7, etc.), but another of the same name in Etruria (now Ferento, near Viterbo), known as the birthplace of the emperor Otho (H. 2. 50, 1; Suet. Oth. 1). Med. here has the corrupt name 'frentano,' but in H. l. l. reads 'ferentio,' which Nipp. takes to give the correct form of the name, as supported by the best MSS. of Suet. (l. l. and Vesp. 3) and 'Ferentienses' in Insc. Henzen, 6634. On the other hand, Strabo (5. 2, 9, 226) and Plin. (N. H. 3. 5, 8, 52) give the name as 'Ferentinum,' as do also some MSS. in Suet.; and Orelli reads 'Ferentinensium' in Insc. 3507. Ptol. gives the name (3. 1, 50) as Φερεντία.

detraxerat. The dagger had probably been dedicated as a votive offering. Orelli notes the presentation to Vitellius of the sword of Julius Caesar, 'detractum delubro Martis,' at the beginning of his career as emperor (Suet. Vit. 8). Scaevinus himself gives a different story (c. 55, 3).

gestabat. The wearing must have been concealed (see 4. 21, 3; 11. 22, 1).

10. **aedem Cereris,** near the Circus Maximus (2. 49, 1). The narrative would imply that this, and the Circus itself, had been already restored since the fire (see note on c. 40. 4).

retur, unde eum praefectus Faenius et ceteri accitum ferre in castra, comitante Antonia Claudii Caesaris filia ad eliciendu vulgi favorem, quod C. Plinius memorat. nobis quoquo mod traditum non occultare in animo fuit, quamvis absurdum vid retur aut inanem ad spem Antoniam nomen et periculum cor modavisse, aut Pisonem notum amore uxoris alii matrimonio obstrinxisse, nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis adfectibus flagra tior est.

54. Sed mirum quam inter diversi generis ordinis, aetat sexus, dites pauperes taciturnitate omnia cohibita sint, don proditio coepit e domo Scaevini; qui pridie insidiarum mul sermone cum Antonio Natale, dein regressus domum testame tum obsignavit, promptum vagina pugionem, de quo sup

1. **ferrent in castra**: on this custom at the choice of an emperor see 12. 69, 1, and note.

2. **Antonia**: see 12. 2, 1, etc. Some such story as that which Tacitus rejects appears (whether true or not) to have been made a pretext for putting her to death, soon after the time at which the Annals now end: cp. Suet. Ner. 35 ('Antoniam Claudi filiam, recusantem post Poppaeae mortem nuptias suas, quasi molitricem novarum rerum interemit').

3. **C. Plinius**: see 13. 20, 3, Introd. I. iii. p. 12, and note on 13. 31, 1: for such refutations of current stories cp. 4. 10, 1, foll., etc.

quoquo modo, 'truly or falsely': cp. 'quoquo modo audita' (3. 19, 3).

5. **inanem ad spem**, such a hope as that of becoming wife of Piso as emperor; a mere possibility, which the historian thinks could not even have been held out to her.

6. **commodavisse**, used more strictly with 'nomen,' but capable of being taken also with 'periculum' in the sense of undergoing danger in the hope of reward. Jacob compares such expressions as 'commodare sanguinem' (Agr. 32, 2), 'scelera' (Sen. Med. 907).

amore uxoris: see c. 59, 8.

7. **obstrinxisse**. This verb appears to be used elsewhere with the dat. only in Lactant. Inst. 3. 18, 6, in the sense rather of becoming guilty ('eidem sceleri obstrictus est').

nisi si, suggesting a motive which might make such an act possible. In other places where the indic. follows (see 6. 25, 1 and note), the expression is equivalent to 'nisi forte,' and is probably be so taken here. The meaning 'w it not that' is found in G. 2, 2, with subjunct. ('nisi si patria sit').

9. **diversi generis**, 'persons of ferent family.'

10. **taciturnitate**: 'tacere' has a m limited meaning than 'silere,' denot the refraining from speaking by an eff of will.

11. **proditio coepit**, etc. Pluta gives (περὶ ἀδολεσχ. 7) an entirely differ account, making the discovery take pl through the indiscreet remark of the pr cipal assassin (Scaevinus?) to a crimi about to be brought before Nero ('p that this day may pass over you, and y shall return thanks to me to-morrow'; which led to his arrest and confess under torture. Lips. endeavoured to concile the stories by supposing this refer to the Vinician conspiracy (Su Ner. 36); but that took place at Be ventum, and the scene of this anecdote s laid by Plutarch at Rome. Natalis s been mentioned in c. 50, 1.

multo sermone. It has been sho at length by J. H. Müller (Beitr. iv. 39–45) that no verb need be inser here: the expression may be taken as e of the frequent concise uses in Tac of the abl. abs. (Introd. i. v. § 31), better as a concise abl. of quality (I. § 29), similar to those in 14. 23, 3, perhaps in 6. 20, 1. The ellipse of 'fuerat,' or 'egerat,' as here, is also co mon with Tacitus (Id. §§ 38, 39).

13. **promptum vagina.** This use of the abl. of place whence is poetical: 6. 40, 1, and note; Dr. Synt. und Stil, 5

tuli, vetustate obtusum increpans, asperari saxo et in mucro-n ardescere iussit eamque curam liberto Milicho mandavit. ıul adfluentius solito convivium initum, servorum carissimi ertate et alii pecunia donati. atque ipse maestus et magnae itationis manifestus erat, quamvis laetitiam vagis sermonibus ularet. postremo vulneribus ligamenta quibusque sistitur guis parare eundem Milichum monet, sive gnarum coniura-ıis et illuc usque fidum, seu nescium et tunc primum arreptis picionibus, ut plerique tradidere de consequentibus. nam ı secum servilis animus praemia perfidiae reputavit simulque ensa pecunia et potentia obversabantur, cessit fas et salus roni et acceptae libertatis memoria. etenim uxoris quoque silium adsumpserat muliebre ac deterius: quippe ultro metum

pra rettuli, c. 53, 3.

asperari, used similarly of making s for arrows in G. 46. 3 ('sagittas, a ferri, ossibus asperant'). The is mainly poetical, and is used er by Tacitus metaphorically (e. g. 5).

mucronem ardescere. Nipp. ares 'nisi cotibus asper Exarsit ' (Luc. 7, 139) and 'semper ar-s acuens sagittas Cote cruenta' (Hor. . 8, 15); in both of which passages, re, the verb appears to imply the g by friction. For the use of 'in' press the result ('so as to get a ') see Introd. i. v. § 60 b.

Milicho, a slave name, denoting y (μείλιχος), like 'Pudens,' 'Modes-Tranquillus,' and many others.

adfluentius, 'more luxurious': cp. entia' (3. 30, 4).

alii. These are probably part of carissimi'; the expression being lent to 'alii . . . alii': see 1. 63, note); 12. 41, 5.

manifestus, with genit. as in 2. 85, 51, 5, etc.

is sermonibus, probably to be with Orelli, to mean 'desultory sations,' rambling from one subject ther, showing forced brilliancy and y. Such a sense is unusual and different from 'vago rumore' (2. or 'completque vagis (sc. "late ") sermonibus aures Gloria fusa (Claud. Prob. et Olybr. cons. 34); is possible that 'variis' should be p. 'vario sermone serebant' (Verg. , 160).

arare, the reading of nearly all edd. from Put.; though some attempts have been made to approach nearer to the Med. text 'partiebatque,' such as 'partiebat, idque' (Ritt.), 'petebat, quae' (Haase), 'parat, itemque' (Halm, Not. Crit.). The true reading must be considered wholly uncertain.

9. **de consequentibus.** It seems impossible to take these words with 'tradidere,' in any such sense as that of 'ex consequentibus coniectantes,' 'drawing an inference from his subsequent conduct' (inferring from his prompt betrayal that he would have so acted sooner if he had known the plot). Yet the force of 'nam' is lost if we follow Orelli in taking the words with 'suspicionibus' (by placing a comma after 'tradidere'), in the sense of 'having caught up a suspicion as to the consequences' (i. e. as to what might be likely to follow). It would thus seem that the words are corrupt; but no emendation has been proposed, beyond that of Heins. and Nipp., who bracket them. It may be noted that the disclosures of Milichus, as given in c. 55, 1, imply more knowledge than is here mentioned.

13. **muliebre ac deterius.** The first adjective explains the other (='muliebre atque ideo deterius'). Her baser counsel consists in the suggestion that others might be before him in betrayal.

ultro metum intentabat, i. e. she was so far from reasoning against his former motives, those of cupidity (§ 5), that she added another. 'She went on to hold over his head the thought of danger.' 'Intentare metum' is noted by Dr. as a new phrase; but we have 'terror . . . intentabatur' (3. 28, 6); 'necem

intentabat, multosque adstitisse libertos ac servos, qui eade viderint; nihil profuturum unius silentium; at praemia pen unum fore, qui indicio praevenisset.

55. Igitur coepta luce Milichus in hortos Servilianos pergi et cum foribus arceretur, magna et atrocia adferre dictita deductusque ab ianitoribus ad libertum Neronis Epaphroditu mox ab eo ad Neronem, urguens periculum, graves coniurat et cetera quae audierat coniectaverat docet. telum quoq in necem eius paratum ostendit accirique reum iussit. is rapt per milites et defensionem orsus, ferrum, cuius argueretur, oli religione patria cultum et in cubiculo habitum ac fraude libe subreptum respondit, tabulas testamenti saepius a se et incust dita dierum observatione signatas. pecunias et libertates serv

intentat' (14. 62, 5), etc. 'Metus' is taken in the sense of 'metuendum aliquid,' as in c. 45, 2, etc.

1. **multosque**, etc.; a verb of speaking is supplied. Nipp. well supplies the connexion between the sentences. In the former she had roused his fears by showing that, if the plot were detected through other means, he would have to fear being taken for an accomplice; she then shows that such discovery was highly probable.

2. **viderint**. Nipp. thinks that 'audierint' should be added, as referring to the command to sharpen the sword. Heins. would alter 'viderint' to 'audierint.' The perf. appears to be used to give life to the narrative.

4. **coepta luce**: cp. 1. 65, 3, etc.

hortos Servilianos. These are mentioned by Suet. (Ner. 47) as the refuge of Nero when he meditated flight to Ostia, and by Tacitus (H. 3. 38, 2) as occupied by Vitellius. The passage in Suet. would show them to have been between the Palatine and the Porta Ostiensis. The site is unknown, but is conjectured by Nibby to have been near the bastion San Gallo.

6. **Epaphroditum** (Med. 'et aphroditum'). This freedman seems to have succeeded Doryphorus (14. 65, 1) in the department 'a libellis,' (Suet. Ner. 49). He helped Nero to his death, for which he was himself put to death by Domitian (Suet. Dom. 14). He was an intimate friend of Josephus, who dedicated to him his Antiquities (Vit. 76; Ant. Pr. 2), and addresses him in c. Ap. 1. 1; 2. 42. He is also noted as having had Epictetus as his slave (Suid. s. v. Ἐπίκτητος); and an anecdote of him is preserved in Arr. Epi 1. 26, 11.

7. **graves**, 'were formidable.' Ni compares such expressions as 'gra hostis,' 'adversarius,' etc. The old e generally read 'coniurationes,' with G.

8. **audierat coniectaverat**. T asyndeton appears to emphasise the l word (see Introd. i. v. § 65). The edd. generally read 'coniectaveratq and Halm follows Wurm in insert 'aut'; but these appear to weaken language.

9. **iussit**. Ritt. thinks this could be said of a freedman, and that 'Ne must be inserted.

10. **cuius argueretur**, 'on which charge against him was grounded.' a concise expression, the sword is tal to mean that which he was charged w intending to do with it. On such pregn meanings of words see Introd. i. v. § 8

11. **religione patria cultum**, 'l been treated with reverence in his fami He denies that it had been taken fr elsewhere, (c. 53, 3), and asserts that had been always kept in his bedroom a family relic.

12. **incustodita dierum observatio**, 'without caring to note the days on wh he did so,' so that it was matter of cident that he had done so on that ticular day. This sense of 'incustodit noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ., is easily deriva from the ordinary meaning (12. 4, 2; 41, 3). Jacob appositely compares 'h observationem custodiri praecepit' (P N. H. 18. 25, 61, 228).

13. **libertates**. The pl. denotes several manumissions.

ante dono datas, sed ideo tunc largius, quia tenui iam re iliari et instantibus creditoribus testamento diffideret. enim-o liberales semper epulas struxisse, vitam amoenam et duris icibus parum probatam. fomenta volneribus nulla iussu suo, quia cetera palam vana obiecisset, adiungere crimen, cuius pariter indicem et testem faceret. adicit dictis constantiam; usat ultro intestabilem et consceleratum, tanta vocis ac vultus uritate, ut labaret indicium, nisi Milichum uxor admonuisset tonium Natalem multa cum Scaevino ac secreta conlocutum esse utrosque C. Pisonis intimos.

56. Ergo accitur Natalis, et diversi interrogantur, quisnam sermo, qua de re fuisset. tum exorta suspicio, quia non gruentia responderant, inditaque vincla. et tormentorum ectum ac minas non tulere: prior tamen Natalis, totius spirationis magis gnarus, simul arguendi peritior, de Pisone

testamento diffideret, he feared his will would be set aside to satisfy creditors. Manumission by will, like legacies, was only ratified after were paid; nor does it appear that ation even during the master's life, ne with intent to defraud creditors, ralid.

imvero, transitional (cp. 2. 64, d note): 'struxisse,' sc. 'se.'

vitam amoenam, etc., 'his life had always luxurious, and such as severe I. 54, 4, and note) critics would prove' (see c. 49, 5). The old read- et vitam' would be taken in the way, with ellipse of 'fuisse' (Introd. § 39), or, less well, by supplying se' by zeugma from 'struxisse.' A ır ellipse has to be supplied with nta.'

quia cetera, etc., 'since the other es resting on patent facts had nothing em.' 'Palam' could hardly have orce of 'plane,' and would appear taken adjectively (cp. 11. 22, 1, and and to contrast the other charges his one.

us se: so most edd. with Acid.; read 'ut sese,' with Pich.; the text is corrupt, being an abbrevia- f 'iussisse.' He was adding a charge wholly on his own evidence, and could neither be supported nor re- 'Index' and 'testis' are similarly guished in 3. 10, 2.

adicit dictis constantiam, ex- d by the following words: 'he adds spirit to his defence,' by turning the tables and denouncing his accuser, with such self-possession as to make an impression. 'Intestabilem' = 'detestabilem': cp. 6. 40, 4.

8. **securitate**, 'unconcern' or 'self-possession': cp. 11. 3, 2, etc.

labaret indicium, 'the informer's story was tottering' (in credit): cp. 'labare defensio' (13. 43, 5).

9. **secreta conlocutum.** Orelli compares 'matri secreta loquenti' (Ov. M. 4, 224). It may be supposed that Milichus had accompanied Scaevinus on his visit to Natalis (c. 54, 1).

10. **C. Pisonis**: he was already suspected by Nero (14. 65, 2).

11. **diversi**, 'separately' (cp. 16. 30, 4; G. 16, 1), i.e. each in the other's absence.

13. **inditaque vincla**: cp. 11. 1, 3; 32, 3.

tormentorum. The torture of Roman citizens of even the highest rank, in such cases of treason as touched the person or house of the emperor, seems traceable as early as the time of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 62); and the existence of the practice is implied in the oath taken by Claudius at his accession (and afterwards broken by him) to abstain from it (Dio, 60. 15, 6). It must be taken at this time to have been a mere stretch of tyranny, though recognised by later jurists as legal: see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 754, 1.

15. **arguendi peritior**, 'more skilled in accusation,' more able to make his tale

primum fatetur, deinde adicit Annaeum Senecam, sive inter nuntius inter eum Pisonemque fuit, sive ut Neronis gratian pararet, qui infensus Senecae omnes ad eum opprimendum arte conquirebat. tum cognito Natalis indicio Scaevinus quoque pa 3 inbecillitate, an cuncta iam patefacta credens nec ullum silent emolumentum, edidit ceteros. ex quibus Lucanus Quintianus 4 que et Senecio diu abnuere: post promissa inpunitate corrupt quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Aciliam matrem suan Quintianus Glitium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem, am corum praecipuos, nominavere.

57. Atque interim Nero recordatus Volusii Proculi indici Epicharim attineri ratusque muliebre corpus impar dolori to mentis dilacerari iubet. at illam non verbera, non ignes, nc ira eo acrius torquentium, ne a femina spernerentur, pervice quin obiecta denegaret. sic primus quaestionis dies contemptu postero cum ad eosdem cruciatus retraheretur gestamine sell

plausible and acceptable, by giving the names not only of Piso, but also of Seneca, whom Nero especially suspected and hated.

3. **infensus Senecae**: see 14. 52, 2; 56, 5; also c. 23, 6; 45, 6.

5. **inbecillitate, an . . . credens**: cp. 'metu . . . an ratus' (2. 22, 2), also Introd. i. v. § 91, 3.

6. **Lucanus**, etc. On his part in the conspiracy see c. 49, 2; on Quintianus, c. 49, 4; on Senecio, c. 50, 1.

8. **excusarent**, i. e. to show that their reluctance to disclose was but natural.

Aciliam. According to the anonymous Life of Lucan, she was a native of Corduba, and daughter of Acilius Lucanus, one of the famous orators of that place. Her life was spared (c. 71, 12). Her name is so written there in Med., as also in the 'Life': here Med. has 'Atillam,' which many edd. have adopted, after Lips.

9. **Glitium Gallum . . . Annium Pollionem.** These were not among the conspirators named in earlier chapters. Both were exiled (c. 71, 6). The latter is thought to have been grandson of the Annius Pollio and son of the Vinicianus mentioned in 6. 9, 5, and brother of the son-in-law of Corbulo (c. 28, 4). On his wife, the daughter of Soranus, see 16. 30, 4.

12. **Epicharim**: see c. 51, 1. The edd. vary between this form and 'Epicharin'; Med. having 'Apichari,' w traces of a final letter effaced.

attineri, 'was in custody': cp. 23, 5; 13. 15, 4, etc.

tormentis. In Med. the fi letter is by a later hand. Ritt. thi 'tormento' should be read, as 'dilacer' applies only to the rack.

13. **ignes**, perhaps taken for 'lammi ardentes,' or the fire to heat them, or p haps as a distinct form of torture: 'ignes ardentesque lamminae ceteri cruciatus' (Cic. Verr. 5. 63, 163); 'V bera, carnifices, robur, pix, lamm taedae' (Lucr. 3, 1017); 'flamma eculeus et lammina' (Sen. Epp. 78, 1

14. **ne . . . spernerentur**, 'that t should not be braved': cp. 'si sp neretur incestum' (12. 5, 2); also e use of 'contemptus' below, and 'c temnere ventos' (Verg. G. 2, 3 Tigellinus appears, as on a former o sion (14. 60, 4), to have presided the torture (Dio, 62. 27, 3).

pervicere quin: cp. 11. 34, 2, d note.

15. **obiecta**, sc. 'crimina.'

primus dies, in pregnant se for 'tormenta primi diei' (see Intro i. v. § 84). 'Contemptus' is sufficie ly explained by 'spernerentur' above to make Prammer's conjecture, 'consup tus' (to which Dr. inclines), needless.

16. **gestamine sellae**: cp. 14. 46, and note.

am dissolutis membris insistere nequibat), vinclo fasciae, quam ɛctori detraxerat, in modum laquei ad arcum sellae restricto didit cervicem et corporis pondere conisa tenuem iam spiritum ɛpressit, clariore exemplo libertina mulier in tanta necessitate ienos ac prope ignotos protegendo, cum ingenui et viri et uites Romani senatoresque intacti tormentis carissima suorum uisque pignorum proderent. non enim omittebant Lucanus ıoque et Senecio et Quintianus passim conscios edere, magis agisque pavido Nerone, quamquam multiplicatis excubiis semet epsisset.

58. Quin et urbem, per manipulos occupatis moenibus, insesso iam mari et amne, velut in custodiam dedit. volitabantque r fora, per domos, rura quoque et proxima municipiorum dites equitesque, permixti Germanis, quibus fidebat princeps asi externis. continua hinc et vincta agmina trahi ac foribus rtorum adiacere. atque ubi dicendam ad causam introissent,

. **dissolutis,** 'dislocated,' by the k. Nipp. takes the construction as abl. abs., so as to take 'membris' in general sense; but the dative would the more usual expression (cp. ternis pedibus insistentium' Quint. 11. 28).

asciae, the belt worn by women r the breast (cp. Ov. A. A. 3, 274, 622; p. 5. 9, 49; Mart. 14. 134, 1, etc.), the rophium' of Catull. 64, 65.

. **arcum sellae,** the arched canopy he litter or chair. Ryck cites from iob. 2. 23 'sellula arcuata.'

. **clariore exemplo,** etc. 'Protedo' must apparently be taken with pressit,' in the sense of 'protegens' ich Madv., in Adv. iii. p. 238, conrs should be read for it), and 'clariore mplo' is an abl. abs., like 'bono mplo' (1. 38, 3) and other such ressions. The comparative has the e of 'eo clariore,' and is contrasted the following 'cum'; and 'libertina' 'mulier' are distinct terms, answer to 'ingenui viri.' 'She died proing, with an example all the nobler in she was but a woman and a freedıan,' etc.

ı **tanta necessitate,** 'under such ble compulsion,' in contrast to acti tormentis.'

. **pignorum**: cp. c. 36, 5, and note.

ucanus quoque, 'even Lucan,' man of noble sentiment. Nipp. notes that 'non omittebant' is taken as one word.

8. **passim,** 'one upon another': cp. c. 46, 3, etc.

9. **quamquam,** with subjunct., see Introd. i. v. § 51 d.

12. **mari et amne.** This would seem to refer to a strengthening of the regular guard at Ostia and a posting of pickets at the usual landing-places on the Tiber.

14. **pedites equitesque.** Those of the praetorian guard are here meant.

Germanis. On this bodyguard of German horsemen attached to the person of Caesar see 1. 24, 3, and note, and Nipp. here. Some of them had formed the bodyguard of Agrippina (13. 18, 4).

15. **quasi externis,** 'as being foreigners.' On the use of 'quasi,' like ὡς, to express a motive, see c. 33, 2; 6. 11, 4, etc.; Introd. i. v. § 67. Here the words no doubt derive additional bitterness from their close juxtaposition with 'princeps' (sc. 'Romanus').

continua hinc et vincta agmina, 'afterwards there were incessant groups of chained prisoners': the emphasis on 'vincta' is pointed by 'et'; the chains being a remarkable part of the picture. See Suet. Ner. 36 ('coniurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere causam').

16. **hortorum**: sc. 'Servilianorum' (c. 55, 1).

ubi, with subjunct. of frequency: see Introd. i. v. § 52.

laetatum erga coniuratos et fortuitus sermo et subiti occursus si convivium, si spectaculum simul inissent, pro crimine accipi cum super Neronis ac Tigellini saevas percontationes Faenius quoque Rufus violenter urgueret, nondum ab indicibus nominatus, et quo fidem inscitiae pararet, atrox adversus socios idem Subrio Flavo adsistenti adnuentique, an inter ipsam cognitionem destringeret gladium caedemque patraret, renuit infregitque impetum iam manum ad capulum referentis.

59. Fuere qui prodita coniuratione, dum auditur Milichus, dum dubitat Scaevinus, hortarentur Pisonem pergere in castra aut rostra escendere studiaque militum et populi temptare. s conatibus eius conscii adgregarentur, secuturos etiam integros magnamque motae rei famam, quae plurimum in novis consilii valeret. nihil adversum haec Neroni provisum. etiam forte viros subitis terreri, nedum ille scaenicus, Tigellino scilicet cum paelicibus suis comitante, arma contra cieret. multa experiend confieri, quae segnibus ardua videantur. frustra silentium e

1. **laetatum erga coniuratos** (sc. 'esse aliquem'), 'the fact of having smiled at meeting a conspirator.' The above text is the reading of almost all edd. (with inferior MSS.) for the Med. 'latatum,' and is to be preferred to such violent emendations as those of Haase, who reads 'non celatus tantum' (with 'sed' following), or of Halm, who at one time read 'non secreta tantum' (with 'sed'), and now reads 'clam actum' (with 'et'); which, besides other objections, injures the point of the passage; the holding of secret communications with conspirators being no despicable evidence of complicity. The substantival use of a participle, though here harsh, is in the manner of Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 55 b 2), but would be got rid of by the emendation (less violent than those above noticed) of Ritt., who reads 'laeta tum verba'; the latter word being one which might conceivably have dropped out before 'erga.' On the use of 'erga' to express relation of any kind see Introd. i. v. § 59.

et fortuitus: so most recent edd. after Walther. Med. has an abbreviation of 'sed'; which, or rather 'set,' would be a very probable corruption of 'et' in this position; many of the older edd. read 'si' (with MS. Bud.); Nipp. reads 'fortuitus sermo' as an asyndeton.

3. **Faenius Rufus**; see c. 50, 4.

5. **socios**, sc. 'coniurationis.'

6. **Subrio Flavo**; see c. 49, 2.

adnuenti, an, 'making signs t ask, whether.' For the use of 'adnue alicui' in this sense cp. 'ne illa ul homini nutet, nictet, adnuat' (Plaut. A 4. 1, 39), 'adnuentibus et vocantibus suis (Liv. 1. 12, 10), etc. Here it is contraste with 'renuit' ('shook his head').

cognitionem, used of trials befo the prince or the senate.

7. **infregit impetum**, 'checked h impulse.' Dr. notes this as a new figu analogous to 'infringere conatum,' 'an mos,' 'spem,' etc.

10. **hortarentur**, with inf., as in 6. 3 1; 11. 16, 3, etc.

castra, c. 53, 4.

11. **studia**, 'the disposition towar him.'

12. **integros**, those who had nothing t do with it.

13. **motae**, 'when once set in motion cp. 'maius opus moveo' (Verg. Aen. 45), 'cantusque movete' (Id. 6, 41 'movere ac moliri quidquam' (Liv. 2 39, 4). Every step would be magnifie by report.

16. **arma . . . cieret**, a new expressi for the more common 'ciere pugnan (3. 41, 4), 'bellum' (H. 3. 41, 4), 'pra lium,' and other (chiefly poetical) uses the verb.

17. **frustra . . . sperare**, sc. 'eun

lem in tot consciorum animis et corporibus sperare; cruciatui t praemio cuncta pervia esse. venturos qui ipsum quoque ncirent, postremo indigna nece adficerent. quanto laudabilius riturum, dum amplectitur rem publicam, dum auxilia libertati vocat. miles potius deesset et plebes desereret, dum ipse maiori-s, dum posteris, si vita praeriperetur, mortem adprobaret. motus his et paululum in publico versatus, post domi secretus, imum adversum suprema firmabat, donec manus militum veniret, quos Nero tirones aut stipendiis recentes delegerat: m vetus miles timebatur tamquam favore inbutus. obiit ruptis brachiorum venis. testamentum foedis adversus Ne-nem adulationibus amori uxoris dedit, quam degenerem et la corporis forma commendatam amici matrimonio abs-erat. nomen mulieris Atria Galla, priori marito Domitius

trod. i. v. § 8), which Ritt. thinks st have dropped out after 'silentium.' e old edd. read 'sperari,' with G. e 'animi' would be acted upon by the aemia,' the 'corpora' by the 'cru-us.'

. dum, with indic., cp. 13. 15, 7, and e.

mplectitur rem publicam, by nging to the state' (C. and B.) is e meant a complete identification of interest with it, a resolution to stand all with it. Cp. 'e complexu reipub-e' (4. 8, 4). The expressions seem en from those of Cic., who has 'cum publicam nimium amplecteretur' Flacc. 18, 43), and 'nimis amplecti oem' (pro Mil. 27, 72). Cp. also 13. 3, and note.

. miles potius, etc., i.e. better die the soldiers failing him and peo- forsaking him than without an effort is own part.

praeriperetur, 'were prematurely ched,' before his work was done: cp. erepta . . . ultione' (14. 33, 6).

dprobaret, 'commend to their ap- val' (cp. 16. 18, 4, etc.) by the it with which he met it.

suprema, 'the end': cp. 6. 50, 3; 25, 2, etc.

stipendiis recentes, 'who had re- ly begun service' (as distinct both n 'tirones' and 'vetus miles'). The ession somewhat resembles 'recens ore' (1. 41, 5), but differs in that the e of the preposition 'in' rather than 'a' is supplied. The opposite expression 'veterem stipendiis,' occurs in 2. 66, 3. The abl. may be taken as that of re- spect.

10. favore, sc. 'in Pisonem,' through his liberality (see c. 48, 2).

inbutus. The expression is re- peated from H. 2. 85, 1 ('inbutae favore Othonis'): cp. 'discordiis inbutus' (11. 16, 4; 13. 4, 1), etc. Most edd. have followed Rhen. in reading 'tamquam' for 'quamquam' (the text of the MSS. and oldest edd.); which could be ex- plained by taking 'favore' to mean 'in Neronem'; but we should then have no reason given for the distrust.

11. abruptis: cp. c. 63, 5; 6. 29, 1; 16. 9, 3.

foedis adulationibus, abl. of quality, 'a will filled with disgusting flatteries.'

12. dedit, i.e. he made such a will as a concession (cp. 1. 7, 10, and note). It may be assumed that he also adopted the precaution of leaving half to Nero, to save the rest for his wife.

degenerem, best taken, with Nipp., to mean 'of low birth' (cp. 6. 42, 4; 11. 17, 4; 12. 51, 5, etc.). Her name and that of her former husband are given as those of obscure persons. Some refer the term to her immorality; but in this they must have been fairly matched (see c. 48, 4).

14. Atria Galla. Orelli notes that the name 'Atrius' is found in inscriptions: Ber. had needlessly altered to 'Arria.'

Silus: hic patientia, illa inpudicitia Pisonis infamiam propagavere.

60. Proximam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati Nero adiungit, adeo propere, ut non complecti liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium permitteret. raptus in locum servilibus poenis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur, plenus constantis silentii nec tribuno obiciens eandem conscientiam.

Sequitur caedes Annaei Senecae, laetissima principi, non quia coniurationis manifestum compererat, sed ut ferro grassaretur, quando venenum non processerat. solus quippe Natalis et hactenus prompsit, missum se ad aegrotum Senecam, uti viseret conquerereturque cur Pisonem aditu arceret: melius fore, si amicitiam familiari congressu exercuissent. et respondisse Senecam sermones mutuos et crebra conloquia neutri conducere; ceterum salutem suam incolumitate Pisonis inniti. haec

1. **patientia,** 'shameful complaisance.' Jacob seems rightly to suppose that some connivance at adultery between her and Piso before the divorce is alluded to. To have merely tolerated her re-marriage would hardly have disgraced Silus, when so many, among them even Cato of Utica, had done the same. Nipp. thinks that Silus took her back as his wife after Piso's death; but this could hardly be said to 'spread the infamy of Piso,' and rather tended to obliterate it.

3. **Plautii Laterani**: see c. 49, 2. Nipp. notes the repetition of 'consulis designati' here by way of reminder, as are similar repetitions with other names, from c. 49, 2; 50, 1, in c. 66. 3; 67, 1; 68. 1. Lateranus is one of Juvenal's examples of the danger of wealth; cp. 10, 15 'Temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis . . . egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes Tota cohors.' We may suppose that the splendid palace on the Caelian now became imperial property; but its history between this time and that of Constantine is somewhat difficult to trace.

4. **illud breve mortis arbitrium,** 'that short interval for a choice of death.' 'Illud' may be explained (with Nipp.) to mean 'the necessary,' or perhaps better (with Dr.) to mean 'the usual interval,' which was all that Nero generally gave to anticipate the executioner (see note on c. 69, 3). Doed. less well places a comma at 'breve,' taking 'illud breve' as a substantive ('that small boon').

5. **locum.** The spot is situated outside the Esquiline gate (see 2. 32, 5) and is called 'Sessorium' by the old Scholiast on Hor. Epod. 5, 100, and Sat. 1. 8, 11; whence also Σεσσώριον is now read for the corrupt Σηστέρτιον in Plut. Galb. 28.

6. **Statii,** sc. 'Proximi': see c. 50, 3.

plenus constantis silentii. Arrian (Epict. 1. 1, 19) gives an account both of his bold reply to Epaphroditus and of his firmness under the hands of his executioner.

7. **eandem conscientiam,** 'complicity in the same design.'

8. **laetissima**: see c. 56, 2.

quia . . . compererat. On the use of the indic. see 13. 1, 1, and note; on the genit. with 'manifestus,' 2. 85, 3, and note.

10. **venenum non processerat,** 'the poisoning (see c. 45, 6) had not succeeded': 'procedere' is used in the same sense as 'provenire' (see 1. 19, 4, and note). Tacitus here assumes as a fact what he had previously given only as a report.

11. **hactenus,** 'only this much': cp. 12. 42, 5, and note.

prompsit: cp. 12. 65, 2, and note.

14. **sermones mutuos.** Nipp. takes these (in contrast with 'conloquia') to mean communications through the medium of a third person. It is also possible to take the whole expression as a hendiadys.

15. **salutem,** etc. The same terms 'salus' and 'incolumitas,' are used in the

re Gavius Silvanus tribunus praetoriae cohortis, et an dicta talis suaque responsa nosceret percontari Senecam iubetur. forte an prudens ad eum diem ex Campania remeaverat artumque apud lapidem suburbano rure substiterat. illo opinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum psit; tum ipsi cum Pompeia Paulina uxore et amicis duobus ılanti mandata imperatoris edidit.

31. Seneca missum ad se Natalem conquestumque nomine onis quod a visendo eo prohiberetur, seque rationem valetu- is et amorem quietis excusavisse respondit. cur salutem vati hominis incolumitati suae anteferret, causam non habu- e; nec sibi promptum in adulationes ingenium. idque nulli gis gnarum quam Neroni, qui saepius libertatem Senecae ım servitium expertus esset. ubi haec a tribuno relata sunt

y of Seneca (c. 61, 2). It is hardly sible to suppose (with Prof. Holbrooke) words taken to mean that his own ty depended on the success of Piso's rprise were only a distortion of the mon formula 'si valeas ego quoque o,' but they may not have been more a warm expression of friendship.

. **tribunus**, etc. Cp. c. 50, 3, and repetitions noted above (on § 1).

. **nosceret**, 'would admit'; so in 2. 1, for 'adgnoscere,' which has oftener sense, as in 2. 30, 3; 4. 34, 8; , 2.

. **prudens**, aware of the impending spiracy.

d **eum diem** = 'eo die': cp. 'ad pus' (4. 19, 1), 'ad praesens' (13. 22, c.).

x **Campania.** Seneca had desired etire into private life after the death Burrus (14. 56, 6), and again during exactions after the fire (c. 45, 5). allowed fully to do so, he had with- vn from the court as far as possible, had occupied himself in meditation writing. This suburban villa is prob- that alluded to in 14. 53, 6. The which he is known to have pos- ed at Nomentum (Ep. 104, 1; Pl. N. 14. 4, 5, 51) would be more distant Rome.

suburbano rure, abl. of place rod. i. v. § 25).

. **Pompeia Paulina**, daughter or r of Pompeius Paulinus, who appears have been a 'novus homo' (see 13. 2, and note); though the expression used by Dio (61. 10, 3) of Seneca (γάμον ἐπιφανέστατον ἔγημε) would imply that she had some noble relations.

9. **rationem**, 'the regard which he had to pay.'

10. **excusavisse**, 'had pleaded in ex- cuse': cp. 3. 11, 2, and note.

11. **privati hominis**, any one but the prince: cp. 11. 31, 3, etc. Seneca meets the charge of having said that his life depended on the preservation of Piso (c. 60, 5) somewhat indirectly, by reply- ing in effect that the only person whose safety he could have had any reason to hold to be more to him than his own was Nero.

12. **nec sibi**, etc.: i.e. nor would he have said so, without meaning it, out of flattery to Piso; for he was never inclined to flatter, as Nero himself had cause to know. It is due to Seneca to admit that this boast, which he had already put for- ward in de Clem. 2. 2, 2 ('diutius me morari hic patere, non ut blandum auri- bus tuis. Nec enim hic mihi mos est: maluerim veris offendere quam placere adulando'), is borne out by such sayings as that quoted in c. 23, 6; and that even the speech assigned to him in 14. 53–54 is not without self-respect.

13. **gnarum** = 'notum': cp. 1. 5, 4, and note; 11. 32, 1, etc.

libertatem Senecae, used as a more emphatic expression than 'liber- tatem suam': cp. the use of 'Germani- cum' in 2. 70, 3; 'Mucianum' in H. 2. 77, 1, etc.

Poppaea et Tigellino coram, quod erat saevienti principi intimun consiliorum, interrogat an Seneca voluntariam mortem pararet tum tribunus nulla pavoris signa, nihil triste in verbis eius au vultu deprensum confirmavit. ergo regredi et indicere morten iubetur. tradit Fabius Rusticus non eo quo venerat itiner redisse tribunum, sed flexisse ad Faenium praefectum, et expo sitis Caesaris iussis an obtemperaret interrogavisse, monitumqu ab eo ut exsequeretur, fatali omnium ignavia. nam et Silvanu inter coniuratos erat augebatque scelera, in quorum ultioner consenserat. voci tamen et aspectui pepercit intromisitque a Senecam unum ex centurionibus, qui necessitatem ultimar denuntiaret.

62. Ille interritus poscit testamenti tabulas; ac denegant centurione conversus ad amicos, quando meritis eorum referr gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum iam et tamen pulcherrimur

1. **intimum consiliorum,** 'his innermost circle of advisers': i.e. they were always at hand to urge him on on such a course. A contrast seems to be implied between them and those who were Nero's regular counsellors on affairs of state generally (see on c. 72, 2).

4. **deprensum.** The verb takes this form in 3. 53, 1; elsewhere in some sixteen places the MSS. of Tacitus have the form 'deprehendere.'

5. **Fabius Rusticus:** see Introd. i. iii. p. 13. On his relation to Seneca see 13. 20, 3.

venerat: on the indic. see Introd. i. v. § 49.

6. **redisse tribunum:** so Halm, Nipp., Dr., Pfitzn. for Med. 'reditum'; which others retain, explaining it as 'reditum esse a tribuno'; the change of construction to 'flexisse,' though harsh, being not contrary to the manner of Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 91, 2). Ritt. inserts 'tribunum' after 'flexisse.'

8. **fatali omnium ignavia,** 'such irresistible cowardice pervaded all': cp. 'fatali motu' (5. 4, 2), and the use of 'fatum' of any inexplicable cause (Introd. i. iv. p. 22).

10. **pepercit,** 'he spared his tongue the degradation of the message, and his eyes that of the sight.' Jacob compares 'parce oculis, hospes' (Prop. 5. 9, 53), and the words of Domitian to the senate (Suet. Dom. 11), 'parcetis oculis vestris.' See also 12. 47, 7, and note.

11. **necessitatem ultimam denuntiaret,** 'to announce that he must die': c 'accepto . . . supremae necessitatis nunti (H. 1. 72, 5), and the nearly similar e pressions in 11. 37, 4; 13. 1, 4. The o Schol. on Juv. 5, 109 follows Tacit verbally here and in several passag taken from the following chapters.

13. **testamenti tabulas:** these wor would most naturally mean the table on which his will had previously be written, and the context would imply th he wished to add some legacies to t friends then present. The 'codicill mentioned in c. 64, 6, though not app rently part of the will itself, would n turally have been appended to it. Orel less well, takes the words as 'tablets fo will.'

denegante, aoristic participle (c 11. 35, 3, etc.). The action of Sene would seem to imply an expectation th his will would be valid, as was former usual in the case of those who anticipat formal condemnation (see 6. 29, 2): b it is not to be supposed that any su rule would prevent Nero from confisca ing whatever he desired; and it may we be that the centurion felt sufficiently su that confiscation would in any case ensu and that he himself might be compr mised by permitting Seneca to assert a right of testamentary disposition.

15. **quod unum,** etc., 'the sole and y the noblest gift.' The general thoug of the passage resembles that in Ag 46, 2.

eat, imaginem vitae suae relinquere testatur, cuius si memores ent, bonarum artium famam fructum constantis amicitiae ros. simul lacrimas eorum modo sermone, modo intentior modum coercentis, ad firmitudinem revocat, rogitans ubi ecepta sapientiae, ubi tot per annos meditata ratio adversum ninentia? cui enim ignaram fuisse saevitiam Neronis? neque d superesse post matrem fratremque interfectos quam ut catoris praeceptorisque necem adiceret.

33. Ubi haec atque talia velut in commune disseruit, com-ctitur uxorem, et paulelum adversus praesentem fortitudinem

bonarum artium, 'of liberal ac-plishments' (6. 46, 2, etc.), and cially of being students of philo-y.

uctum. Halm reads this for the . 'tā' ('tam'), citing the opinion of ssenborn (Ann. Phil. vol. 52, p. 44), some substantive is traceable in that l, and comparing 'virtutum fructum rimum tulit' (Suet. Cal. 4). By a ewhat more violent change, Nipp. ts 'pretium,' and Ritt. 'laudem,' be-'laturos'; the former retaining the . 'tam,' the latter altering it with et. and others to 'tum' (in the sense raeterea'); Pfitzner repeats 'famam' e. Ern. retains the MSS. text, plac-he comma after 'artium' instead of 'essent'; but Nipp. rightly points hat it could hardly be said that they d win a reputation for stedfast friend-by their memory of his gifts or quali-

sermone, 'by conversation' (on us subjects), as contrasted with more etic (cp. 'intentus' 6. 50, 1) and nanding appeals to their fortitude.

sapientiae, i.e. of Stoicism.

t **per annos**, etc., 'the resolution ght out through so many years in the of impending evils.' They must have ys foreseen what would come to pass, hould long since have made up their s how to face it.

ignaram = 'ignotam,' as in 2. 13, 1,

fratremque. Nipp. thinks that es,' in the sense of 'brother and ' (cp. 11. 38, 3, etc.), must be read; : is more probable that Octavia, if oned at all, would have been spoken the wife of Nero than his sister (cp. , 2), notwithstanding her divorce ly before her death, and the expres-sion used by herself (14. 64, 2). It is however certainly remarkable that the worst of Nero's atrocities, and the only one which Seneca had not himself ex-plained away or defended (see 13. 17, 4, and note; 14. 11, 4), should thus be passed over. The death of Britannicus had not been received with similar horror or con-sternation (see 13. 17, 2).

8. **educatoris praeceptorisque**, nearly synonyms, 'him who had formed and in-structed his boyhood.' The former word is used more properly of a παιδαγωγός (cp. 11. 1, 2; 12. 41, 8; 13. 15, 6; 14. 3, 5); which Seneca could not properly be said to have been.

9. **velut in commune.** Some inferior MSS., which Ern. and others have fol-lowed, omit 'velut,' others alter it to 'ultro.' As the text stands, it would mean that he had hitherto spoken 'as if addressing his friends in general,' not merely the limited audience then present: but what was addressed even to these might well be said to be spoken 'in com-mune' (cp. c. 52, 3, and note), as con-trasted with the words to his wife which follow. Doed. understands the words to mean, 'as if addressing the world,' noting that his last words were published (c. 67, 4); which seems chiefly to apply to those referred to below (§ 7).

10. **adversus praesentem fortitudi-nem.** The Med. text is here retained by Orelli, Halm, Dr., Ritt., and Pfitzn., and would mean 'in a spirit somewhat con-trary to the courage then felt by him.' This use of 'adversus' may be compared with 'adversus legem' in 6. 16. 1; though we should certainly have expected 'con-tra.' Nipp. follows Ern. and others in returning to the reading of the old edd. and inferior MSS. 'formidinem'; which is taken in the sense of 'formidolosum

mollitus rogat oratque temperaret dolori neu aeternum suscipere sed in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae desiderium marit solaciis honestis toleraret. illa contra sibi quoque destinatam mortem adseverat manumque percussoris exposcit. tum Seneca gloriae eius non adversus, simul amore, ne sibi unice dilectam ad iniurias relinqueret, 'vitae' inquit 'delenimenta monstraveram tibi, tu mortis decus mavis: non invidebo exemplo. sit huiu tam fortis exitus constantia penes utrosque par, claritudinis plu in tuo fine.' post quae eodem ictu brachia ferro exsolvun Seneca, quoniam senile corpus et parco victu tenuatum lent effugia sanguini praebebat, crurum quoque et poplitum vena abrumpit; saevisque cruciatibus defessus, ne dolore suo animum uxoris infringeret atque ipse visendo eius tormenta ad inpatien tiam delaberetur, suadet in aliud cubiculum abscedere. et no vissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentia advocat

aliquid,' as in Agr. 22, 1 (cp. the sense of 'metus' in 1. 40, 1, etc.); 'adversus' being taken, as in many other places, in the sense of 'in relation to': 'a little softened in view of the terrors which at the moment threatened her.' The reading of Haase, 'fortunam,' would give a similar meaning, and is somewhat nearer to the Med. text.

1. **temperaret dolori neu**, etc.: so Halm, Ritt., Pfitzn., after Heins., who thus slightly alters the reading ('dolori ne') of the oldest edd. and some inferior MSS.; others follow J. F. Gron., who corrects the Med. text ('temperaret dolorem aeternum susciperet') by reading 'suscipere'; such an inf. with 'tempero' being found in Ennius, Plautus, and Gellius.

2. **vitae.** Nipp. shows, by comparison of c. 62, 1, that his life, not her own, is meant.

3. **toleraret.** The added abl. shows, as Nipp. points out, that this must mean 'should make endurable.'

4. **percussoris**, apparently the physician to open her veins (cp. c. 69, 3).

tum Seneca, etc. Dio, who is always hostile to Seneca, says (62. 25, 1) that he forced his wife to open her veins with his, but that, by dying before her, he made it possible to save her life. He himself speaks warmly of her affection for him (Ep. 104, 2), 'cum sciam spiritum illius in meo verti, incipio, ut illi consulam, mihi consulere.'

6. **vitae . . . delenimenta,** 'means soothing life,' such 'solacia' as are su gested above.

7. **non invidebo exemplo**, sc. 'tuo 'I will not grudge you the glory of se ting such an example' (explained 'claritudinis plus' below). It is perha best to take 'exemplo' as dat., on t analogy of 13. 53, 4; though the abl. used in 1. 22, 2 (where see note), and n unfrequently in the silver age. Two oth instances (H. 4. 84, 4; G. 33, 1) are sin larly doubtful.

8. **claritudinis plus**, because she w under no compulsion.

9. **brachia . . . exsolvunt**, noted Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ. for 'brachiorum venas e solvunt.'

10. **senile corpus.** He appears to ha been about seventy years old. On t simplicity of his diet see c. 45, 6.

tenuatum; so 'tenuatum corpu in Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 84. The verb is f quent in poets (esp. Ovid), and is found prose from Seneca.

11. **effugia**: cp. 12. 31, 7, and note

crurum . . . poplitum, those at t ankles and under the knees.

12. **cruciatibus**, explained by Or as those of the convulsions (σφαδασμ consequent on loss of blood.

13. **inpatientiam**, 'want of self-co trol': so in 13. 21, 8.

14. **suadet**, with inf.: cp. 13. 37, 6

et . . . quoque: cp. c. 48, 3.

ptoribus pleraque tradidit, quae in vulgus edita eius verbis rtere supersedeo.

4. At Nero nullo in Paulinam proprio odio, ac ne glisceret lia crudelitatis, *iubet* inhiberi mortem. hortantibus militibus libertique obligant brachia, premunt sanguinem, incertum gnarae. nam, ut est vulgus ad deteriora promptum, non ere qui crederent, donec inplacabilem Neronem timuerit, m sociatae cum marito mortis petivisse, deinde oblata ore spe blandimentis vitae evictam: cui addidit paucos ea annos, laudabili in maritum memoria et ore ac membris um pallorem albentibus, ut ostentui esset multum vitalis tus egestum. Seneca interim, durante tractu et lentitudine is, Statium Annaeum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medi-

criptoribus, 'scribes,' usually The term is very rarely used in nse, but so in Cic. de Or. 1. 30, 136; 22, 88; Hor. A. P. 354. Dio gives 5, 2) a somewhat different version; took care, before he opened his veins, e his last writings completed and ted and deposited out of Nero's reach. s verbis, with 'edita.' Dio (l. l.) alludes to this treatise, but no s extant.

nvertere supersedeo, 'I think it ss to adapt.' On the practice of s in this respect, especially as exied in the speech of Claudius (11. e Introd. i. iv. p. 23. This use of ere' is found only in a very doubtding in M. Seneca (Suas. 2. 19), et orationes tuto invertere (v. l. licet pro suis.' Jacob points out lar use of 'vertere' in Quint. 10. ab illis dissentio qui vertere ora- Latinas vetant').

nvidia crudelitatis: cp. c. 45, 5, te.

ot inhiberi. Recent edd. have lly followed Heins. in inserting which might possibly have dropped fore 'inhiberi.' The old edd. folme inferior MSS. in inserting 'im- after 'mortem'; Freinsh. and read 'inhibere mortem' as a his- inf. It seems impossible to dene Med. text (with Pfitzn.), by the sentence exclamatory, with of commanding supplied. It is easonable to suppose, with Schiller), that Nero, besides thus arresting th, allowed her to retain her own y.

5. **premunt** = 'reprimunt': so in 3. 6, 1; 11, 2; 14, 5, 2.

incertum an ignarae, 'when she was perhaps unconscious.' The expression 'incertum an' appears to be usually affirmative, and to suggest a probability rather than a doubt (cp. 6. 50, 5; 11. 18, 5; H. 1. 23, 1; 75, 4, etc.); and although the context here points the other way, Tacitus appears to consider the disbelief to be a vulgar calumny.

6. **ad deteriora promptum**, 'ready to accept the worse version': cp. 'in deterius credita' (3. 10, 4). It is to be observed that Tacitus makes no mention of the more malignant version given by Dio (see note on c. 63, 3).

8. **famam sociatae**: so all edd. after Put. for Med. 'fama societatem.'

9. **blandimentis vitae**, 'the attractions of life': cp. 'abruptis vitae blandimentis' (H. 2. 53, 3), and 'vitae delenimenta' (c. 63, 3).

10. **laudabili . . . memoria**. This and the following are best taken as ablatives of quality.

11. **in eum**, etc., 'blanched to such paleness as would give proof.' On the dat. 'ostentui' see Introd. i. v. § 23. The word has usually the meaning of a spectacle or example, as in c. 29, 7; 1. 29, 4; 14. 14, 6, etc.

12. **tractu et lentitudine**, apparently synonyms: on the former word cp. c. 10, 1; on the latter 16. 35, 3.

13. **Statium Annaeum**, probably, as Nipp. suggests, a client, who bore the 'nomen' of his patron in addition to his own.

cinae probatum, orat provisum pridem venenum, quo damna publico Atheniensium iudicio extinguerentur, promeret: a latumque hausit frustra, frigidus iam artus et cluso corpore a versum vim veneni. postremo stagnum calidae aquae introi respergens proximos servorum addita voce, libare se liquore illum Iovi liberatori. exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius e animatus, sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur. ita codicil praescripserat, cum etiam tum praedives et praepotens suprem suis consuleret.

65. Fama fuit Subrium Flavum cum centurionibus occul consilio, neque tamen ignorante Seneca, destinavisse, ut po occisum opera Pisonis Neronem Piso quoque interficeretur trac-

arte medicinae, 'skill in medicine' (answering to 'amicitiae fide'): cp. 'medicus arte insignis' (6. 50, 3), 'eludere medicorum artes' (6. 46, 9), etc.

1. **venenum**, hemlock, the *κώνειον* of Ar. Ran. 124, etc., the 'cicuta' of Pl. N. H. 25. 13, 95, 151. Seneca himself calls it the 'medicamentum inmortalitatis' of Socrates (de Prov. 3, 12), whose death he would seem to have had a standing intention of imitating.

quo damnati: so all edd. from Put., with inferior MSS., for the Med. 'quod anti.' 'Publico iudicio' is taken with 'damnati.'

3. **frigidus iam artus.** The hemlock took effect by producing a numbness, beginning from the extremities (Plat. Phaed. 117 E), to which it had to be conveyed by the circulation of the blood, which persons were told to keep up by walking as long as they could (Id. 117 A). In this case the body was already so deprived of warmth and blood that the poison could not act.

cluso. This form of the verb is found in H. 1. 33, 3; G. 34, 1; 45, 1; Dial. 30, 5; 35, 1, and in one MS. of Agr. 45, 1; also in Sen. and often in Quint.

4. **stagnum**, a bath or basin. Dr. compares 'calentia stagna' ('warm baths in the sea') in Sen. Ep. 122, 8. The object was to restore circulation, so as either to promote the flow of blood or to stimulate the hemlock.

5. **libare se**, etc. Thrasea uses the same expression (16. 35, 2) as the first blood flowed; and it is possible here that 'liquorem' denotes blood mingled with the water. Lips. notes that the departure from life is here likened to the close f a feast, at which it was the Greek cust to offer a parting libation to Ζεὺς Σωτ (Suid. s. v.), for whom 'Iuppiter Li-rator' is here appropriately substitut. This attribute of the god is found i Latin only in these passages, on coins f Nero (Eckh. vi. 272; Cohen, i. p. 2, no. 124), and in an old Calendar (e Orelli), but is no doubt taken from e well-known Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος (Pind. Ol. , 1; Thuc. 2. 71, 4, etc.). The referee made by Prof. Holbrooke to the custa of pouring libation from the poiso cup to Mercurius for a safe passage to e other world (Val. Max. 2. 6, 8; cp. P. Phaed. 117 C), seems here less apposi

6. **balneo**, the hot vapour-bath of e 'Laconicum.' The same mode of su-cation was used for Octavia (14. 64, , Vestinus (c. 69, 3), and others (16. 11, .

7. **codicillis**, 'written instructio.' The term is used of testamentary wri g in 16. 17, 6; 19, 5: cp. 14. 50, 1.

8. **cum etiam tum**, etc. The exp-sion implies that his vast wealth, no s than his commanding influence, had l-ready passed away before his death. T is gives some support to the statemen of Dio (62. 25, 3), that he had resigned ll his property to Nero, nominally as a c-tribution to the cost of restoring Roe after the fire. He had however ll some villas (c. 60, 7, 8), and intende o make bequests by will (c. 62, 1); d Juvenal speaks of his splendid gar s as though they were still his at his d h (10, 16).

10. **Subrium Flavum**: see c. 49, etc.

rque imperium Senecae, quasi insontibus claritudine virtutum summum fastigium delecto. quin et verba Flavi vulgaur, non referre dedecori, si citharoedus demoveretur et oedus succederet, quia ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico tu canebat.

3. Ceterum militaris quoque conspiratio non ultra fefellit, nsis indicibus ad prodendum Faenium Rufum, quem eundem cium et inquisitorem non tolerabant. ergo instanti minique renidens Scaevinus neminem ait plura scire quam n, hortaturque ultro redderet tam bono principi vicem. vox adversum ea Faenio, non silentium, sed verba sua

quasi insontibus, etc. The Med. retained by most edd., and requires teration; 'insontibus' being well as dat. of the agent (Introd. i. v. By killing Piso, they would seem e had no share in the conspiracy ch he was head, and only to have afterwards to replace Nero by the possible successor. Nipp. would insontibus' to mean those of the g men who were of pure character, trasted with the dissolute nobles 5; 67, 1; 70, 2), who would only replaced a Nero by a Piso (c. 48, it the meaning given above (='inus coniurationis') is more in accordith the sense of the word in other es (c. 52, 5; 73, 2; 16. 10, 5, etc.). rious corrections proposed, as 'int' (Acid.), 'ex insontibus' (Ritt.), ous' (Wurm), 'in sontibus' (Janppear to be needless.

itudine, causal abl.

on referre dedecori, 'that it no difference as to the disgrace.' t' is used with a dat. of the thing ut. Truc. 2. 4, 40 ('cui rei id te lare retulit'), and with that of the in Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 49 ('quid retra Naturae fines viventi'); and construction might here be illus- by the extension of the 'dativus di' in Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 17), his other uses of that case (Id. 21 c). On the other hand the ion of Heins., 'dedecoris' (adopted . and mentioned with approval by is supported by the analogy of 9. 4, 44 ('plurimum refert comis'), and Plin. Ep. 8. 22, 4; Pan. by the probability that the final y have been lost before 'si.'

roedus. Piso also, according to his panegyrist (166, foll.), was skilled in playing the lyre, but probably did not play in public.

tragico ornatu canebat. Nipp. notes that the Schol. on Juv. 5, 109 ('scaenico habitu tragoedias actitavit') appears to mistake this passage, which refers really to lyrical tragedies, or mimes on tragic themes, in which pieces were sung in character by the chief actor, who was supported by other 'hypocritae' in dumb show, and probably by a chorus. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 553; Friedl. ii. 404, foll. Various such tragedies are mentioned in which Nero himself appeared (Suet. Ner. 21), and even Thrasea did not wholly disdain the practice (16. 21, 1).

6. **quoque . . . non**='ne . . . quidem': cp. 3. 54, 11, and note.

fefellit = 'latuit': cp. 4. 45, 2; 6. 50, 5; 13. 1, 3, etc.

7. **accensis indicibus,** 'those who had turned informers (cp. 5. 8, 1, etc.) being excited with indignation.'

8. **inquisitorem,** not elsewhere in Tacitus. The term refers to him as taking part in the examination (c. 58, 3). Tacitus has 'inquisitio' (Agr. 2, 3) in the sense of 'espionage.'

9. **renidens,** 'smiling scornfully': cp. 4. 60, 3 (and note); H. 4. 43, 2.

10. **ultro,** probably best taken with 'redderet': 'urges him to do a good turn (cp. 13. 20, 1) voluntarily to so kind a prince' (by confessing without waiting to be accused).

11. **Faenio,** a correction of the old edd., after G., for Med. 'fenius,' which Ritt. takes to be a needless gloss.

verba sua praepediens, 'stammering': elsewhere 'praepedire' is used of that which prevents utterance, as

praepediens et pavoris manifestus, ceterisque et maxime Cerva Proculo equite Romano ad convincendum eum conisis, ius imperatoris a Cassio milite, qui ob insigne corporis robur a stabat, corripitur vinciturque.

67. Mox eorundem indicio Subrius Flavus tribunus p vertitur, primo dissimilitudinem morum ad defensionem trahe neque se armatum cum inermibus et effeminatis tantum facir consociaturum; dein, postquam urguebatur, confessionis glori amplexus. interrogatusque a Nerone, quibus causis ad livionem sacramenti processisset, 'oderam te' inquit, 'nec qu quam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti. odi coepi, postquam parricida matris et uxoris, auriga et hist et incendiarius extitisti.' ipsa rettuli verba, quia non, Senecae, vulgata erant, nec minus nosci decebat militaris sensus incomptos et validos. nihil in illa coniuratione grav auribus Neronis accidisse constitit, qui ut faciendis sceleril promptus, ita audiendi quae faceret insolens erat. poena Fl Veianio Nigro tribuno mandatur. is proximo in agro scrob

'fletu praepediente' (H. 3. 68, 3); 'timor praepedit verba' (Plaut. Cas. 3. 5, 85); 'singultu medios praepediente sonos' (Ov. Tr. 1. 3, 42): cp. the passive in 2. 73, 3; 3. 3, 2.

2. **equite Romano.** Med. reads an abbreviation of 'equiter' or 'equite R.' Proculus was so described in c. 50, 1; and Ritt. here brackets the repetition as a gloss; but see note on c. 60, 1.

5. **Subrius Flavus**: see c. 49, 2, etc.

6. **trahens**, 'adducing.'

8. **consociaturum**, sc. 'fuisse' (cp. 2. 31, 4). Orelli notes the same sense of 'sharing' as found in Cic. de Fin. 3. 21, 74 ('cum amicis . . . consociare . . . incuriam.'

9. **amplexus**, 'seizing upon': cp. 'suprema victis solacia amplectebantur' (H. 3. 84, 3).

10. **sacramenti.** This especially relates to him as a soldier; though such oath was now taken by all classes (1. 7, 3). On its terms see Introd. i. vi. p. 70.

11. **fidelior.** Tacitus only uses 'fidelis' twice (here and in Dial. 34, 4), both times in comp., using always 'fidus' and 'fidissimus' for posit. and superl., and occasionally the comp. form 'magis fidus.'

meruisti, with inf.: cp. 14. 48, 5, and note.

12. **parricida matris et uxoris.** N thinks that 'fratris' may have dropp but see note on c. 62, 3. Quint. n (8. 6, 35) the use of 'parricida' of murderer of any near relative: so 'parricidam liberum' in Liv. 3. 53 It is remarkable that in Dio's ver of this speech (62. 24, 2) these cri as well as 'incendiarius,' are omit ἐφίλησα μὲν ἐλπίσας ἀγαθὸν αὐτοκράτ ἔσεσθαι, ἐμίσησα δὲ ὅτι τὰ καὶ τὰ π οὔτε γὰρ ἁρματηλάτῃ οὔτε κιθαρ δουλεύειν δύναμαι. Cp. the enumer of Nero's crimes in Juv. 8, 219.

13. **non . . . vulgata erant.** N thinks that Tacitus must have de them from an oral source; but they have been contained in some privat otherwise little known written narra The apparent differences in the versi Dio may easily have arisen out of negligence in Xiphilinus, not from having followed some other source Tacitus.

15. **sensus**, 'the sentiments': cp 3, 5; Pers. 1, 69, etc.

16. **constitit**: cp. 13. 35, 3, and

17. **promptus**, with gerundive cp. 12. 4, 3, and note.

insolens, with genit.: cp. 6. 3 and note.

18. **tribuno.** The tribune is thus

li iussit, quam visam Flavus ut humilem et angustam inans, circumstantibus militibus, 'ne hoc quidem' inquit disciplina.' admonitusque fortiter protendere cervicem, iam' ait 'tu tam fortiter ferias!' et ille multum tremens, vix duobus ictibus caput amputavisset, saevitiam apud onem iactavit, sesquiplaga interfectum a se dicendo.

8. Proximum constantiae exemplum Sulpicius Asper centurio buit, percontanti Neroni, cur in caedem suam conspiravisset, iter respondens non aliter tot flagitiis eius subveniri potuisse. iussam poenam subiit. nec ceteri centuriones in perpetiensuppliciis degeneravere: at non Faenio Rufo par animus, lamentationes suas etiam in testamentum contulit.

pperiebatur Nero, ut Vestinus quoque consul in crimina eretur, violentum et infensum ratus: sed ex coniuratis concum Vestino non miscuerant quidam vetustis in eum ltatibus, plures, quia praecipitem et insociabilem credebant.

e executioner in c. 60, 2; 11. 38, 1; Ep. 4, 7.
obem, that in which the body be buried: see Suet. Ner. 49.
quam visam: so Halm and Dr., Walther's suggestion, for 'quamvis' and old edd.): others read 'quam' Pich.) or 'qua visa' (after Freinsh.).
circumstantibus, best taken (with) as dat. depending on 'inquit': nquit mihi' (Cic. Att. 5. 1, 3).
hoc, sc. 'factum,' 'even this is ne according to regulation.'
sesquiplaga, 'a blow and a half,' ., and probably (as Dr. suggests) ier's word. Suet. states (Cal. 30) aius ordered his soldiers to inflict ingering deaths.
Proximum, next in merit.
lagitiis eius subveniri. The l meaning of the words as they would be 'that in no other way his atrocities be helped (redressed)'; ipp. so understands them; but the is in Suet. Ner. 36 ('cum quidam crimen faterentur, nonnulli imputaamquam aliter illi non possent nisi succurrere, dedecorato flagitiis om-), and in Dio, 62. 24, 2 (ὅτι ἄλλως ηθῆσαι οὐκ ἠδυνάμην), favour the etation adopted by most others, e ironically represented himself to dering to Nero the only possible , in rescuing him by death from the already overwhelming load of guilt, or from fresh additions to it.

11. **degeneravere**, 'disgraced themselves': apparently the full expression would be 'a fama vitaque sua degenerare' (H. 3. 28, 1). Cp. the use of 'degener' in 11. 19, 4; 12. 36, 6, etc.

12. **lamentationes**, etc. On the practice of expressing sentiments in a will cp. c. 59, 8; 14. 29, 1, etc.

13. **Opperiebatur**, 'was expecting': so with 'ut' in Liv. 42. 48, 10 ('opperiens ut terrestres copiae traicerentur'); with accus. in 14. 7, 1; H. 2. 46, 1.

in crimina traheretur. This reading, adopted by Baiter after Ritt., appears to be the best restoration of Med. 'in crimen atraheretur': Halm follows Orelli (Ed. i.) in reading 'in crimen attraheretur;' but 'attraho' is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, and its meaning seems less suitable than that of the simple verb. Nipp. follows the old edd., who read 'in crimen traheretur' (with G.).

16. **praecipitem et insociabilem**, 'reckless and unmanageable' (incapable of acting with others): cp. the sense of the word in 4. 12, 6; Liv. 37, 1, 4 ('insociabili genti'). The character is somewhat like that described in H. 1. 26, 3 ('consilii quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus'), and agrees with what is said of Vestinus in c. 52, 4.

ceterum Neroni odium adversus Vestinum ex intima sodalitat coeperat, dum hic ignaviam principis penitus cognitam despici ille ferociam amici metuit, saepe asperis facetiis inlusus, qua ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquun accesserat repens causa, quod Vestinus Statiliam Messalina matrimonio sibi iunxerat, haud nescius inter adulteros eius Caesarem esse.

69. Igitur non crimine, non accusatore existente, quia specie iudicis induere non poterat, ad vim dominationis convers Gerellanum tribunum cum cohorte militum inmittit iubetq praevenire conatus consulis, occupare velut arcem eius, opprime delectam iuventutem, quia Vestinus inminentes foro aed decoraque servitia et pari aetate habebat. cuncta eo die mun consulis impleverat conviviumque celebrabat, nihil metuens dissimulando metu, cum ingressi milites vocari eum a tribu dixere. ille nihil demoratus exsurgit et omnia simul prop rantur: clauditur cubiculo, praesto est medicus, abscindunt

3. **ferociam** = παῤῥησίαν: cp. I. 12, 6, and note.

asperis facetiis, 'rough jests'; so 'acerbis facetiis' (5. 2, 3).

4. **multum . . . traxere,** 'when they have drawn much material from fact'; i. e. are fully based on truth: cp. 'Veneti multum ex moribus (Sarmatarum) traxerunt' (G. 46, 2).

5. **repens** = 'recens': cp. 6. 7, 4, and note.

Statiliam Messalinam, 'Tauri bis consulis et triumphalis (see on 6. 11, 5) abneptem' (Suet. Ner. 35): for her other relations see notes on 2. 1, 1; 12. 59, 1. On Nero's subsequent marriage to her, after the death of Poppaea (16. 6, 1), see Suet. l. l. According to the Schol. on Juv. 6, 434, she had been previously four times married, and lived on after the death of Nero, and was famed for wealth, beauty, and intellect, and cultivated the art of public speaking. Otho had wished to marry her (Suet. Oth. 10). A solitary medal, struck at Thyatira, is preserved, giving her effigy and name (ΣΤΑΤ. ΜΕΣΣΑΛ.), and is engraved in Coh. i. p. 316. Suet. wrongly represents Nero as having killed Vestinus in order to marry her.

8. **existente,** 'making an appearance': cp. 'ut delator extitit' (3. 49, 3), etc.

speciem iudicis induere. The more usual phrase is 'personam induere,' but Livy has 'mihi . . . insidiatoris . . latronis . . . percussoris speciem indu' (40. 12, 4), and Tacitus has 'adsimu bat iudicis partes' (4. 59, 5). T reading is that of inferior MSS. for M 'ispeciem iudiciis,' which Ritt. takes indicate 'ipse speciem iudicis.'

9. **vim dominationis,** 'despo force.'

10. **Gerellanum.** Ritt. notes the nam ΓΕΡΕΛΛΑΝΗ ΜΟΝΙΜΗ and ΓΕΡΕΛΛΑ ΑΠΑΤΗ on an inscription (C. I. 2259).

11. **velut arcem,** 'his citadel, as it were,' i. e. his house, formidable from s commanding position and inmates. Th and 'delectam iuventutem,' appear to e Nero's own exaggerated expressions.

12. **inminentes foro,** a similar sition to that of the house of Cn. Piso 9, 3).

15. **dissimulando metu,** repeated fr 11. 32, 2 (where see note). Such a of purpose is coordinated with a subst tive in 12. 32, 5, as here with a participle.

16. **properantur:** for the passive 2. 6, 2; 13. 17, 3, etc.

17. **medicus:** see Suet. Ner. 37 'n iussis non amplius quam horarum spat n dabat; ac ne quid morae intervenit, medicos admovebat, qui cunctantes c rent (ita enim vocabatur venas m is gratia incidere').

ıae, vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua mersatur, nulla ta voce qua semet miseraretur. circumdati interim custodia simul discubuerant, nec nisi provecta nocte omissi sunt, tquam pavorem eorum, ex mensa exitium opperientium, et ginatus et inridens Nero satis supplicii luisse ait pro epulis sularibus.

'0. Exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. is profluente guine ubi frigescere pedes manusque et paulatim ab extremis ere spiritum fervido adhuc et compote mentis pectore intelt, recordatus carmen a se compositum, quo vulneratum tem per eius modi mortis imaginem obisse tradiderat, versus s rettulit, eaque illi suprema vox fuit. Senecio posthac et ntianus et Scaevinus non ex priore vitae mollitia, mox reliqui iuratorum periere, nullo facto dictove memorando.

scinduntur venae. This expression d by Tacitus only here and in 15. : cp. 'interscindere' (c. 35, 4).

balneo infertur: see c. 64, 5, and

rsatur, noted by Dr. as ἅπ. εἰρ. citus, chiefly a poetical word (Lucr., , Hor.). After 'aqua' Med. has ('uersa'), which Weissenb. takes to corruption of 'infusa,' Ritt. of rfusa.'

omissi sunt, were left free to de- The word is used generally of what t to itself or neglected: cp. 4. 51, 36, 2; H. 2. 65, 1, etc.

ex mensa, 'after a feast': cp. n e somno' (G. 22, 1); a similar st is expressed by 'a' in 6. 50, 8 mma spe novissima expectabat').

maginatus, 'picturing to himself'; ere in Tacitus, but several times in ma. and Quint. Cp. 'imagi- ibus' (c. 36, 1, and note).

Exim Annaei: so most recent edd. Ritt. for Med. 'ex Immane na et,' which Rhen. first restored the text n M. Annaei.' But it is more in ance with the manner of Tacitus to vo names than three; and the name an is thus given in c. 49, 2; 71, 6. 17, 4. Others read 'Exin .' Both the Medicean MSS. give e places 'exin,' in others 'exim,' alm has uniformly adopted the e

xtremis, 'the extremities'; so ccording to Dr., by Celsus. Cp. ii extrema' (4. 74, 2), etc.

10. **carmen,** here not used, as commonly, of a whole poem or a single line, but of a portion. The passage is commonly supposed to be part of that in Phars. 3, 635–646, describing in a sea-fight the gradual bleeding to death of one mortally wounded by a grappling-iron and held from falling into the water by friends. The last lines are 'pars ultima trunci Tradidit in letum vacuos vitalibus artus. At tumidus qua pulmo iacet, qua viscera fervent, Haeserunt ibi fata diu, luctataque multum Hac cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.' The lines given by Merivale, describing one of the forms of death from serpent-bite (9, 808–814), seem to agree less with the description here given by Tacitus. The verses may not have been among those now extant.

11. **per eius modi mortis imaginem,** 'by a form of death similar to it': cp. 'varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium' (H. 3. 28, 3); the expression being evidently taken from Verg. Aen. 2, 369 ('plurima mortis imago'), and resembling that of Thucyd. (3. 81, 4), πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, and the 'strange images of death' of Shakspeare (Macbeth, A. 1. Sc. 3). Some here, less well, take 'imaginem' to mean 'a fictitious representation.'

12. **suprema vox.** His anonymous biographer gives the date of his death (April 30).

Senecio, etc. On these persons see c. 49, 4; 50, 2.

13. **ex,** 'in accordance with': cp. c. 67, 6, etc.

71. Sed compleri interim urbs funeribus, Capitolium victimis alius filio, fratre alius aut propinquo aut amico interfectis, age grates deis, ornare lauru domum, genua ipsius advolvi et dextra osculis fatigare. atque ille gaudium id credens Antonii Natal et Cervarii Proculi festinata indicia inpunitate remuneratu Milichus praemiis ditatus conservatoris sibi nomen, Graeco ei rei vocabulo, adsumpsit. e tribunis Gavius Silvanus, quamv absolutus, sua manu cecidit; Statius Proximus veniam, qua ab imperatore acceperat, vanitate exitus corrupit. exuti dehi tribunatu * * Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepo Statius Domitius, quasi principem non quidem odissent, se tamen existimarentur. Novio Prisco per amicitiam Senecae,

3. **ornare lauru domum.** This was done at times of private (Juv. 6, 79) or public rejoicing. Cp. Juvenal's description (10, 65) of this and the sacrifices in the Capitol on a similar occasion: 'Pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum Cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco.' The object here was ostentatiously to disclaim sympathy with the plot.

genua ipsius advolvi. On the expression cp. 1. 13, 7, and note.

et dextram, etc. This would be as if for joy, and Nero by permitting it acknowledged them as friends. Persons saved their lives thus in the massacre of Marius, when it was 'spes una salutis Oscula pollutae fixisse trementia dextrae' (Luc. 2, 113). Nipp. thinks the insertion of the conjunction here due to the position of the verb at the end of these two clauses; its usual position in asyndeta being at the beginning (cp. 1. 47, 5; 2. 31, 1, etc.).

4. **Natalis . . . Proculi**: see c. 56, 2; 66, 3.

6. **Milichus**: see c. 54, 1; 55, 1. The name which he took is evidently that of Σωτήρ; but Tacitus rather avoids Greek words (see Introd. i. v. § 95). The name is usually borne by gods or kings; but one 'Ti. Claudius Soter,' an artist, is named in an inscription (Or. 4262).

7. **e tribunis.** On these see c. 50, 3, etc., the third, Subrius Flavus, had been executed (c. 67, 6).

8. **veniam . . . corrupit,** 'frustrated' (cp. 'officia . . . corrumpebat' 2. 23, 2; also H. 2. 92, 5; 3. 78, 4; 4. 34, 8) the pardon which he had accepted from the emperor by the vaingloriousness of his end' (apparently by a vainglorious suicide). His case was different from that of Silvanus, who was judicially acquitte and a suicide, after pardon solicited a accepted, was not true spirit, but m vainglory. It is thought by some th the allusion is to a subsequent death some act of folly, which may have be mentioned afterwards in the portion n lost.

10. **Pompeius.** A praenomen or c nomen appears to have been lost, as the others have two names given. Ni points out that this Cornelius Marti would probably not be the 'primipila' of H. 3. 70, 1; also that as three tribu of the praetorian guard had joined e conspirators (see above and c. 67, 1), four more are here mentioned, suppos the number of cohorts and tribunes have been still only nine (see 4. 5, 5), two tribunes were left, Veianius N (c. 67, 5) and Gerellanus (c. 69, 1). the inscription cited on c. 50, 3 sh that there were now not less than tw praetorian cohorts.

11. **quasi,** 'on the ground that.'

12. **existimarentur**: so all edd. s Ern., after Rhen. for the Med. 'extia rentur.' It is probable that the corr tion is deeper; for the omission of 'odisse' is very harsh, and 'quasi' w of itself imply a belief rather than a But such emendations as 'extimeren' (Pich.), or 'aestimarent' (Madv. Adv. 238), have found no favour.

Novio Prisco. This person is shown by an Arval Table (C. I. L. vi 2056) to have been cos. ord. in 831, 78 ('L. Ceionio Commodo, D. Nio Prisco coss.').

per amicitiam Senecae. It is best to take these words (with N)

itio Gallo atque Annio Pollioni infamatis magis quam convictis :a exilia. Priscum Artoria Flaccilla coniunx comitata est, llum Egnatia Maximilla, magnis primum et integris opibus, st ademptis, quae utraque gloriam eius auxere. pellitur et frius Crispinus occasione coniurationis, sed Neroni invisus, od Poppaeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat. Verginium *vum et Musonium* Rufum claritudo nominis expulit: nam rginius studia iuvenum eloquentia, Musonius praeceptis ientiae fovebat. Cluvidieno Quieto, Iulio Agrippae, Blitio :ulino, Petronio Prisco, Iulio Altino, velut in agmen et nu-rum, Aegaei maris insulae permittuntur. at Caedicia uxor

:ly with 'data exilia,' so as to stand ontrast with 'infamatis.' The sense er' ('by reason of') is akin to that 3. 43, 7, and H. 1. 24, 2 ('per so-iam praefecti').

Glitio Gallo atque Annio Pol-i: see c. 56, 4.

famatis, 'calumniated': cp. H. ., 8; 3. 62, 4.

data exilia, 'the privilege of exile ead of death) was granted': cp. ur mortis arbitrium' (16. 33, 2). The ession is used bitterly, as no real ge was proved against them.

Egnatia Maximilla. The place eir exile was Andros, where an in-ption (C. I. G. Add. 2349, i; vol. ii. 068) records them as patrons and actors: ὁ δῆμος Ἐγνατίαν Μαξίμιλ-τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτιν, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα; ὁ δῆμος Πούπλιον Γλείτιον Γάλλον, αυτοῦ πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀρετῆς ε. An inscription of his freedman, litius, has been found at Como L. v. 2. 5345). Their son Q. Gli-P. f., Atilius Agricola, was cos. under e (C. I. G. 6763), and again in 857, 104 (Henzen 5442), and served with ction as legatus of Pannonia in the n war (Id. 5449). Nipp. also notes ptions showing the origin of the y to have been from Turin.

4 **ademptis.** Their influence at An-attested by the above inscription, gsts a reason for this.

e utraque. Nipp. rightly ex-a that she won fame firstly, by giving e position in which her wealth have allowed her to live at Rome, lly, by losing that wealth for her nd's sake sooner than separate her-f om him. Tacitus notes such acts urring apparently under the tyranny of Domitian ('secutae maritos in exilia coniuges' H. 1. 3, 1); and various instances of female heroism are collected by Fried-länder (i. 459–463).

5. **Rufrius Crispinus**: see 11. 1, 3, and note. His place of exile was Sar-dinia (16. 17, 2).

6. **Verginium Flavum et Musonium Rufum.** The Med. text 'Verginium Rufum' must have arisen from the copyist being misled by a famous name (see c. 23, 1); it being evident from the context that these two persons are referred to. The restoration is due to Walther, who partly follows Lips. The former is men-tioned in the 'vita Persii' as his teacher and is frequently referred to by Quint., who says (7. 4, 40), 'Flavum, cuius apud me merito summa est auctoritas.' On Musonius, whose place of exile is said to have been Gyaros, see 14. 59, 2, and note. Philostratus (l. l. there) places his exile in the following year.

9. **Cluvidieno**, etc. These persons are wholly unknown. Nipp. cites an inscription to a slave 'Petroni Prisci trib. laticlavi.'

10. **velut in agmen et numerum**, 'as it were, to complete the mass and list' (='ut agmen et numerus efficeretur'): for this force of 'in' see Introd. i. v. § 60 b. Nipp. compares 'in numerum pars magna perit' (Luc. 2, 111), and 'princeps alios . . . libens videat, alios in numerum relin-quat' (Sen. de Clem. 1. 5, 7).

11. **permittuntur**, 'are allowed as places of exile' (cp. 'data exilia' above). Nipp. notes that Tacitus probably uses the official term.

Caedicia, a correction of Orelli for the Med. 'cadicia,' which does not ap-pear to be a Latin name, whereas 'Cae-dicius' is found on inscriptions and in

Scaevini et Caesennius Maximus Italia prohibentur, reos fuiss se tantum poena experti. Acilia mater Annaei Lucani sin absolutione, sine supplicio dissimulata.

72. Quibus perpetratis Nero et contione militum habita bin nummum milia viritim manipularibus divisit addiditque sine preti frumentum, quo ante ex modo annonae utebantur. tum, quas gesta bello expositurus, vocat senatum et triumphale decu Petronio Turpiliano consulari, Cocceio Nervae praetori designato Tigellino praefecto praetorii tribuit, Tigellinum et Nervam it extollens, ut super triumphales in foro imagines apud Palatiur

Juv. 13, 197; 16, 46; the former of which passages is said by the old Schol. to refer to a tool of Nero's cruelties.

1. **Caesennius Maximus.** Most recent edd. have here gone back to the Med. form as above; Lips. having previously been generally followed in treating it as an opposite error to that in 14. 29, 1, and reading 'Caesonius,' after the MSS. of Mart. 7. 44, 1. In this and the following epigram Martial speaks of his exile and of his friend Q. Ovidius, who had accompanied him in it, and calls him 'facundi Senecae potens amicus.' Seneca himself mentions him (Ep. 87, 2) as 'Maximus meus,' and as sharing his simple life.

Italia prohibentur: cp. 14. 50, 2, etc.

reos fuisse, etc. Their sentence gave them their only knowledge that any charge had been brought against them.

2. **Acilia**: see c. 56, 4, and note.

3. **dissimulata,** 'was ignored' (cp. 4. 19, 4, and note); like 'silentio transmissus' (13. 22, 3).

4. **et contione . . . habita**: cp. 13. 21, 1, and note.

bina nummum milia. For other such donatives see 12. 69, 3, and note. Schiller suggests (p. 109, 2) that a 'congiarium' may also have been given at this time or soon afterwards, possibly after the close of the extant narrative of Tacitus, which may be the 'cong. ii or iii of coins' (see 13. 31, 2, and note).

5. **sine pretio frumentum**: cp. Suet. Ner. 10 ('constituit . . . praetorianis militibus frumentum menstruum gratuitum'). It is probable that the legions had gratuitous corn rations from the time of Augustus (see note on 1. 17, 6); so that some deduction has to be made from the comparison of their pay with that of th praetorians (1. 17, 9).

6. **ex modo annonae,** 'according t the market price.' For the regulations a fecting this see c. 18, 3; 39, 2; 2. 87, 1, ar notes. It would appear that their ration were fixed at this price and paid by sto page out of their salary.

8. **Petronio Turpiliano**: see 14. 2 1. No mention has been made of a service rendered by him or Nerva; b Schiller (p. 197) may probably be rig in supposing them to have been prom nent members of the 'concilium' of t princeps. On the indiscriminate gifts triumphal honours at this time see 13. 5 1, and note.

Cocceius Nerva, the subseque emperor. From what is known of h age (Dio, 68. 4, 2), he would seem have been at this time thirty-three yea old. A mutilated inscription before t date of his principate, found at Sassof rato (Henzen 5435), records this amo his earlier distinctions: 'M. Cocce [M. f. . . . Nerva, cos.] augur, sodal August. . . . quaest.] urb(anus), vi turma[e eq(uitum) R(omanorum) . . Salius Palat(inus), triumpalib[us orn mentis] honoratus.' His consulships b fore his principate were in 824, A.D. and 843, A.D. 90. As he had not b been praetor, his case and that of Tig linus may be referred to in Suet. Ner. ('triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestor dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ord tribuit').

10. **apud Palatium effigies.** Ni compares what is said of the father Otho (Suet. Oth. 1), 'senatus honore ra simo, statua in Palatio posita, prosecu est.' The effigies of men of letters in Palatine library (see 2. 37, 3, and no appear to be distinct from these.

ɔque effigies eorum sisteret. consularia insignia Nymphidio, ' quia nunc primum oblatus est, pauca repetam: nam et e pars Romanarum cladium erit. igitur matre libertina us, quae corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum gaverat, ex Gaio Caesare se genitum ferebat, quoniam te quadam habitu procerus et torvo vultu erat, sive ius Caesar, scortorum quoque cupiens, etiam mari eius in-it ***

73. Sed Nero vocato senatu, oratione inter patres habita,

us permitted the erection of the statues triumphales' in the Forum (Dio, 55.); and other public places were simi- decorated (see Momms. Staatsr. i. ; Friedl. iii. 229).

consularia insignia: cp. 12. 21, 2. **qui quia nunc.** Med. has here nphidio quan̄c' (Ritt.) or quan̄c ter), corrected by the older edd. rally to 'de quo quia nunc.' In the ler insertion of 'qui,' Halm and Dr. followed Weissenborn. It is how- very probable that, as Dr., Nipp. and suppose, a greater gap exists. Pos- a verb is lost, as it is somewhat ward to supply 'tribuit' from above. it is unusual for Tacitus to give only name to a person who has not been e mentioned. Ritt. has endeavoured ll the gap by reading 'Nymphidio io. De Nymphidio, quando nunc,' considering such a repetition of the sufficiently paralleled by such in- es as c. 34, 3; 16. 17, 1. This re- tion has been adopted by Jacob and ier. The words used would show his name was prominent in the lost tive (see Appendix to Book 16); no doubt included the account of eing put to death by the soldiers the accession of Galba, on the e of having tried to make himself ror (the 'clades' here alluded to): [. 1. 5, 1; Plut. Galb. 13.

pars Romanarum cladium erit, form part of the disasters of Rome,' ll will be an incident in the great rophe (that of 821, 822, A.D. 68, The expression is poetical and re- es that used by Seneca (de Tranq.) of Kanus Iulius ('Caianae cladis a portio'), and the 'Italae pars magna Appius' of Sil. 5, 329, both of are perhaps suggested by the um pars magna fui' of Verg. Aen.

igitur, taking up the subject already indicated, as in c. 37, 3; 1. 31, 4; 4. 3, 3, etc.

4. **principum.** The plural appears to be used of the imperial family, as in 3. 34, 11.

5. **ex Gaio Caesare.** Plutarch (Galb. 9) discredits this story, saying that Nymphidius was born when Gaius was a mere boy, and that his real father was supposed to be a gladiator called Martianus.

6. **habitu**, so used of personal appearance in 1. 10, 7; 4. 57, 3, etc. According to Suet. Cal. 50, Gaius was 'statura eminenti, corpore enormi, . . . oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva.' His statues, especially the full length in the Museum at Naples, confirm this description. Cp. 6. 46, 8, and note.

7. **inlusit**: cp. 13. 17, 3. It is evident that there is a considerable lacuna here, as we should certainly expect some account, not only of his birth, but of his early life and rise to power, and of his being at this time associated with Tigellinus as 'praefectus praetorio' in place of Faenius Rufus; in fact some such sketch as that introduced by similar words in the case of Petronius (16. 18, 1).

9. **Sed**, resuming a narrative, as in 3. 60, 1, etc.

vocato senatu. Nipp. is perhaps right in bracketing these words, treating them (with Ern.) as an interpolation from a marginal note; the calling of the senate having been already mentioned (c. 72, 2), and the honours to Petronius and others having been awarded by its decree on the motion of Nero; also the words here added ('oratione . . . habita') being a sufficient return to the subject, even if the retrospective sketch of Nymphidius had gone on longer. Ritt., less well, inserts 'iterum' after 'vocato.'

edictum apud populum et conlata in libros indicia confessione que damnatorum adiunxit. etenim crebro vulgi rumore lacera batur, tamquam viros *claros* et insontes ob invidiam aut metu extinxisset. ceterum coeptam adultamque et revictam coni rationem neque tunc dubitavere quibus verum noscendi cu erat, et fatentur, qui post interitum Neronis in urbem regres sunt. at in senatu cunctis, ut cuique plurimum maeroris, i adulationem demissis, Iunium Gallionem, Senecae fratris mort pavidum et pro sua incolumitate supplicem, increpuit Salien Clemens, hostem et parricidam vocans, donec consensu patru deterritus est, ne publicis malis abuti ad occasionem privati od

1. **edictum**, etc.: cp. 11. 13, 1, and note.

conlata, etc. The conspirators had not been tried (as was usual in the time of Tiberius) before the senate, but privately before the princeps at his Servilian villa (c. 58, 3). Hence he publishes this record of the proceedings to show that the conspiracy was real.

3. **claros et insontes.** Most recent edd. follow Freinsh. in inserting 'claros' by comparison of 14. 58, 8. Other corrections are 'tamquam invisos sed insontes' (Heins.), 'inlustres viros (cp. 11. 36, 3; 16. 16, 4) et insontes' (Ritt.). Walth. defends the Med. text, taking 'et' as = 'etiam' (as in 1. 4, 2).

4. **adultam**, 'matured': cp. 'incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio' (H. 1. 31, 5).

revictam = 'convictam,' 'brought home to its perpetrators'; so 'quae cuncta . . . revincebatur' (of a person) in 6. 5, 2 (where see note). Others take it here to mean 'repressed' (cp. Hor. Od. 4. 4, 23, etc.); but Nipp. rightly points out that this fact would be too patent to need statement.

5. **noscendi** = 'cognoscendi' ('ascertaining'), as in 12. 24, 1 (where see note).

6. **fatentur.** The present here appears to refer to persons living when he wrote, but may be used of extant writings.

7. **ut cuique**, etc. 'as each had most cause for mourning': those whose relations or friends had perished in the conspiracy were most conspicuous in flattery.

8. **Iunium Gallionem.** This brother, originally called Annaeus Novatus, and to whom, under the latter name, the books 'de Ira' are addressed, was afterwards adopted by the Gallio mentione in 6. 3, 1, and took the name of Iuni Gallio (Dio, 60. 35, 2); his full nan being apparently 'L. Annaeus Iuni Gallio.' He is frequently mentioned b Seneca under the latter name (de vit. bea 1, 1, etc.). His proconsulship of Achai known through the history of St. Pa (Acts 18, 12), is alluded to in Sen. E 104, 1. A mention of him in Plin. N. I 31. 6, 33, 62 shows him to have be consul, and it is suggested by Nipp. th he is the L. Iunius given as cos. suff. wi A. Marcellus at some time under Nero a wax tablet found at Pompeii (Herm xii. 130). He was forced to suicide the year following this, according Jerome, who says (Chron.), 'Iunius A naeus Gallio, frater Senecae, egregius d clamator, propria se manu interfecit.' Al Dio (62. 25, 3) mentions the death of bo the brothers of Seneca (for the other s 16. 17, 3).

9. **incolumitate**: cp. c. 60, 5; 14. 1 4, etc.

Salienus Clemens, otherwise u known.

10. **hostem et parricidam.** The sar words are used by the Othonians of V tellius in H. 1. 85, 6, and by the senate of Catiline (Sall. Cat. 31, 8); similar 'latrones et parricidas' of the conspir tors against Caesar (4. 34, 5). We ne not therefore suppose (with Nipp.) th the latter term relates to Nero as 'pat patriae.' The charge here would see to allege some participation in the co spiracy.

11. **deterritus est ne.** The sentenc introduced by 'ne' represent not what was deterred from doing, but the su stance of the arguments urged on him b

deretur, neu composita aut oblitterata mansuetudine principis ›vam ad saevitiam retraheret.

74. Tum [decreta] dona et grates deis decernuntur propriusque ›nos Soli, cui est vetus aedes apud circum, in quo facinus para-.tur, qui occulta coniurationis numine retexisset; utque ·censium Cerealium ludicrum pluribus equorum cursibus lebraretur mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet; mplum Saluti exstrueretur eo loci, ex quo Scaevinus ferrum ompserat. ipse eum pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit in-

'consensus patrum': cp. the similar :ance in 13. 53, 4.

›ccasionem **odii**, sc. 'exercendi': 'occasionem gratiae' (sc. 'captandae') ;, 4.

. **videretur**, 'should incur suspicion

omposita, etc. So all edd. after s. for Med. 'compositam oblittera-que mansuetudinem.' 'Composita,' ıat was set at rest': cp. 'compositis is' (3. 56, 8), etc.

. **retraheret**, 'bring up again': cp. litterata . . . nomina retrahebat' (13. 4).

. **[decreta]**. Most edd. have fol-ed Gron. and Ern. in bracketing this d, which may have got in from a ginal note, 'decreta dona.' Some ›w Lips. and Freinsh. in treating 'de-untur' as the superfluous word. It ›ssible that 'decreta' is the corruption ›me word contrasted with 'proprius'; the conjecture 'indiscreta' (Bezzenb.), :h Halm inclines to approve, is hardly ›orted by the sense of that word else-re or its use in connexion with 'pro-s' in 1. 35, 1.

apud circum = 'in circo' (1. 5, 5, According to Tertullian (de spect. circus soli principaliter consecratur, aedes medio spatio et effigies de gio aedis emicat.' As Jacob sug-, the Sun was no doubt worshipped is place as the great charioteer. The hip appears to be of Sabine origin; ›eing represented in legend as one of ods of Tatius: see Varr. L. L. 5. 68; . Hal. 2. 50.

quo facinus parabatur: see c. .

occulta coniurationis = 'occultam rationem': see Introd. i. v. § 32 b.

mine, as the god of light.

que: on the change of construc-ee 1. 15, 4, and note.

6. **Cerealium**: see c. 53, 1, and note; H. 2. 55, 1.

7. **Aprilis**, the month in which the plot was detected: see notes on c. 53, 1; 70, 1. It is called 'Neroneus' in 16. 12, 3; where other such new names are mentioned. Suet. (55) makes the decree originate from Nero himself ('mensem quoque Aprilem Neroneum appellavit; destinaverat et Romam Neropolim nuncupare'); which would be in accordance with precedents set by Augustus and Gaius (Suet. Aug. 31; Cal. 15). The name cannot be supposed to have survived his lifetime.

8. **eo loci**: cp. 14. 61, 3, and note. The place from which Scaevinus had taken the dagger was already a temple, and, according to one account, a temple of Salus, though probably under the name of Nortia (see c. 53, 3, and note); and if it was proposed to replace it by a more splendid one (Burnouf), or to rebuild it as if profaned by Scaevinus (Jacob), we should expect this to be more clearly stated. We cannot suppose (with Urlichs) that the place in which Scaevinus had kept the dagger in his own house is meant; but it is possible that Nipp. is right in considering that some words are lost which would have shown that it was proposed to build a temple to Salus at Rome, as well as to erect some monument on the spot at Ferentinum. Schiller notes (195, 3) the sacrifices offered at an earlier time by Nero under this title (Dio, 61. 18, 3; 21, 1), and the prominence of 'Salus,' or 'Salus Neronis,' or 'Salus publica' in the Arval vows, and on coins (Eckhel vi. 277; Cohen i. p. 300).

9. **ipse**, Nero. Similar dedications were made by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 24); also Vitellius dedicated the sword by which Otho had committed suicide (Id. Vit. 10), and Caracalla that with which he had slain his own brother (Dio 77. 23, 3).

scripsitque Iovi Vindici: in praesens haud animadversum po: arma Iulii Vindicis ad auspicium et praesagium futurae ultion trahebatur. reperio in commentariis senatus Cerialem Aniciu consulem designatum pro sententia dixisse, ut templum div Neroni quam maturrime publica pecunia poneretur. quo quidem ille decernebat tamquam mortale fastigium egresso venerationem hominum merito, *sed ipse prohibuit, ne intepr tatione* quorundam ad omen malum sui exitus verteretur: na

1. **in praesens.** Acid. and Freinsh. suppose 'id' to have dropped out before 'in.'

2. **arma,** 'the civil war,' the time when arms were taken up: cp. 3. 55, 1, and note. On the rising of Vindex see Appendix to Book 16.

3. **trahebatur,** 'was being interpreted' (cp. 1. 62, 3, and note; 16. 1, 1, etc.); the coincidence of names was thought to have been ominous. 'Auspicium et praesagium' are synonyms (cp. 12. 57, 3, and note).

in commentariis senatus. On these see Introd. i. iii. p. 14. Mommsen notices (Staatsr. iii. 1021, 1) this passage and Suet. Aug. 5 as the only express citations from them in literature; though we cannot doubt that they were extensively used by historians.

Cerialem Anicium. For the record of his death in the following year see 16. 17, 8, where it is stated that he had incurred infamy many years before by betraying a conspiracy to Gaius.

4. **consulem designatum.** He was not 'consul ordinarius' in the following year (16. 14, 1); so that he must either have been designated as 'suffectus' or subsequently set aside.

pro sententia; for the common expression 'loco sententiae' (2. 37, 3; 14. 42, 2, etc.). On the position of the cos. design. in debate see 3. 22, 6; 11. 5, 3, and notes.

divo Neroni. What was unusual was not the erection of a temple to a living emperor, but its erection at Rome, and the use of this title (see below). The early emperors allowed such temples only in the provinces, and with such inscriptions as 'Romae et Augusto'; 'Ti. Caesari Augusto et Augustae et senatui,' etc. See notes on 1. 10, 5; 78, 1; 4. 15, 4; 37, 4; 38, 4.

6. **et venerationem,** etc. The whole passage in Med. is hopelessly corrupt, being thus read, 'et veneratio itē merito quorundā ad omîa dolum sui exitus ue teretur.' For the first part the correctic of Rhen., as above, is generally accepte unless 'et venerationem iam hominu merito' (Ritt.) be preferred: for tl latter part, it may be assumed that lacuna exists, containing a sentence which Nero (as shown by the use of 'sui was the subject, and in which his refus of this honour must have been stated ar explained; but none of the attempts fill the gap and to adapt the remainir words to the insertion have met with ar general acceptance. Orelli simply marl the lacuna after 'merito,' and leaves tl Med. text obelized; others (also markir the lacuna) correct 'omina dolum' 'omen ac dolum' (with Rhen.). Tl conjectural restoration of Halm (who Dr. follows) is given in the text. Rit marks the lacuna after 'quorundam,' ar suggests 'quorundam admonitu Nero pr hibebat, ne donum ad omen ac dolun etc. Nipp. (Ed. 4) limits the force 'tamquam' to 'egresso,' and reads ' venerationem hominum merito, quoru admonitu ad votum sui exitus verteretu taking these words as an ironical rema of Tacitus, that Nero had certainly d served reverence at the hands of tho who suggested to him a desire for his ow death. Jacob reads 'sed ipse prohibui ne malignitate quorundam ad omen s exitus ac dolum verteretur.' Many oth conjectures will be found in the critic notes of Walther, Orelli, and Halm.

8. **nam deum,** etc. Lips. compar the saying of Tertullian (Apol. 34 'maledictum est, ante apotheosin deu Caesarem nuncupare.' Such statemen must however be understood in referen to formal deification, with title of 'divu by decree of the senate, and of publ worship at Rome (see 1. 10, 8, and not 13. 2, 6, and note), as distinct not on from the temples in the provinces (s note above), but also from local or priva worship in Italy and even in Rome itse

eum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter hoines desierit.

e 1. 73, 2, and note), and from the quent ascription of divine attributes to Caesar in the language of poets and ner courtiers, as well as from the honrs paid to the effigy of the princeps in mp (12. 17, 3, and note) and elsewhere 36, 1, and note). The more extravagant honours allowed or claimed in lifetime by Iulius Caesar (Suet. Iul. 76), Caligula (Id. Cal. 22), or Domitian (Id. Dom. 13), were not taken as a precedent. On the whole subject see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 463, foll.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Note.—The authorities consulted are generally specified in their places; but a further general obligation has here to be acknowledged to D C. F. Arnold, 'die Neronische Christenverfolgung,' Leipzig, 1888.

The deep interest attaching to the subject of this chapter, and the fa that no other circumstantial account of the event is preserved to us, hav caused it to receive an attention beyond the deserts of its real historic value. In this respect it cannot be ranked with the letter of Pliny[1], which a governor of a province is officially reporting to his empero contemporary facts brought before him in his judicial capacity, ar which he was under every obligation to ascertain and state correctly whereas we have here a narrative necessarily at second hand[3], writte under no more stringent obligation than that of historical fidelity[4], with any pains to disguise the writer's animosity towards a detested ar despised religion[5].

By one recent writer[6], the whole passage has been impugned as

[1] Ad Trai. 96.

[2] The comparative gentleness of Pliny's expressions, as compared with those of Tacitus, is generally referred, and with good reason, to the different temperament of the writer: but the circumstances under which he was writing must be also taken into account.

[3] The date of completion of the Annals (see Introd. i. p. 4) would be fully fifty years after that of the persecution. As a boy of about ten years old, Tacitus might possibly have witnessed some of the horrors described; but there is nothing in the narrative to indicate it; and in any case his account, as a whole, must be taken from his usual authorities.

[4] In comparing this, as a weaker obligation, with that of Pliny, it is not meant to imply that Tacitus did not himself consider it a very strong one (see Intro i. p. 22), however often he has allow himself unconsciously to be biassed.

[5] A Roman with the ideas of Tacit would generally feel towards any forei 'superstitio' a contempt which wou make any careful investigation of it r pugnant to him: but his extreme bitte ness towards Christianity results no dou from his full belief in the 'flagitia' im puted to it (see note on § 3). It is how ever remarkable that the judgment Pliny, whose letter was written some t years previously, and whose opini could not have been unknown to hi should not have led him to look up these charges as at least open to questio

[6] P. Hochart, 'Études au sujet de persécution des Chrétiens sous Nér Paris, 1885.

hristian forgery, but on grounds slender in themselves[1], and involving, the objector himself sees, a similar attack on the other passages classical authors of this period[2]. It may be sufficient to point out at Sulpicius Severus, who has transcribed words of Tacitus in an un-estioned passage (c. 37, 8), has also transcribed a portion of this (see § 3); also that the style is thoroughly Tacitean throughout, containing number of words and expressions elsewhere used by the author, and ore or less characteristic of him, yet without any such elaborate over-itation as we should expect to detect in even a skilful forgery[3]. or is the subject-matter less characteristic, if we note the struggle tween the extreme bitterness and animosity of the general view, and sense of candour and historical fidelity in dealing with the actual arge against the sufferers, the grudging and hardly acknowledged npathy, the many unexplained difficulties to which his evident un-lingness to dwell longer on the subject than he can help gives rise. must seem strange that any one who has studied the interpolated ssage in Josephus[4], or the correspondence of St. Paul and Seneca[5], ould suppose that it is only a similar, but somewhat more skilful formance of the same kind that lies here before us.

The genuineness of the passage being assumed, we may add that only one or two places does the Medicean text appear to be corrupt[6]. would seem also that we are here in possession of all that Tacitus thought fit (at least in the Annals) to tell us concerning the istians as such; the mode of reference to the subject here being h as strongly to make against the supposition that the lost Fifth ok would have given us in its proper place any fuller account of the

Hardly any account is taken of the lan-ge and style, except to notice (p. 76) the of 'Tiberio imperitante' (on which note) and the absence of clear con-tion in § 6 ('aut crucibus adfixi,' etc.). ake this as evidence of forgery is to ose the interpolator, who must other-be assumed throughout to have been xcellent classical scholar, to be ca-e also of lapsing into ungrammatical ders; a far more improbable sup-ion than that of a corruption in the The objections drawn from the ct-matter, such as the alleged an-ation in the use of 'Christiani,' the sion of any specification of Pilate's nce, etc., and the argument founded e absence of apparent knowledge of assage in early Christian writers, are red below or in the notes.

M. Hochart treats the two letters of li and Trajan as a similar pious fraud, and indeed rejects the whole correspondence of Pliny and Trajan and the fact of a governorship of Bithynia by the former: he also treats as interpolations the passage on the Christians in Suet. Ner. 16 (see p. 575), and the words 'inpulsore Chresto' in Suet. Cl. 25. It is difficult to see what object a Christian could have proposed to gain by these two insertions.

[3] The principal references to similar words and expressions are given in the notes, and could be further extended if needful. Professor J. E. B. Mayor has forcibly supported the genuineness of Pliny's letter by similar arguments (Class. Rev. iv. p. 121, foll.).

[4] Jos. Ant. 18. 3, 3.

[5] These letters are printed as an Appendix in Haase's edition of Seneca's works.

[6] See notes on §§ 5, 6.

origin of Christianity or of the life of Christ to supplement the bar record here vouchsafed[1].

Leaving the various difficulties of detail to be dealt with in the note on the passage, it is proposed here to discuss some of the gener grounds on which the credibility of the narrative as given by Tacit has been called in question.

The narrative brings in no other originating agency than that of Nerc who, to divert the imputation from himself, 'sets up culprits' to sustai the charge; and the great difficulty of explaining how the Christian came to be selected for the purpose is either ignored or supposed to fin its solution in the fact that they were 'detested for their abominations and notorious for 'hatred of the human race,' and were therefore presum ably persons against whom any charge could be believed, as well as bein sufficiently numerous to glut the public appetite for vengeance. Bu such an explanation seems only to increase the difficulty by its contras with the impression suggested from other sources; according to whic the Christian body in Rome at that date has been believed to have bee neither considerable in numbers, nor so well known to the outer worl as to have aroused its hatred, or to have then incurred the imputation current no doubt in the age of Tacitus, but which he has been her thought to have antedated. If suspicion had arisen or was sought t be propagated, tracing the origin of the fire to an act of religiou fanaticism, its more natural objects would have been the Jews, who wer then living at Rome in very great numbers, and who as a body ha twice at least before this time drawn down upon themselves the inter ference of the government[2], and whose religion is noticed with mor or less asperity by all the chief extant writers of the Neronian period

[1] If such earlier notice had existed, we should expect the addition here of some such words as 'ut rettuli,' or some other different wording of the sentence. The addition of the words 'per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum,' without specification of his province, has indeed been thought to imply that he was already known to the reader, or to be an interpolation, or to show the whole passage to be such. The difficulty is not serious (see note); and if the Crucifixion and his share in it had been already mentioned, even less than is here said would have sufficed. That other acts of his government had been recorded among the circumstances preceding the Jewish rising under Gaius is not impossible; but is somewhat unlikely from the fact that they had certainly not attracted the notice of Tacitus at an earlier date, when he dismisses the who period with the words 'sub Tiberio quie (H. 5. 9, 4). The strange conjecture M. Joel (see C. F. Arnold, p. 117), th an account given in the Fifth Boo caused the destruction of that part of th Annals through the indignation of Chri tians at the representation contained in i involves the extravagant supposition th the whole history of some three years w annihilated, to secure the excision of wh could have been at the utmost so extreme small a portion of it.

[2] For the deportation of Jews by T berius see 2. 85, 5, and note; and f the measure taken with them by Claudi see Introd. p. 30.

[3] Lucan speaks of 'dedita sacris Incer Iudaea dei' (2, 592); Pliny describes th nation as 'contumelia numinum insigni

ile that of the Christians is as universally ignored [1], and is generally ppposed to have hardly got beyond the stage at which it was reckoned Romans merely as a Jewish sect, parted from the main body by what emed to be obscure and even unintelligible differences [2].

The theories which seek an explanation of these difficulties in ne confusion between Jews and Christians may be briefly given as lows :—

1. It has been conjectured [3] that the real victims were zealot Jews, o had taken a local name from Judas of Galilee, and whose existence l been so forgotten when Tacitus wrote as to cause them to be ıfounded with the Γαλιλαῖοι [4] proper or Christians, to whom Tacitus appropriated 'the sufferings which he might with far greater truth l justice have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost inguished.' This opinion, in its original form, has found few if any porters [5]; but has suggested others to which the same objections are applicable.

2. It has been thought [6] that the blow fell on both bodies, but that the mory of the Christian sufferers has been alone preserved; that the ne of 'Christus' as that of the expected Messiah was no less upon lips of Jews than Christians, and that the turbulent followers of ie false Christ [7] drew down an attack upon themselves, which extended f by their malicious information [8], or by want of discrimination in judges, to all Christ-worshippers as such.

H. 13. 4, 9, 46), and Moses as foun- of a 'magices factio' (30. 1, 2, 11); ca (Fr. 41–43 Haase, cited from Aug. v. Dei vii. 11) speaks severely of some eir institutions, and adds 'usque eo ratissimae gentis consuetudo conva- ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit.' hese is to be added the passage in us (5, 179–184).

t. Augustine thinks it necessary to in the silence of Seneca (l. l.) by esting that he could neither safely e nor perhaps conscientiously find with Christianity. The absence of cal allusion in still later writers, as al and Juvenal, may be explained Bp. Lightfoot (Philippians, Introd. i.) e small material furnished by Chris- to caricature.

[2] The pleader Tertullus speaks of the t as the Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις (Acts 24,) Gallio it is a question περὶ λόγου ομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς (Id.), to Festus ζητήματα περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ιμονίας, καὶ περί τινος Ἰησοῦ τεθνη- ὃν ἔφασκεν ὁ Παῦλος ζῆν (Id. 25, 19).

[3] Gibbon, c. 16.

[4] This name is stated to have been anciently given by Jews to Christians (Suidas) and was reimposed by Julian.

[5] Besides other objections, it has been noticed that we have no evidence whatever that the Zealots or followers of Judas were ever called as a body 'Galilaeans.'

[6] See Merivale, Hist. Ch. 54. With his general view that of H. Schiller (Geschichte des Römischen Kaiserreichs, pp. 433–439) is substantially in agreement; but the reasoning of the latter is less forcible. Some of Schiller's principal criticisms on the statements of Tacitus are noticed in the notes.

[7] A supposition of some previous outbreak of this nature appears to be the most probable interpretation of the statement of Suet. (Cl. 25) 'Iudaeos inpulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes'; which has been also taken to be a confused account of some attack by the Jews upon the Christians.

[8] It is thought by supporters of this view that those first accused ('qui fate-

3. It has been thought[1] that suspicion may indeed have first reste on the Jews, but that the leading members of that body at Rome ma have been enabled by the powerful assistance of Poppaea to shift tl charge entirely from themselves upon the Christians, whom they deteste and were eagerly seeking opportunities to destroy.

In criticising these views attention must be called to what Tacitu distinctly states, and to such corroboration of his statements as can l found elsewhere.

It is no doubt hardly relevant to say that Tacitus was himself we aware of the distinction between Jews and Christians, and that h account of the origin and spread of Christianity is accurate as far as goes. But his explicit assertion that the 'Christians' were already, the time of which he is writing, so known and designated by the Roma people[2], is one which no careful historian would have made if he ha not found them so named in his authorities, who in this case we thoroughly contemporary with the events, and describing circumstanc of the utmost public notoriety. There is no improbability in the suppo sition that the 'influx of the Orontes into the Tiber[3]' might have alreac carried to Rome a name already used, probably for some twenty year at Antioch[4], already traceable as a term of reproach in the East[5], an apparently familiar not many years after this date at Pompeii[6]. Tl sect may well have been, as Tacitus seems to imply, better known the common people than to the government, though it may have force itself on the notice of the latter as early as 810, A.D. 57[7]; and there some reason to suppose that at the date of the siege of Jerusaler officers of the highest rank were aware that Christianity, though

bantur') were Jewish fanatics, who, if not actually owning the charge of incendiarism (see note on § 5), were exulting at the catastrophe.

[1] The possible agency of Poppaea had been noticed by Gibbon and others. In recent times this view has been powerfully stated by Renan (Origines du Christianisme, iv. ch. vii.) and by Bp. Lightfoot (Apost. Fathers, pt. ii. i. 10).

[2] 'Quos . . . vulgus Christianos appellabat' (15. 44, 3).

[3] This current is described by Juvenal (3, 62) as having long set in ('Iampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes').

[4] See note on § 3.

[5] The first Epistle of St. Peter, addressed to Christians in the Asiatic provinces, has the words *εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός* (*πάσχει*), *μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω* (4, 16). Compare the somewhat contemptuous use of the name l Agrippa to St. Paul (Acts 26, 28). implying that the name was not, at th date, adopted by the brotherhood ther selves, Tacitus is fully in accordan with the evidence afforded by the Ne Testament.

[6] In some words scribbled with cha coal on a wall, the letters 'HRISTIAI seem to have been at one time traceab but the writing has since perished, a the attempts at a restoration of the oth words rest on no real evidence. See C. L. iv. 679, and Zangemeister there.

[7] This would have been the case if t 'superstitio externa' charged agair Pomponia Graecina (13. 32, 3) was (has been generally thought) Christiani See note there, and Bp. Lightfoot, Apo Fathers, pt. i (St. Clement), i. 30–33.

wish origin, and (as they believed) bound up with Jewish nationality, s not only distinct from, but fundamentally opposed to Judaism[1].

It seems also implied, though not so plainly, that Tacitus found the ristians described in his authorities as 'per flagitia invisi'; and hough our only explicit knowledge of such imputations is of con- erably later date[2], there is some independent reason to think that ch were already current[3]; and they may well have been raked together d made the most of by their adversaries on this occasion.

There is reason to suppose that the apparently small number of the thren at the date of St. Paul's arrival at Rome[4] may have been terially increased by the effect of his two years of preaching and truction[5]; but the description of the sufferers as 'a vast multitude' st be taken as a rhetorical expression which we have no means of ucing to a numerical estimate[6]. Archaeology has unfortunately been e to throw hardly any light on the numbers or importance of the ristians in Rome at so early a date[7].

Among other classical authors, the only express reference to the ject[8] is that of Suetonius, which, as far as it goes, shows evidence being drawn from an independent source[9], and no less clearly marks

[1] It may be permitted here to assume correctness of the supposition that icius Severus, who transcribes the ds of Tacitus here and in c. 37, 8, 9, also (Chron. 2. 30, 6–8) transcribed the lost part of the Fifth Book of the ories, where Tacitus had given the ions of the Roman council of war as e advisability of destroying the Jewish ple: 'alii, et Titus ipse, evertendum plum inprimis censebant, quo plenius eorum et Christianorum [superstitio] retur. Quippe has [superstitiones] contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctori- profectas. Christianos ex Iudaeis ex- se, radice sublata, stirpem facile peri- n.' For 'superstitio' and 'supersti- s' (which Tacitus would no doubt used), Sulpicius has 'religio' and giones.'

[2] See note on 15. 44, 3.

[3] That Christians were looked upon as me way malefactors would appear 1 Pet. 2, 12 (καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς ποιῶν).

[4] See Acts 28, 15. [5] Acts 28, 30, 31.

[6] See note on § 5.

[7] De Rossi ('Insc. Christ. urbis ae') is only able to cite three tian sepulchral inscriptions bearing te dates (A.D. 71, 107, and 111) to the beginning of the third century. It is however maintained that the oldest Christian cemeteries were set apart and used as such from a very early time. See Northcote and Brownlow, 'Roma Sotteranea,' p. 75, etc.; Bp. Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, Pt. i. i. pp. 31, 35, foll.

[8] It has been thought that Seneca's description of the 'tunica molesta' (see note on 15. 44, 6) may have been suggested by the recent spectacle, and that the description in Juv. 1. 155, of the punishment of those who drew down on themselves the vengeance of Tigellinus, alludes to it. There can hardly be a doubt that Dio had omitted all reference to it; for his Christian epitomist, Xiphilinus, would hardly have left out any notice which he had found in his author; and Zonaras, who has generally followed Dio, does indeed speak of Nero as a persecutor (11. 13, 570), but on this point cites Eusebius as his authority, and closely follows him.

[9] The meagre statement, 'adflicti supplicis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae et maleficae' (Suet. Ner. 16), seems to follow a different authority from Tacitus, in giving this among various police regulations for which Nero is on the whole commended. The omission of any connexion of it with the fire may be merely due to brevity.

the victims as not Jews but Christians. The earliest express referer to any Neronian persecution in a Christian writer is that in the fragm preserved by Eusebius[1] of the Apology addressed to M. Aurelius Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about A.D. 170, which, without showing a knowledge of the circumstances as described by Tacitus, sets forth t two most wicked emperors, Nero and Domitian, as having become, the suggestion of evil counsellors, the only persecutors of the Christian The same note is dwelt upon at greater length by Tertullian, wh though he refers his adversaries to the statements of their own write and has elsewhere[3] distinctly cited Tacitus, shows no knowledge of th passage of the Annals[4]. By others, as Lactantius[5], Eusebius[6], a Jerome[7], Nero is spoken of in general terms as a persecutor, with allusion to these many and nameless victims, but as having caused t martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul; and it is in Sulpicius Sever alone that any unmistakeable following of the narrative of Tacitus shown[8].

There remain also to be noticed allusions in two Christian books earlier date than that of Tacitus and Suetonius, which, without containi the name of Nero, or referring indisputably to this massacre, see difficult to be explained or understood without supposing some distir reference to it.

The least open to question is that in the first Epistle of St. Clement the Corinthians, which is with probability taken to have been written in about the last year of Domitian[9], and which appears distinctly to allu

[1] H. E. 4. 26; also given in Routh, Rell. i. 116.

[2] Μόνοι πάντων, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπό τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός.

[3] 'Is enim (Cornelius Tacitus) in quinta Historiarum suarum bellum Iudaicum exorsus' (Apol. 16).

[4] 'Consulite commentarios vestros: illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. . . . Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate: sed qua et homo, facile coeptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat' (Apol. 5). It will be observed that no details of the Neronian persecution are given, nor is it brought into connexion with the fire. He goes on to speak as if these two emperors had enforced with exceptional rigour the penal laws (assumed as already existing) against Christians 'quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christian Trajan has been more commonly ran as a third persecutor: see the discuss of the bearing of his injunction to Pl in Mr. Hardy's edition of the letters a Bp. Lightfoot (Apost. Fathers, pt. ii pp. 11, foll.).

[5] De mort. persec. 2.

[6] H. E. 2. 25.

[7] 'De viris illustribus' (c. 5), a Chron.

[8] The only earlier Christian writ that even so far follows Tacitus as connect the persecution with the fire the apocryphal correspondence of P and Seneca, which must have been writ at some date before the time of Jeron who refers to it as if genuine. See bel p. 579, 3.

[9] See Bp. Lightfoot, who argues (trod. p. 346, foll.) against those w would refer it to an earlier, or to a co derably later date.

h to troubles just before the date of its despatch[1], and also to great erings seemingly associated in time with the deaths of St. Peter and Paul; the latter passage reminding us in some of its expressions of words here used by Tacitus[2].

'he supposed references in the Apocalypse have been altogether ed[3], and are certainly in great part to be otherwise explained; but the ninence apparently assigned (according to most recent interpreters) ne individual figure of Nero[4], and the personification of the city of ne as 'the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the d of the martyrs of Jesus[5],' are points in which such allusion can ly be excluded[6].

'he words in § 1 [διὰ τὰς] αἰφνιδίους ταλλήλους [γενομ]ένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς περι]πτώσεις ('owing to the sudden repeated calamities and reverses have befallen us') are noted by ightfoot as suitable to the character so-called persecution (or rather the of judicial attacks on individuals) at under Domitian.

fter speaking of the deaths of these es, he adds (§ 6), τούτοις τοῖς ἀν- ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς καὶ βασάνοις, διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες, γμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. ῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες, νεάνιδες, και, αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια πα- , ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον η[σαν] καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον ενεῖς τῷ σώματι. The words νεά- παιδίσκαι are a suggestion of Bp. worth, favoured, and formerly d in the text, by Bp. Lightfoot, much vexed Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι, have been taken to refer to a scenic ntation by martyrs of the legendary ment of these persons. It would ssing the passage too far to restrict rence to the Neronian massacre; association with the apostles might lerstood of kindred sufferings as of even approximate contempora- nd other martyrdoms since were ss also present to the writer's but the allusion to outrage and agrees closely with the description tus; ἐν ἡμῖν may probably mean me'; and πολὺ πλῆθος seems to sober prose of which 'multi- gens' is the rhetorical amplifi-

mmsen (Hist. v. 520, 1; E. T. ii. with whom Neumann ('die Rö- Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian,' i. p. 12) agrees, has argued that the Apocalypse is directed against the Roman provincial government generally, and in particular against the worship of the emperors. It is clearly true that the martyrs prominently instanced are those who 'would not worship the image of the beast' (see 13, 15; 20, 4, etc.), in other words, the victims of such standing 'quaestiones de Christianis' as we have in Pliny's letter. This would go to show the Book to have been written when such 'quaestiones' were established and frequent, and therefore not before the time of Domitian, instead of (as many modern critics have argued) as early as A.D. 69 or 70: and it is natural to suppose that a catastrophe of some thirty years ago was less prominent in the writer's mind than the constant ordeal to which Christians were everywhere at that moment subjected. But to suppose the Neronian victims excluded from view because they were not put to death on this charge, or formally on any religious question at all, but on an allegation of incendiarism, would be to attach too much weight to a pretext, practically discarded, as we are told (see 15. 44, 5, and note), at the time itself, and naturally dropped out of sight in subsequent record.

[4] In Mommsen's view, Nero stands as the representative of the Roman imperial rule and the Antichrist, chiefly because the legend of his healing and his return was in every one's mouth. But to look on his return as in any sense a manifestation of Antichrist implies that he had been a persecutor of the faith beyond other emperors.

[5] Rev. 17, 5; cp. 18, 24. Mommsen (l. l.), with whom Neumann (p. 15) again agrees, would refer the stress laid on the guilt of the city of Rome in this respect

It must be admitted that this corroborative evidence is on the who slender; but if, as has been already shown[1], the genuineness of th passage in Tacitus is not open to reasonable doubt, we have before u here an additional illustration of the otherwise apparent fact, that h works as a whole, especially the Annals, were but little studied[2]. Th occurrence of a persecution of some kind under Nero is also ind pendently confirmed; but we should certainly have expected it to hav dwelt more in the memory of the Church if the number of sufferers ha

solely to its being the more frequent or almost the exclusive place of execution of all Christians condemned to the arena; an obligation to send such criminals to the princeps being recorded (in A. D. 200) as imposed on governors (Modestinus, Dig. 48. 19, 31). But there may be some reason for questioning whether many Christians had been condemned 'ad bestias' in the time of Domitian. The 'quaestiones de Christianis' seem not yet very common in Pliny's time; and it is probable that the penalties were at first less severe than afterwards. Penal laws become more stringent in the face of defiance; and we have evidence (Paul. Sent. v. 29, 1) that the penalties of 'maiestas,' under which law (or that of 'sacrilegium') those refusing to worship the emperor were arraigned (Tert. Apol. 10; cp. Neumann, p. 14), had been at some time thus sharpened: 'antea in perpetuum aqua et igni interdicebatur; nunc vero humiliores bestiis obiciuntur aut vivi exuruntur, honestiores capite puniuntur.' Respecting the date of this increased severity of penalty, we have but little evidence. Such vast shows as those of Trajan, probably also those of the Flavian emperors, must have demanded a crowd of human victims (see Bp. Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, pt. ii. vol. i. pp. 354–356); and the instance of St. Ignatius, in the later part of the former prince's rule, presupposes others; yet that his case was somewhat exceptional, would appear from the narrative itself, and still more so from Pliny's description, at the very same date, of his own, which seems the usual mode of procedure, that of ordering the humbler culprits to execution there and then, and sending to Rome only those who could plead their 'civitas.' Respecting earlier times, we are still more in the dark, except that exile had not ceased to be the strict legal penalty (as regards Roman citizens) for 'maiestas' in the time of Tiberius (3. 53, 6), nor apparently in that of Nero (14. 48, 7), though death was often arbitrarily inflicted. In favour of t early prevalence of 'damnatio ad bestia it may be argued (1) that the 'spectac lum' given by Nero was likely to ha been in some way imitated: (2) th (putting aside such figurative expressio as 1 Cor. 4, 9; 2 Tim. 4, 17) the ἐθηρι μάχησα of 1 Cor. 15, 32, if a metaphor regards St. Paul, points to a comm fact: (3) that the allusion to Δαναΐ καὶ Δίρκαι (see above, p. 577, 2) points some such spectacle. To these it m be replied (1) that those so put to dea by Nero were not convicted of 'maiesta but of alleged incendiarism, and that t punishment was regarded as excess even for them: (2) that the metaphori use of θηριομαχεῖν may well have be sufficiently general to have no speci significance when used by a Christ (cp. οἵοις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα, Pompeius App. B. C. 2. 61): (3) that any expla tion of Δαναΐδες seems impossible, a the whole reading most questionable (note l. l.). There is also some stron counter evidence, (1) in the comple silence of the Apocalypse itself as to a such form of martyrdom; (2) still mo in the general designation of the marty as οἱ πεπελεκισμένοι (20, 4), pointing simple execution as at least the usu penalty.

[6] Another supposition, perhaps mo probable than that discussed above, is that Rome, as the seat of government, is associated with all the righteous blood shed throughout the empire. This may be admitted; but the words seem also to contain a more particular reference, of which this massacre would be the most natural explanation.

[1] See above, p. 571.

[2] The few references in subsequent literature to Tacitus at all are to the Histories; and it would appear that in the time of the emperor Claudius Tacitus, some action on his part was required to rescue the works of his namesake from oblivion (Vit. Tac. 10, 3).

n as great as Tacitus would lead us to suppose[1]. It is however be borne in mind that the interest of posterity gathered chiefly round inent individual martyrs; whence the conception of Nero as a perutor would naturally be rather associated with the deaths of the great ostles St. Peter and St. Paul than with those of obscure, though even nerous victims, who left no name and appear in no martyrology[2].

t will be seen that we do not find evidence in classical or Christian ord for the supposition that this massacre fell chiefly or even jointly the Jewish body[3]. Nor has any Jewish tradition to that effect come n to us; and the complete silence of Josephus, who could not well er have been ignorant of any such terrible sufferings undergone by co-religionists, or have failed to record them if known to him, must considerable weight in such a case[4].

n the other hand, the theory that the Jews may have considered nselves in danger, and may have been enabled to secure their own ty, and to shift the suspicion to the Christians by means of their ience at court, though equally unattested, is certainly so far a 'vera a,' that we have clear evidence of Poppaea's leaning toward the s[5], and of her interposition on two occasions on their behalf[6]; to h has to be added our abundant evidence of their bitter hatred of Christians, and previous attempts to arraign St. Paul and others re provincial tribunals. We appear thus to see that they had ortunity, and that probably they alone had motives, for endeavouring sten upon the Christians a charge likely in such a state of excitet to win ready belief, and that they must have had power, such as ably no others would have had, to give such information as to their

[1] may be argued that he was unlikely ggerate the sufferings of an odious but it is easy to suppose that to or perhaps to the authorities whom lowed, the memory of Nero was still odious.

[2] hat the name of none of these vics preserved in any martyrology, is by Dean Merivale (ch. 54). The of St. Peter and St. Paul are genery laced two or three years later.

[3] he only trace of any such tradition d in the apocryphal correspondence l and Seneca (Ep. 12), 'Christiani aei quasi machinatores incendii afpplicio uri solent.' This may be e for what it is worth, as showing the ce of such a belief as early as the century; but can hardly be set the silence of Josephus.

[4] sephus, who takes a somewhat balanced view of the general character of Nero (Ant. 20. 8, 3), expresses an intention of recording accurately all that happened to the Jews under his rule.

[5] The description of her as θεοσεβής in Jos. Ant. 20. 8, 11, has been perhaps too strictly interpreted as implying that she was a proselyte.

[6] Her intercession on behalf of the high priest and other authorities of the temple in a dispute between them and Festus is given by Josephus (l. l.); as also his own mission apparently in the year before the fire, on behalf of some Jewish prisoners who had been sent to Rome by Felix and were detained there. He had approached Poppaea through Alityrus, a Jewish actor of high repute, and obtained the release of the prisoners and received many gifts from her (Vit. 3).

tenets as would make the charge seem plausible [1]. It may be add that the reference (if such it may be taken to be) to this event in t Epistle of St. Clement [2] represents the martyrs as victims to party spi or jealousy (ζῆλος) [3]. The argument from silence [4], resting on t absence of any mention of this among all the acts of hostility imput to the Jews by Christian controversialists, loses much of its weight the generality of the language used in most of the places referred to.

We should infer from Tacitus that the general guilt of the Christi body was assumed in some way before any individuals were dealt wit and that the openly known and professed Christians were but a sm section of the whole body [5]; and that it was through some, perha very few of the former, probably under terrible constraint of tortu that the latter were got at [6]. Those who know the flimsy evidence th has generally been held to suffice in such mockeries of justice as tim of intense public excitement sanction, will readily understand th membership in a body of pronounced 'haters of mankind,' seemed pro enough of incendiarism [7] at the tribunal, perhaps of the city praefe or at that where Nero, with probably Tigellinus at his side [8], preside Nor do even the bitter words used by the historian forbid us to suppo that he sympathised with the general feeling expressed at Nero's bru

[1] It has been noted by Dean Milman (Hist. of Christ. B. ii. ch. 3) that any expressions of belief possibly then used (cp. 2 Thess. 1, 8; 2 Pet. 3, 10; Rev. 18, 8) respecting an impending destruction of the world by fire, would have great weight at such a time: nor would any stop to inquire whether such belief might also be found in Jewish prophecy (e.g. Mal. 4, 1) and in Stoic or other philosophic teaching (Min. Fel. Oct. c. 34). The charge of holding nocturnal assemblies, and that of 'odium generis humani,' and general immorality as implied in the alleged 'flagitia,' would complete the indictment. Tacitus may perhaps have been so far wrong in describing as already known and existing the charges which may have been then and there first formulated.

[2] See above, p. 577, 2.

[3] This could equally refer to betrayal by brother-Christians, if voluntary, and not extorted by fear. It should also be mentioned that Melito (see above, p. 576, 2) speaks of Nero and Domitian more as if prompted by ordinary individual informers than by a hostile religious body. This may be intended especially to refer to the latter emperor.

[4] This argument appears to be pressed by M. Joel, who is cited by Dr. C. Arnold (p. 58, etc.) as having replied w great vigour to this charge on behalf his co-religionists. The reference is es cially to such early treatises as the c logue of Justin with Trypho.

[5] See note on 'qui fatebantur' (§ 5).

[6] The allusion to προδόται in 2 Tim 4, may here be noted. The word is u elsewhere only twice in N. T., of Ju (Lk. 6, 16), and of the Jews in relat to Christ (Acts 7, 52).

[7] See note on 'haud proinde quam,' (§ 5).

[8] Nothing is told us as to the court fore which the trials took place; but allusion which is thought to be made the subject in Juv. 1, 155, brings in name of Tigellinus, whose natural p tion would have been that of assessor Nero sitting personally, 'saevienti i mum consiliorum' (15. 61, 4), or p siding at torture (14. 60, 4). It is thou that criminals of humble rank may h been tried before the 'praefectus url (see 6. 11, 3), and that in charges of cendiarism, the 'praefectus vigilum' some summary power. The senato court is not likely to have been emplo in such a case.

oyment of the scene of torment, that however guilty the victims might and however justly their lives were forfeited, the horrors added to ir execution served no public interest, and went merely to glut one n's ferocity[1].

The supposition that this attack on the Christians extended beyond me rests on late evidence[2], and is inconsistent with the charge on ch they were formally condemned; but it can hardly be doubted that action taken had far-reaching consequences. Whatever tended dissociate the new religion from Judaism tended to dissociate it also n Jewish privileges[3], and to show to all provincial governors that iew 'religio inlicita,' formidably aggressive and proselytising, had en among them. In such a case it hardly needed the issue of a cial edict to set up such 'quaestiones' as we find in force forty rs afterwards[4], in which the worship of the image of deified or ig emperors is enforced with all rigour of penal consequences upon scattered bodies protected by no ordinance and representing no onality.

See § 8 and notes.

It does not appear to be distinctly ned by any earlier writer than Orosius Arnold, p. 86); and the Lusitanian iption cited in support has been long treated as an invention (C. I. L. ii. 231). It is an open question whether definite and special persecution is alluded to in 1 Pet. 4, 12–19; also her the words of Tertullian (ad nat. , 'permansit, erasis omnibus, hoc n institutum Neronianum,' go to show permanent custom of 'quaestiones' this date.

[3] The Jews were allowed to keep their sabbaths: no emperor but Gaius had insisted on their worshipping his image: military service was not required of them. Even after the Jewish war, these privileges were still observed (see Neumann, p. 10, foll.).

[4] Such trials may have arisen before the time of Domitian, but probably their severity mainly dates from him; as he appears to have insisted on his own divinity more strongly than any of his predecessors except Gaius (Suet. Dom. 13; Plin. Pan. 33; Dio, 67. 12, 2).

BOOK XVI.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

. 1–13. Remaining events of the year.

.–3. Delusion propagated by Caesellius Bassus respecting a treasure in Africa. ., 5. Recurrence of the Neronian festival: Nero appears on the stage of the public heatre: constant presence and applause exacted from the audience; peril of Vesɔasian. 6. Death of Poppaea, and honours paid to her. 7–9. C. Cassius and L. ;ilanus impeached by Nero before the senate: the former exiled; the latter removed o Barium and killed there. 10, 11. L. Vetus, his daughter Pollitta, and mother-inaw Sextia, forced to suicide. 12. P. Gallus exiled. The months of May and June o be called Claudius and Germanicus. 13. Storms in Campania and pestilence at Rome: levy of troops in provinces, and bounty of Nero to the people of Luglunum.

. U. C. 819, A. D. 66. C. Suetonius Paulinus, C. Luccius Telesinus, coss.

. 14–20. Various persons put to death.

4–16. P. Anteius and Ostorius Scapula accused of astrology by Antistius Sosianus: heir deaths. Excuse of Tacitus for recording the general want of spirit. 17. Deaths f Rufrius Crispinus, Annaeus Mela (brother of Seneca and father of Lucan), and erialis Anicius. 18–20. Death and character of C. Petronius, who taunts Nero in vriting with his secret excesses: this leads to the exile of Silia. Minucius Thermus acrificed to the enmity of Tigellinus.

. 21–35. Crowning iniquity of the deaths of Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus.

1, 22. Speech of Capito Cossutianus against Thrasea, respecting his conduct in the enate and subsequent absence from it. 23. Ostorius Sabinus, a knight, impeaches oranus for his conduct as proconsul of Asia. 24–26. Thrasea forbidden to meet Iero on his entry into Rome with Tiridates. He demands to know the ground of ffence, and consults with his friends whether he should meet the charge or anticiate it by death. 27–29. The senate surrounded by soldiers: letter of Nero read: ɔeech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea, Helvidius Priscus, Paconius Agrippinus, urtius Montanus. Consternation in the senate. 30–32. Charges of Ostorius gainst Soranus and his daughter Servilia, wife of the exiled Annius Pollio, and ɪeir defence: baseness of P. Egnatius the Stoic in bearing witness against him. 3. Constancy of Cassius Asclepiodotus, a friend of Soranus. Sentence passed, that hrasea, Soranus, and Servilia be permitted to commit suicide; Helvidius and Paɔnius to be banished from Italy; Montanus to be excluded from public life: the ccusers rewarded. 34, 35. Last hours of Thrasea.

APPENDIX III.

ummary of the principal events between the end of Book 16 and the death of Nero.

CORNELII TACITI

.NNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER XVI.

l. INLUSIT dehinc Neroni fortuna per vanitatem ipsius et pro-ssa Caeselli Bassi, qui origine Poenus, mente turbida, nocturnae etis imaginem ad spem haud dubiae rei traxit, vectusque mam, principis aditum emercatus, expromit repertum in agro specum altitudine inmensa, quo magna vis auri contineretur, in formam pecuniae, sed rudi et antiquo pondere. lateres ppe praegraves iacere, adstantibus parte alia columnis; quae

dehinc, implying that fortune had ·rto favoured him.

eroni: so all edd. after G. The . 'Neronis fortuna' (both in uncials) s the scribe to have been misled by a non formula.

nitatem, 'credulity' (Burnouf, etc.); 14. 22, 3.

Caeselli Bassi. Suet. (31) omits ıame, but styles the person 'eques anus.'

rbida, 'disordered'; so 'turbidus i' (of Gaius), in H. 4. 48, 2.

cturnae quietis imaginem. On use of 'quies' see 1. 65, 2, and t

haud dubiae rei traxit: so all t edd., after Doed., for Med. 'haud ('e' being written in an erasure) it,' corrected by other MSS. and o 'dubiam retraxit.' On 'ad spem e' cp. 15. 74, 2.

emercatus: cp. 12. 14, 1, and note. e bribes which had to be given to the 'ianitores' of great men, to procure an interview, see 4. 74, 5; Juv. 3, 184, and passages there quoted by Mayor.

repertum, etc. Schiller notes a story told by Philost. (Vit. Ap. 6. 39), of a man sacrificing to Earth in the hope of treasure, as showing a belief prevalent in that age.

6. in formam pecuniae, 'coined into money.' The prep. here, as often (cp. 13. 38, 2; 15. 71, 10, etc.), expresses result, but is somewhat harsher from the absence of any verb or participle.

rudi atque antiquo pondere, 'in rude and antique masses': the abl. is that of quality. 'Pondus' is thus often used of weighty material.

lateres . . . columnis. The latter seems to be, as Jacob notes, a grandiloquent term for upright bars. 'Lateres' is used for 'ingots' in Plin. N. H. 33, 3, 17, 56; as also πλίνθοι in Polyb., etc.; ἡμιπλίνθια in Hdt. 1. 50, 2.

per tantum aevi occulta augendis praesentibus bonis. ceterum ut coniectura demonstrabat, Dido Phoenissam Tyro profugar condita Carthagine illas opes abdidisse, ne novus populus nimi pecunia lasciviret, aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupi dine auri ad bellum accenderentur.

2. Igitur Nero, non auctoris, non ipsius negotii fide sati spectata nec missis, per quos nosceret an vera adferrentur, auge ultro rumorem mittitque qui velut paratam praedam adveheren dantur triremes et delectum remigium iuvandae festination nec aliud per illos dies populus credulitate, prudentes divers

1. **occulta**, better taken as a participle (with 'fuisse' supplied) than as an adj. Nipp., on the ground that Tacitus never elsewhere uses the perf. of 'occulo' (see note on 14. 44, 2), thinks that a syllable has here been dropped, and reads 'occultata.'

augendis . . . bonis, dat. of purpose, 'to increase the wealth of the present age.'

2. **ut coniectura demonstrabat.** The Med. 'demonstrat' answers to 'expromit'; but we should expect the imperf. in a parenthetical sentence; and it is thus that these words must necessarily be taken, so as to make the force of 'expromit' extend to 'abdidisse.' Orelli and Jacob, however, retain the present. Madvig (Adv. ii. 557) considers 'ut' to be an interpolation (arising from taking 'coniectura' as a nominative), and would thus make 'abdidisse' depend on 'demonstrabat.'

Dido. This accus. is found in Vell. 1. 6, 4; also (with v. l. 'Didon') in Ov. Her. 7, 7; 133; possibly also in Verg. Aen. 4, 383. Quint. says (1. 5, 63) that the general preference for Greek forms of inflexion was new in his day; that he, though generally preferring Latin forms, feels unable to tolerate such an accusative as 'Calypsonem,' though Caesar had followed the ancients in using even those forms.

4. **reges Numidarum**, such as the Iarbas of Vergil (Aen. 4, 36, etc.).

alias, 'otherwise.' This sense, though borne out by such passages as 'alias salubri potu eius aquae' (Pl. N. H. 2, 103, 106, 226), is not in accordance with the general use in Tacitus, where it always means 'at other times' (e.g. 1. 55, 3; 11. 31, 4, etc.), with the doubtful exception of 3. 73, 2. Ritt. reads 'alia' ('in other respects').

6. **fide**, used strictly with 'auctori and more loosely with 'negotii' ('th credibility of the informant, and intrins likelihood of the matter').

7. **missis.** Med. and other MSS. ar old edd. add 'uisoribus,' which has gene ally been omitted, after Ern., as a glos the word being known only in mediaev Latin.

nosceret = 'cognosceret': cp. 1 73, 3, etc.

8. **velut paratam**, 'lying, as it wer (in his imagination) ready to hand.' Th Med. text 'partam' is retained by Walt and Ritt.; but most edd. after Ern. ha followed Acid. in correcting it as abov on the ground that 'partam' would more naturally used of something a quired by exertion (cp. the opposite co rection of 'partae' for 'paratae,' in 4. 4 1). 'Praeda parata' is used similarly Ov. Her. 8, 82; so also 'materia . . audenti parata' in H. 1. 6, 5; and t same idea is here expressed below 'obvias opes.'

adveherent, sc. 'Romam': E needlessly alters to 'aveherent.'

9. **delectum remigium** = 'delecti r miges' (cp. 14. 4, 5; 39, 4, etc.), tak closely with 'iuvandae festinationi.' Bo horn has been followed by almost all ed in reading 'remigium' for the Med. 'r uigium'; which, if used for 'ships,' wou naturally be in the plural (cp. 4. 68, and the sense given to the words by W ther ('triremes et quidem delectae nave is weak.

10. **nec aliud**, etc.; 'during all th days this subject was alone discussed, ' the people with credulity, by the thoug ful with very different remarks.' For t use of 'diversus' cp. 14. 10, 4; H. 4. 5 (where 'diversa fama' is opposed 'iustum indicium explesse videbatur

ma tulere. ac forte quinquennale ludicrum secundo lustro lebrabatur, ab oratoribusque praecipua materia in laudem incipis adsumpta est. non enim solitas tantum fruges nec nfusum metallis aurum gigni, sed nova ubertate provenire rram et obvias opes deferre deos, quaeque alia summa facundia c minore adulatione servilia fingebant, securi de facilitate edentis.

3. Gliscebat interim luxuria spe inani, consumebanturque teres opes quasi oblatis, quas multos per annos prodigeret. in et inde iam largiebatur; et divitiarum exspectatio inter

that of 'fama' cp. 13. 1, 6 ('crebra gi fama'), etc.; for that of 'tulere' 15. 46, 1, etc. Boxhorn has been in followed by almost all edd. in ding 'prudentes' (thus opposed to lgum' in 1. 47, 5) for the Med. 'protis'; from which Walther endeavours, h little success, to extract a satisfactory aning.

. **quinquennale ludicrum**: cp. 14. 1. The proper year, according to man computation (see note on 14. 20, had come round; but he is said by t. (Ner. 21) to have somewhat antiated the day ('Neroneum agona ante estitutam diem revocavit'). The d. 'celebratur' is thus corrected by ., etc.

. **ab oratoribusque.** Med. has aratoribus oratoribusque,' generally rected by the old edd. to 'a narratori- oratoribusque.' Among many atpts to better this, the 'ac vatibus' of s. appears to have found most favour; Tacitus (as Nipp. remarks) would dly have so styled the court poets. st recent edd. follow Baiter in reading bove, and treating the error as one of etition. Ritt. reads '[ab oratoribus] oribusque,' considering the former ds interpolated from a marginal note laining the less common dative.

ateria, sc. 'haec,' supplied from c aliud.'

. **confusum metallis aurum,** 'mere l ore in mines.' As the words stand, ems best so to take them, and to make tallis' an abl. of place (see Introd. i. 25), unless it be supposed, with Dr., 'in' has dropped out between 'm' 'm.' There is much probability in p.'s conjecture, that 'aliis' has oped out after 'metallis' (cp. 'aurum rgentum et alia metalla' Agr. 12, 6); but it is more natural to speak of gold as mixed with other substances generally in the earth than with other metals. Pliny mentions (N. H. 33. 4, 21, 67) a great find of gold close to the surface of the ground in Delmatia in Nero's time.

gigni. This term is used by Pl. ma. of gold (N. H. 33. 4, 21, 78) and of precious stones (Id. 37. 5, 20, 76). Dr. notes also the use of 'nasci' of metals in Caes. B. G. 5. 12, 5, etc., and the modern use of similar terms in unscientific language.

provenire, 'was fruitful.' The verb is used properly of the crop (cp. 13. 57, 2, etc.), and in this sense is ἅπ. εἰρ.; but the use with a personal subject in the sense of 'succeeding,' in such phrases as 'bene,' 'recte provenire,' etc. (Plaut. Truc. 2. 4, 34; 6, 35; Stich. 2. 3, 73; etc.), seems sufficiently near to support the text. Ritt. (who partly follows MS. Agr.) reads 'provenire e terra,' a reading which might no doubt easily have been altered into the Med. text; but the subject 'terram' (personified) more naturally answers to 'deos.'

5. **obvias,** 'thrown in our way,' without search.

6. **servilia,** accus., with 'alia.'

securi, etc., 'sure of the acceptance of him who listened to them'; sure that any flattery, however barefaced, was welcome. 'Facilitas' is equivalent to the 'facilis credulitas' of 14. 4, 3.

8. **luxuria,** 'his extravagance.' Suet. (Ner. 31) connects with this expectation the costly buildings, etc. mentioned by Tacitus earlier (15. 42).

10. **inde,** 'out of this treasure,' in anticipation of it.

largiebatur. On the enormous largesses of Nero's later years see H. 1. 20, 2; Introd. p. 91.

causas paupertatis publicae erat. nam Bassus, effosso agr suo latisque circum arvis, dum hunc vel illum locum promiss specus adseverat, sequunturque non modo milites sed populu agrestium efficiendo operi adsumptus, tandem posita vaecordia non falsa antea somnia sua seque tunc primum elusum admirans pudorem et metum morte voluntaria effugit. quidam vinctum ac mox dimissum tradidere ademptis bonis in locum regiae gazae

4. Interea senatus, propinquo iam lustrali certamine, u dedecus averteret, offert imperatori victoriam cantus adicitqu facundiae coronam, qua ludicra deformitas velaretur. sed Ner nihil ambitu nec potestate senatus opus esse dictitans, se aequum adversum aemulos et religione iudicum meritam laudem ad

1. **paupertatis publicae,** 'exhaustion of public funds.' Tacitus perhaps alludes to what is mentioned by Suet. (Ner. 32), that by his prodigal expenditure under the influence of this hope, Nero was 'ita iam exhaustus et egens ut stipendia quoque militum et commoda veteranorum protrahi ac differri necesse esset.' He adds an account of various means of extortion devised to make up for the disappointment.

2. **circum,** here taken as an attribute: cp. 'dites circum terras' (4. 55, 8).

hunc vel illum, i.e. (pointing) 'here' or 'there': 'locum,' sc. 'esse.'

5. **tunc,** answering to 'nunc' in oratio recta: cp. 14. 35, 1, and note.

admirans (Med. 'ammirans'), 'protesting with astonishment.' There seems to be no reason to doubt that Bassus was acting in good faith, under a genuine delusion of his 'mens turbida' (c. 1, 1). He had nothing to gain by fraud, and had given money for access to Nero (l. l.). He is now represented as recovering from his delusion ('posita vaecordia') and as genuinely astonished. There is thus no reason for altering 'admirans' to 'adfirmans' (with Nipp.); though the sense of this participle appears to be supplied by zeugma with 'non falsa,' etc.

6. **quidam . . . tradidere.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus implies disbelief in this version, by his way of putting it. Similar instances are found in H. 1. 7, 2; 14, 1; 3. 54, 7, etc. In 15. 53, 5, what is first stated as a fact is afterwards qualified by the context.

7. **in locum,** 'to make up for.'

gazae. This Persian word (Curt. 3. 13, 5) is especially used of royal treasure cp. 6. 31, 2; 37, 5.

8. **lustrali certamine:** see note o 14. 20, 1. It is to be observed that, a the alleged discovery of Bassus took plac before the games, its sequel is related be fore going back to the narrative.

9. **dedecus,** the scandal of his appear ance on the stage, which they hoped t prevent by awarding him the prize befor hand.

10. **facundiae,** 'of eloquence.' Th term, like 'eloquentia' (14. 21, 8) woul convey the idea of a more liberal accom plishment than that of 'cantus,' and woul veil the disgrace of rewarding an emper for the latter. It would be understood t be given for his poetic gift, of which a cordingly he first gives proof ('carme . . . recitat').

ludicra deformitas, 'the degrada tion attaching to the stage': cp. 'lud crum in modum canere' (14. 14, 1); als the similar sense of 'deformitas' in 1 32, 6, etc.: and of 'deformia' in 1 15, 3.

11. **ambitu.** It is possible, with Ritt to supply 'suo,' and thus to distinguis it from 'potestate senatus'; but it seem better to take the latter term as explainin the former, and to suppose that an autho ritative injunction from the senate to th judges is called 'ambitus' as an irre gular and corrupt mode of gaining th prize.

aequum, sc. 'esse,' 'he met his riva on an equal footing' (cp. 2. 42, 5; 6. 2 3), not as emperor: he would owe th prize to the merit of his performanc and the conscientiousness of the judges.

:uturum, primo carmen in scaena recitat; mox flagitante vulgo omnia studia sua publicaret (haec enim verba dixere) in-editur theatrum, cunctis citharae legibus obtemperans, ne sus resideret, ne sudorem nisi ea quam indutui gerebat veste tergeret, ut nulla oris aut narium excrementa viserentur. stremo flexus genu et coetum illum manu veneratus sententias licum opperiebatur ficto pavore. et plebs quidem urbis, strionum quoque gestus iuvare solita, personabat certis modis ausuque composito. crederes laetari, ac fortasse laetabantur r incuriam publici flagitii.

5. Sed qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et antiqui

. **in scaena,** that of the great theatre Pompeius (see 14. 20, 2, and note): so ny speaks (N. H. 37. 2, 7, 19) of the iod of his more private performances dum Pompeiano praeludit.'

armen . . . recitat, 'he declaims oem,' one of his own compositions 14. 16, 1, etc.). Dio states (62. 29, hat it was a part of the 'Troica.'

. **ut omnia,** etc. 'that he would make ibition of all his accomplishments': Suet. (Ner. 21), 'non cessavit se iden- m publicare.'

ngreditur theatrum, i. e. after ing appeared as a poet, he now ap- rs as a musician. In Suet. Vit. 4 it tated that he had left the theatre after recitation, and, notwithstanding the ular demand, shrank from coming vard again, till Vitellius, who was iding at the games, went as if in the e of the people, and overcame his ap- ent reluctance. Suet. adds (Ner. 21) , after preluding, he announced through vius Rufus that he would sing the part iobe.

itharae legibus, 'the etiquette of harper's profession': for a similar ac- t, see Suet. Ner. 24.

indutui. This word is used here e in Tacitus, also in Varr., Apul., mian., but always in dat. sing. or pl. 'vestitui pelles' (G. 46, 3), and other datives in Introd. i. v. § 23.

genu, best taken (with Nipp.) as s. of the part concerned.

etum illum, contemptuously. The ices' were much influenced by the ular voice.

ficto pavore. Suet. speaks (Ner. as if he had worked himself into a fear. Dio (63. 9, 2) speaks of a lar reality or show of fear in Greece. The statement of Suet. (21), that he put off the reception of the crown and the rest of the contest till the following year, is discredited by the silence of Tacitus.

8. **iuvare,** 'to stimulate' by applause. On the pantomimists ('histriones') see 1. 54, 3, and note.

personabat: cp. 14. 15, 9, and note.

certis modis, 'in regular cadence.' Dio speaks (73. 2, 3) of the people in the theatres as trained in the time of Commodus εὐρύθμως ἐκβοᾶν, and Lips. cites an edict of Theodoric in praise of the modulated shouting of his day. It appears to be applause of this kind that is called 'concentus' in Pl. Pan. 2. See further references in Friedl. ii. 261.

9. **composito,** 'regulated': cp. 15. 34, 2, and note.

10. **per incuriam:** so all edd. after Acid. for Med. 'per iniuriam.' The prep. has here the force of 'ex' (='quia incuriosi erant'): cp. Introd. i. v. § 62.

11. **municipiis.** This is explained by the words 'severa . . . Italia,' so as to show that the Italian towns, which are often spoken of generally as 'municipia et coloniae' (cp. 1. 79, 1, and note), are here meant, and no reference included to such municipal towns as existed in the provinces. On the contrast of life in these towns with that of Rome see 3. 55, 4, also the expressions of Pliny (Ep. 1. 14, 4) 'patria est ei Brixia ex illa nostra Italia, quae multum adhuc verecundiae, frugalitatis atque etiam rusticitatis antiquae retinet.'

severaque, etc. Most recent edd. follow Freinsh. and others in thus reading (after MS. Agr.) for the Med. 'severam . . . retinentes Italiam,' which Orelli retains,

moris retinente Italia, quique per longinquas provincias lascivi inexperti officio legationum aut privata utilitate adveneran neque aspectum illum tolerare neque labori inhonesto sufficere cum manibus nesciis fatiscerent, turbarent gnaros ac saepe a militibus verberarentur, qui per cuneos stabant, ne quod tempori momentum inpari clamore aut silentio segni praeteriret. con 2
stitit plerosque equitum, dum per angustias aditus et ingruenten multitudinem enituntur, obtritos, et alios, dum diem noctemqu sedilibus continuant, morbo exitiabili correptos. quippe gravio 3
inerat metus, si spectaculo defuissent, multis palam et pluribu occultis, ut nomina ac vultus, alacritatem tristitiamque coëuntiun scrutarentur. unde tenuioribus statim inrogata supplicia, ad 4
versum inlustres dissimulatum ad praesens et mox redditun

and which would mean 'still clinging to that part of Italy which had strict and primitive ways.' But the correction, though not necessary, is supported by the use of 'retinens' with genit. elsewhere (cp. 2. 38, 9, and note). It is of course clear that such municipal towns as were close to Rome would not be so spoken of.

1. **longinquas,** evidently the right reading of the Med. 'lonquas,' perverted by other MSS. and old edd. into 'longas,' a word never used by Tacitus to express remoteness.

lascivia inexperti, 'inexperienced in wantonness' (taken closely with 'per . . . provincias'). Med. and other MSS. have here 'lasciviam experti,' corrected by Put. and the old edd. to 'lasciviae inexperti,' but by all recent edd. (after G. Otto, Divinatt. Livian. p. 41) as above; on the analogy of 'exercitum . . . bonis inexpertum atque insuetum' (Liv. 23. 18, 10). Tacitus has 'bellis (or 'bello') inexpertus' ('untried by war') in H. 1. 8, 2; 2. 75, 1.

2. **officio . . . utilitate,** causal ablatives (Introd. i. v. § 30).

3. **aspectum,** the sight of an emperor on the stage.

labori . . . sufficere, 'were equal to the degrading toil': cp. 3. 32, 1, and note.

4. **fatiscerent:** cp. 3. 38, 1 (and note); 14. 24, 1.

gnaros, sc. 'plaudendi,' 'the trained applauders,' the 'Augustiani' of 14. 15, 8.

5. **cuneos:** cp. 2. 83, 5.

6. **inpari,** 'ill-regulated'; in contrast with such as is described in c. 4, 4.

constitit: cp. 13. 35, 3, and note.

7. **plerosque** = 'permultos.'

8. **enituntur,** 'struggle up' (cp. 1. 6 9; 70, 6, etc.) to the outlets. This pas sage would show Suet. to be exaggeratin when he says (Ner. 23) that all egres during the performance was absolutel prohibited. He adds 'Itaque et enixa quaedam in spectaculis dicuntur, et mul . . . aut furtim desiluisse de muro a morte simulata funere elati.' The latte statement is repeated by Dio (63. 15, 3).

diem noctemque: see 14. 20, 8.

9. **sedilibus,** abl. of place: see Intro i. v. § 25.

continuant: cp. 14. 20, 3, an note.

10. **metus si,** only found here and i 1. 11, 5 (where see note).

palam, sc. 'praesentibus,' 'man being there openly': cp. the use of th adv. as predicate in 11. 22, 1, etc. Th espionage exercised elsewhere than in th theatre may be illustrated from the stor told by Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 4. 39) th Apollonius, during his visit to Rome, in curred danger by insufficiently applau ing a musician who sang Nero's songs the streets.

11. **coëuntium,** sc. 'in theatro.' Nip notes that it is implied that these peop would also notice the absence of any pe son of consideration.

13. **redditum,** apparently here tak in the sense of paying off a debt, and a alogously to the use of 'reddere claden ('retaliating a defeat') in Livy (24. 1 7; 20, 2; 27. 49, 5). In 14. 33, 6 (whe see note), the sense is different.

.ium. ferebantque Vespasianum, tamquam somno coniveret, Phoebo liberto increpitum aegreque meliorum precibus ob-:tum, mox inminentem perniciem maiore fato effugisse.

6. Post finem ludicri Poppaea mortem obiit, fortuita mariti .cundia, a quo gravida ictu calcis adflicta est. neque enim nenum crediderim, quamvis quidam scriptores tradant, odio ıgis quam ex fide: quippe liberorum cupiens et amori uxoris noxius erat. corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos, 1 regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus conditur

. **ferebant**: the tense appears to be d to denote a tradition of the time. e story is told, with variations, by t. (Vesp. 4) and Dio (66. 11, 2), both whom place it in Nero's expedition to ece. No other mention of Vespasian urs in the extant portion of the Annals, ept the allusion to his frugality (3. 55, but he must have mentioned in narrative of the campaigns of Plautius Britain, and afterwards at his ap-atment to deal with the Jewish re-ion.

amquam, 'on the ground that': 12. 39, 5, etc.

. **Phoebo**. This freedman, otherwise oticed in Tacitus, is mentioned by (l. l.), who adds that he then bade pasian ἐς κόρακας ἀπελθεῖν, and was rwards contemptuously dismissed by with the same words, when he came pologise to him as emperor. His full ne is given in an inscription (Grut. , 6, 7), 'Ti. Claudio, Aug. l., Phoebo udia Pannychis.'

btectum. Suet. says (l. l.) that he 'prohibitus non contubernio modo, etiam publica salutatione,' and re-l to an obscure place till he was ap-ıted to the command in Judaea. The tion of such an interval supports the here given to the offence, rather that given by Suet. himself (see above).

maiore fato, 'by a greater destiny,' because a greater destiny was in store him. The words of Tacitus imply Vespasian, though preserved at the nent by the intervention of friends, again, or in the course of events ld have been, afterwards in peril, had ot been selected for an appointment h was destined to elevate him to the nerial dignity. His career is con-tly spoken of as marked by predic-tions, omens, etc.: see H. 1. 10, 7; 2. 78, 1; 4. 81; Suet. Vesp. 5; Dio 66. 1.

5. **ictu calcis**. The same story is given (without any alternative suggestion of poison) in Suet. Ner. 35, and Dio, 62. 27, 4. The former author adds a detail, that his burst of passion was caused by her having reproached him for coming late from the circus.

6. **venenum**, sc. 'fuisse': see Introd. i. v. § 39 c.

7. **amori uxoris obnoxius**, 'dominated by love of his wife' (cp. 3. 34, 5; 58, 4, etc.): so Suet. (l. l.) 'Poppaeam dilexit unice.'

8. **abolitum**, so used by Tacitus of consumption by fire in 2. 49, 1, and often in other senses. The word is not found before Verg. and Liv.

Romanus mos. Pliny states (N. H. 7. 54, 55, 187) that it was not an old Roman custom, but was first instituted for disposing of the dead in distant wars; also that it slowly won its way at Rome; the cremation of Sulla having been the first instance of its use in the Cornelia gens.

9. **differtum**, 'stuffed'; ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacitus, and elsewhere rare, but found (only in the participle form) in Caes. B. C. 3. 32, 4; Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 4; Ep. 1. 6, 59.

conditur, 'is embalmed': cp. 'condiunt Egyptii mortuos' (Cic. Tusc. 1. 45, 108). It expresses the result, as 'differtum' the process. To derive it (with some edd.) from 'condere' (cp. H. 5. 5, 5), would here involve a tautology. This departure from Roman custom may have been due, as Schiller (p. 200) thinks, to the affection (or remorse) of Nero. Friedlaender (i. 451) connects it with her Jewish predilections, mentioned by Josephus (Ant. 20. 8, 11, etc.); but the Jews did not really embalm their dead (Joh. 19, 40).

tumuloque Iuliorum infertur. ductae tamen publicae exsequia laudavitque ipse apud rostra formam eius et quod divinae infant parens fuisset aliaque fortunae munera pro virtutibus.

7. Mortem Poppaeae ut palam tristem, ita recordantibu laetam ob inpudicitiam eius saevitiamque, nova insuper invid Nero complevit prohibendo C. Cassium officio exsequiarur quod primum indicium mali. neque in longum dilatum est, se Silanus additur, nullo crimine, nisi quod Cassius opibus vetust et gravitate morum, Silanus claritudine generis et modest iuventa praecellebant. igitur missa ad senatum oratione remo vendos a re publica utrosque disseruit, obiectavitque Cassio quo inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassi effigiem coluisset, i

1. **tumulo Iuliorum**, the mausoleum of Augustus: see 1. 8, 6; 3. 4, 1; 9, 2.

tamen; i. e. though she was not burnt.

publicae exsequiae = 'publicum funus' (cp. 3. 5, 1; 48, 1, and note). Pliny states (N. H. 12. 18, 41, 83), with evident exaggeration, that the spices burnt by Nero on this day (cp. 3. 2, 2, and note) were more than the whole annual produce of Arabia. Schiller suggests (p. 201), that probably a waxen effigy was burnt on the pile, so as to complete the usual preliminaries to consecration (see Preller, Rom. Myth. ii. 443, § 787).

2. **apud rostra** = 'pro rostris' (cp. 3. 5, 2, and note). A 'laudatio' of women seems to have been almost unknown before the time of Julius Caesar, but to have become prevalent in the imperial and other distinguished families. See Marquardt, Privatl. 360.

formam eius: see 13. 45, 2, etc.

divinae infantis, 'a child which had been deified': see 15. 23, 4. On her own deification see c. 21, 2, and note.

4. **recordantibus**, 'to those who thought upon.' This silent judgment is contrasted with the outward show of mourning. Her 'saevitia' is mentioned in 15. 61, 4, etc.

6. **complevit** = 'cumulavit' ('completed'). Such an expression as 'mortem alicuius complere nova invidia' is to be explained by taking 'mortem' in a pregnant sense as 'invidiam mortis.' Even if men thought the death of Poppaea a blessing, the brutality by which Nero was alleged to have caused it would raise a feeling against him, to which he now added a new odium.

C. Cassium, the jurist: see 12. 1 4, and note. A prohibition from attendi her funeral would be a kind of 'renunti tio amicitiae' (cp. 15. 23, 6, and note).

7. **dilatum est**, sc. 'malum.' T conjecture of Acid., 'dilatus est,' is n needed, but derives some support from 19, 1.

8. **Silanus**: see 15. 52, 3, and not An account, different from that of Tacit apparently referring (though with error of name) to this case, is preserv by the old Schol. on Juv. 1, 33 ('mag delator amici'): 'Heliodorum dic Stoicum Philosophum, qui Licinium S lanum, discipulum suum, cum arguer tur coniurationis, inficiantem, praet domesticam delationem, etiam testimon oppressit.' It would also appear th this was the L. Silanus to whom Titini Capito, the admirer of the great champio of the close of the Republic, obtain leave from Trajan to erect a statue in t Forum (Plin. Ep. 1. 17).

10. **missa . . . oratione.** On the u of this term of a letter from the prince introducing a 'relatio' see 3. 57, 1 (a note); and c. 27, 2.

removendos a re publica. Nip notes that this need necessarily mean more than to remove them from the ex cise of political functions, but is und stood to be an euphemism for exile.

12. **C. Cassi**, the conspirator agai Julius Caesar. Suet. makes the offen (Ner. 37), 'quod in vetere gentili ste mate C. Cassii percussoris Caesaris i agines restituisset,' implying that no su effigy was there before. The effigies Brutus and Cassius, though not carri publicly at funerals (3. 76, 5), had r

criptam 'duci partium': quippe semina belli civilis et defectiem a domo Caesarum quaesitam. ac *ne* memoria tantum ensi nominis ad discordias uteretur, adsumpsisse L. Silanum, enem genere nobilem, animo praeruptum, quem novis rebus entaret.

8. Ipsum dehinc Silanum increpuit isdem quibus patruum s Torquatum, tamquam disponeret iam imperii curas praeeretque rationibus et libellis et epistulis libertos, inania simul falsa: nam Silanus intentior metu et exitio patrui ad praeendum exterritus erat. inducti posthac vocabulo indicum, qui Lepidam, Cassii uxorem, Silani amitam, incestum cum fratris

n destroyed by order of Augustus (4. 3, and note), and, as is shown by what ny says (l. l.) of Titinius ('mirum est religione, quo studio imagines Brum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi est, habeat'), were allowed to be oured privately under Trajan; and r birthdays were kept as festivals, at this time, by men of republican iments, as Thrasea and Helvidius . 5, 36). It is possible that the point ne charge here lies in the inscription ci partium'; or that the form of such hibitory decrees (see 3. 32, 3) may now extended, as in other cases (see 35, 2), to mere possession; perhaps e probable that such possession was is case made penal by an arbitrary ch.

duci partium, 'to the leader of the e'; so 'partes,' in 2. 43, 3, etc.

quaesitam, 'was aimed at.' Ritt. s 'quaesita.'

. Faern. has been universally wed in inserting this word, which well have dropped out before 'mea.' Besides renewing the memory n old name he was bringing forward w man.

genere nobilem, as a descendant ugustus (Introd. i. p. 139).

aeruptum, 'reckless': the word not seem elsewhere to be used of ons, but may be compared with a ar use of 'praeceps' (cp. 'homo in bus consiliis praeceps' Cic. Phil. 5. 7). For a somewhat similar metaical application to things see 5. 2, 1, note. The oldest edd. read 'prompr' after an inferior MS.

vis rebus, 'for a revolution.' ould use him, as Nipp. points out, discordias,' to stimulate a revolutionary movement by showing a person who could be made emperor.

7. **Torquatum**: see 15. 35, 1, where the charge of having freedmen with such titles is mentioned.

8. **inania**, etc., referred only to 'praeficeret . . . libertos.' Such an act would not have been positively illegal, and (in his case) the charge was also false. On such an accus. in apposition see Introd. I. v. § 12 a.

9. **intentior metu.** The fear universally prevalent had made him all the more on his guard (cp. 14. 3, 3) in general, and the fate of his uncle had been a special warning against that particular ground of offence (Nipp.). For the construction 'exterritus ad' cp. 3. 49, 1, and note on 2. 63, 3.

10. **inducti**, 'were brought before the senate'; so in 4. 8, 5; 6. 7, 2: cp. the full expression in 4. 28, 1. This reading is adopted by Halm, Nipp. (ed. 4), and Dr. from Ferretti: others retain the Med. 'inducit,' which would answer to 'increpuit,' but would seem to imply personal presence of Nero, whose letter has been hitherto spoken of. This denunciation of persons by a mere rescript from Caesar, without the intervention of any of the usual forms of accusation, had many precedents under Tiberius (4. 70, 1; 6. 3, 3; 39, 2; 47, 4), notably in the famous case of Seianus (Juv. 10, 71).

vocabulo indicum, 'as nominal informers,' but really suborned to make up the charge ('qui . . . confingerent'). The part alleged to have been played by Heliodorus (see note on c. 7, 2) must have come in, if at all, at this stage.

11. **Lepidam**, Iunia Lepida, sister of Iunia Calvina (12. 3, 8): see Introd. i. ix. p. 139. An inscription is dedicated to

filio et diros sacrorum ritus confingerent. trahebantur ut consci Volcatius Tullinus ac Marcellus Cornelius senatores et Cal purnius Fabatus eques Romanus; qui appellato principe in stantem damnationem frustrati, mox Neronem circa summ scelera distentum quasi minores evasere.

9. Tunc consulto senatus Cassio et Silano exilia decernuntur de Lepida Caesar statueret. deportatusque in insulam Sardiniar Cassius, et senectus eius exspectabatur. Silanus, tamquar Naxum deveheretur, Ostiam amotus, post municipio Apulia cui nomen Barium est, clauditur. illic indignissimum casur sapienter tolerans a centurione ad caedem misso corripitur suadentique venas abrumpere, animum quidem morti destinatur ait, sed non remittere percussori gloriam ministerii. at centuri

her, as 'Ι]ουνίαν Λεπέδαν, Σειλάνου Τορκυ-[ά]του θυγατέρα, by Iunia Megistê, priestess of Athena Polias, A. D. 41–54 (C. I. Att. iii. i. 872).

1. **diros,** magical rites: see 2. 27, 2, and note.

2. **Volcatius Tullinus.** If, as is not improbable, this is the same person as the trib. pleb. called Volcatius Tertullinus in H. 4. 9, 2, the form of name here may be preferable as approaching more nearly to that of the known family of Volcatii Tulli.

Marcellus Cornelius. Borghesi (Œuvr. i. 486) thinks him the same who is recorded in two inscriptions (Or. 151: Mur. 693, 7) as 'quaestor pro praetore,' and afterwards as proconsul in Sicily. Lips. thinks him also the same who is alluded to in H. 1. 37, 6, as put to death by Galba in Spain, where (as Nipp. suggests) he might have been a praetorian legatus legionis.

Calpurnius Fabatus, still living as an old man in the time of the younger Pliny, who married his granddaughter Calpurnia Hispulla, and frequently writes to him. An inscription found at Como (C. I. L. v. 2. 5267) gives his name as 'C. Calpurnius L. f. Ouf(entina tribu) Fabatus,' and records him as having filled municipal offices, also as having been 'praefectus fabrum,' 'tribunus legionis xxi Rapacis,' and 'praefectus cohortis vii Lusitanorum.'

3. **appellato principe.** By this they would at least gain time.

4. **circa,** 'in relation to': see Introd. i. v. § 58.

5. **distentum:** cp. 11. 12, 1, and note.

minores, 'beneath notice.' In H 2. 16, 6 Tacitus notes the escape of simil insignificant culprits 'in multa conluv rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.'

6. **consulto senatus,** apparently right correction of G. and other MS for the Med. 'consulto senatu,' whi would hardly be correctly used at th stage of the proceedings. The sar order of words is found in 11. 35, 2.

7. **Caesar statueret.** Her fate do not appear to be known.

Sardiniam, probably chosen for unhealthiness (see 2. 85, 5).

8. **senectus eius,** a brilliant emend tion, cited by Gron. from Franc. Medi and adopted by all after Ern. Med. h 'senatus eius,' corrected in the old ed to 'senatus ius.' 'They were waiting f old age to carry him off': cp. 'ut sen tam principis opperirentur' (11. 26, He had been consul thirty-five years p viously (see on 12. 11, 4) and was alrea blind (Suet. Ner. 37), but lived to ret and die a natural death under Vespas (Pomponius, in Dig. 1. 2, 2, § 52).

10. **Barium,** Bari, on the Adriatic, n Canusium; cp. 'Bari moenia pisco (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 96). It is mentioned a way that would show it to be so obsc as to be almost unknown.

12. **suadenti,** with inf.: cp. 3. 53, and note.

13. **non remittere,** etc. Here 'rem tere,' the correction of a later hand Med. for the first reading 'peremitte has been adopted by Halm and oth after Nipp. 'He would not excuse assassin from his noble office,' i.e. would insist on his doing his own

amvis inermem, praevalidum tamen et irae quam timori pro- orem cernens premi a militibus iubet. nec omisit Silanus niti et intendere ictus, quantum manibus nudis valebat, donec centurione vulneribus adversis tamquam in pugna caderet.

10. Haud minus prompte L. Vetus socrusque eius Sextia et llitta filia necem subiere, invisi principi tamquam vivendo probrarent interfectum esse Rubellium Plautum, generum Veteris. sed initium detegendae saevitiae praebuit interversis troni rebus ad accusandum transgrediens Fortunatus libertus, scito Claudio Demiano, quem ob flagitia vinctum a Vetere siae pro consule exsolvit Nero in praemium accusationis. quod i cognitum reo, seque et libertum pari sorte componi, Formi- os in agros digreditur. illic eum milites occulta custodia cumdant. aderat filia, super ingruens periculum longo dolore

k (cp. 'remittere beneficium' 11. 3, 3). . thinks the Med. text a corruption of remittere,' and that the subject can ily be supplied from 'animum'; but omissions of the pronoun are in the ner of Tacitus. The common reading rmittere' might mean that he would let him execute his office without re- nce, but gives no answer to the sug- ion that he should despatch himself, does not sufficiently bring out the y of 'gloriam.'

premi = 'opprimi': cp. 14. 5, 2, note. The narrative is similar to of the death of Agrippa Postumus , 1).

nudis, 'unarmed.' Jacob compares trasque nudas ostentantes, ut abie- gladios appareret' (Liv. 28. 3,

a centurione . . . caderet. Here eret' has the sense and construction interficeretur'; cp. Suet. Oth. 5 il referre ab hoste in acie an in foro creditoribus caderet.' So ἀποθανεῖν ινος (Hdt. 1. 137, 2, etc.).

versis, 'in the front of his body' 12. 30, 2, etc.).

L. Vetus, mentioned as consul (13.), and as counselling resistance to son-in-law Rubellius Plautus (14.).

Pollitta, adopted by all recent after Nipp., as a known Roman (see Insc. Wilm. 1205), which 'Pol- t' and 'Pollucia' (usually read for the 'polutia') are not. The name here is a cognomen; her gentile name being Antistia (14. 22, 5).

tamquam vivendo, etc., 'as if by merely living they silently reproached him with the murder of Rubellius' (on which see 14. 57–59).

8. **initium . . . praebuit**, sc. 'prin- cipi.'

interversis, 'after having embezzled'; so in Plaut. and Cic. In H. 2. 95, 5, it has the sense of squandering.

11. **Asiae pro consule.** Nipp. shows that Vetus must have held this procon- sulate in the year immediately preceding these events, and must have been successor to Otho Titianus (see on 12. 52, 1); as he was evidently immediate predecessor of M'. Acilius (see on 12. 64, 1), whose edict found at Chios (C. I. G. 2222), mentioning ἐπιστολὴν Ἀντιστίου Οὐέτερος τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀνθυπάτ[ου], ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανε- στάτου, must from its expression have been written before this trial.

12. **seque et**: cp. 1. 4, 1, and note.

pari sorte componi, 'were pitted against each other on an equal footing' (C. and B.); apparently a metaphor from the arena: cp. 5. 1, 5, and note; 15. 51, 7. The indignity of this may be gathered from the remarks on the conduct of freed- men in 13. 26, 2, and from the principle laid down by jurists that a freedman was wholly precluded from bringing a criminal accusation against his patron (Dig. 48. 2, 8), and was even liable to be punished as a slave for doing so (Cod. 9. 1, 21).

Formianos in agros, 'to his estates at Formiae' (15. 46, 3).

14. **super**, 'besides,' irrespectively of.

atrox, ex quo percussores Plauti mariti sui viderat; cruentamqu cervicem eius amplexa servabat sanguinem et vestes respersa vidua inpexa luctu continuo nec ullis alimentis nisi quae morter arcerent. tum hortante patre Neapolim pergit. et quia adit Neronis prohibebatur, egressus obsidens, audiret insontem nev consulatus sui quondam collegam dederet liberto, modo mulieb eiulatu, aliquando sexum egressa voce infensa clamitabat, done princeps inmobilem se precibus et invidiae iuxta ostendit.

11. Ergo nuntiat patri abicere spem et uti necessitate: simu adfertur parari cognitionem senatus et trucem sententiam. ne defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nun cupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere. quod asperna

1. **atrox,** 'exasperated': cp. 14. 61, 3, etc.

2. **cervicem.** He had been beheaded and his head had been carried off (14. 59, 4).

sanguinem et vestes, hendiadys for 'vestes sanguine respersas.'

3. **inpexa,** 'unkempt'; so Halm, Nipp., Ritt., after Wurm. The reading is somewhat recommended by the fact that apparently the only other use of the word in prose is in Dial. 20, 3 ('tristem et inpexam antiquitatem'), and that Tacitus may well here, as so often elsewhere, have borrowed from Vergil. The Med. text 'In plexa' ('inplexa'), which others retain, may have been corrupted by 'amplexa' above, and could only mean 'wrapped up in grief,' a meaning which would be ἅπ. εἰρ., and one which we should certainly have expected Tacitus to have expressed by 'inplicata' (cp. 4. 53, 1). Other emendations ('impleta,' 'inflexa,' 'inexpleta') have been suggested, and Acid. would strike out the word altogether as a corruption from 'amplexa.'

nec ullis alimentis. It is perhaps best to take both this and 'luctu continuo' as abl. of quality (Introd. i. v. § 39). Dr. prefers to take the abl. as absolute, noting the frequent use of 'nullus' in this case.

4. **hortante,** aoristic.

5. **egressus,** here used of points of exit: cp. 'ad egressus missus septemplicis Istri' (Ov. Tr. 2. 189).

insontem, her father. He was colleague in Nero's first consulship (13. 11, 1).

6. **dederet,** 'surrender to a freedman,' i.e. condemn to please him: cp. c. 20, 2, etc.

modo . . . aliquando: cp. 11. 34, and note.

7. **egressa:** cp. 'terminos aetatis . . egrederetur' (H. 4. 51, 3), etc.

8. **precibus et invidiae iuxta,** 'ali to entreaty and reproach' (the 'vox i fensa'). 'Invidia' has this sense in 1 34, 5; H. 4. 68, 7, etc., and is so co trasted with 'preces' in 3. 67, 4; 4. 53. For the sense of 'iuxta' cp. 11. 33, 1, a note.

9. **nuntiat . . . abicere.** This co struction is noted as ἅπ. εἰρ., but the i is used with 'denuntio' in 11. 37, 3, a with many verbs of analogous meanin as with 'monere' here and in 11. 1, 2, e See Introd. i. v. § 43.

uti necessitate, 'to make the b of the inevitable,' i.e. to die with digni cp. 'bene morte usum' (6. 48, 5).

10. **cognitionem,** the technical wo for a criminal trial before the senate 30, 3; 1. 75. 1; 2. 28, 4, etc.) or bef the princeps (3. 10, 3, etc.): see Momi Staatsr. ii. 121, 964.

trucem, 'stern' (the sentence death 'more maiorum' mentioned l low): 'trux sententia' occurs in Liv. 19, 5; so 'trux eloquentia' (6. 48, 'oratio' (H. 4. 42, 3), 'atrox senten (5. 3, 4), 'senatus consultum' (53, 3).

11. **heredem Caesarem nuncupar** see note on 2. 48, 1. Suet. goes the len of stating (Ner. 32) that Nero so insis on this as even to enact 'ut ingrator in principem testamenta ad fiscum pe nerent'; and Pliny alludes to Domit (Pan. 45) as 'unus omnium, nunc q scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres.

12. **nepotibus.** The children of

ıs, ne vitam proxime libertatem actam novissimo servitio ·edaret, largitur in servos quantum aderat pecuniae; et si qua ;portari possent, sibi quemque deducere, tris modo lectulos ad ıprema retineri iubet. tunc eodem in cubiculo, eodem ferro ɔscindunt venas, properique et singulis vestibus ad verecundiam :lati balineis inferuntur, pater filiam, avia neptem, illa utrosque tuens, et certatim precantes labenti animae celerem exitum, relinquerent suos superstites et morituros. servavitque ornem fortuna, ac seniores prius, tum cui prima aetas extinıuntur. accusati post sepulturam decretumque ut more maiom punirentur. at Nero intercessit, mortem sine arbitro permitns: ea caedibus peractis ludibria adiciebantur.

12. P. Gallus eques Romanus, quod Faenio Rufo intimus et

lius Plautus are mentioned in 14. 59, One of them would be the Rubellius ındus addressed in Juv. 8, 39.

1. **proxime libertatem**, 'in a way as ır as might be to freedom': cp. 'iuxta ertatem' (6. 42, 3). For the accus. h 'proxime' cp. note on 15. 15, 6.

novissimo servitio, 'servility at the t moment': cp. 11. 3, 3, and note.

2. **in servos**, 'among his slaves': on s sense of 'in' cp. 1. 55, 2; 2. 8, 1, and es.

3. **deducere**, apparently here alone d, in the sense of 'auferre,' of inanite goods and chattels.

ad suprema, 'for the last act': cp. l improvisa' (H. 5. 16, 1), etc.

5. **abscindunt**: cp. 15. 69, 3, and e.

properi, adverbial: cp. 6. 44, 1; and er such uses noted in Introd. i. v. ; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 8.

8. **relinquerent . . . morituros**. Each yed that he (or she) might die first spared the pain of seeing the others d), and yet with the certainty that the ers would die a few moments later, not be spared for a worse fate. Most . read 'relinquerent,' with inferior S. The Med. 'relinqueret' can howr possibly be explained by supplying h Frost and Pfitzn.) a singular subject n 'certatim,' as it is plain that their eral prayers, not a combined precati, are spoken of. Walther (who is owed by Orelli) also retains Med., less well makes 'anima' the subject. ' has here the force of 'et tamen,' as . 13, 2 (where see note), etc.

rdinem, sc. 'naturae.'

9. **seniores**: so generally read by edd. after Oberl. on the suggestion of Acid. Med. has 'seniore,' the old edd. 'senior.' The text, as here given, may be one in which conciseness has been studied at the expense of accurate expression; and 'seniores prius,' in the light of the preceding sentence, may be understood to mean not only that Sextia and Vetus died before Pollitta, but also that the former died first of all. Still, a more exact expression would be expected; also the words 'cui prima aetas' would more naturally designate a child than one old enough to have been some years previously a wife and a mother. These considerations give much force to the alternative suggestion of Acid., that 'senior' is the right reading, and that 'prima' is corrupted from an abbreviation of 'proxima.' That the youngest died last, would thus be left as an obvious inference.

10. **more maiorum**: cp. 2. 32, 5, and note; 14. 48, 4.

11. **intercessit**: cp. 14. 48, 3, etc.

sine arbitro, 'without interference' (cp. 1. 26, 6; 15. 17, 5), i.e. without sending a centurion to execute the sentence or see it executed. 'Mors sine arbitro' is thus equivalent to 'liberum mortis arbitrium' (c. 33, 2; 11. 33, 3; 15. 60, 1).

12. **ludibria**: cp. 'gravioribus iam ludibriis quam malis' (14. 59, 6), where the 'mockery' consists in a similar decree expelling from the senate persons already executed.

13. **P. Gallus.** Nipp. notes the combination of praenomen and cognomen as very unusual, and suggests that the name

Veteri non alienus fuerat, aqua atque igni prohibitus est. liberto et accusatori praemium operae locus in theatro inter viatores tribunicios datur. et menses qui Aprilem eundemque Neroneum sequebantur, Maius Claudii, Iunius Germanici vocabulis mutantur, testificante Cornelio Orfito, qui id censuerat, ideo Iunium mensem transmissum, quia duo iam Torquati ob scelera interfecti infaustum nomen Iunium fecissent.

may be 'Rubrius Gallus,' and the person a relative of the one so named in H. 2. 51, 3; 99, 4. The trial of this person appears to have been combined with that of Vetus, as the reward of the accuser of the latter is mentioned after it.

Faenio Rufo: see 15. 50, 4, etc.

1. **aqua atque igni prohibitus est.** Elsewhere, the verb used by Tacitus in this formula is either 'interdicere' ('alicui') or 'arcere': cp. 3. 38, 3, and note. On the sentence itself see 12. 42, 5, and note.

liberto et accusatori. The two words refer to the same person, Fortunatus (c. 10, 2): cp. 'scriptores senatoresque' (2. 88, 1). Nipp. notes that Demianus, who was associated with him, could not be called distinctively the accuser, and had received his reward in being released from chains.

2. **inter viatores tribunicios.** It is shown by this passage that not only magistrates themselves but their attendants had places reserved for them. See Momms. Staatsr. i. 336; Marquardt. Staatsv. iii. 535. Other magistrates as well as tribunes had their 'viatores,' who formed 'decuriae' of themselves (13. 27, 2): cp. 'viatori tribunicio decuriae maioris' (Orelli, Insc. 3254), and other inscriptions (Wilm. Index, p. 572).

3. **menses qui . . . sequebantur.** Halm and Dr. follow Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'mensis qui . . . sequebatur,' which others retain; 'Maius' being bracketed as a gloss by Ritt. and omitted by Pfitzner. But it is evidently the intention of the sentence to state that the change inaugurated by that of April to 'Neroneus' (15. 74, 1) was to be carried on through two more months.

4. **Claudii . . . Germanici.** It is unnecessary to suppose that these names were to commemorate the adoptive father and maternal grandfather of Nero, as both names were borne by himself (see Introd. i. ix. p. 147). Gaius had given the name of 'Germanicus' to September (Suet. Cal. 15); Domitian gave those of 'Germanicus' and 'Domitianus' to September and October in his own honour (Suet. Dom. 13); and the courtiers of Commodus gave his various names to five successive months (Vit. 11, 8), 'Commodus' (Aug.), 'Hercules' (Sept.), 'Invictus' (Oct.), 'Exsuperatorius' (Nov.), 'Amazonius' (Dec.).

Iunius. Halm alone follows the recommendation of Madvig (Adv. ii. 558) in adopting from Lips. the emendation 'Iulius,' on the ground that 'transmissum' below can thus be explained without giving it an unprecedented meaning (see note there). But, apart from other considerations, we should hardly suppose that the proposal to rename the month called after 'divus Iulius' would be altogether acceptable even to a Claudian Caesar.

mutantur, used as if 'nomina mensium' had been the subject.

5. **testificante**: cp. 12. 7, 1.

Cornelio Orfito: see 12. 41, 1, and note.

6. **transmissum.** Nipp. follows Pich. in supplying 'in nomen Germanici,' thus giving the word the wholly new meaning of 'was transmuted.' Others explain it to mean 'was allowed to pass into oblivion', which is in accordance with the usual meaning of the word, though no doubt ambiguous or needlessly euphemistic when used of actual erasure of a name from the calendar. This difficulty would of course be got rid of by reading 'Iulius' above (with Halm), and by supposing the speaker to explain here why the month 'Iunius' was 'passed over' in the renaming. But the reason given is one for altering the name of that month, rather than for leaving it unaltered; and Orfitus, if he saw his way to a stroke of flattery by suggesting that such an 'infaustum nomen' should disappear from the calendar, would not be disturbed by the thought that no similar reason could be given for altering 'Maius.'

Torquati, the two Iunii Silani Torquati (15. 35, 1; c. 8, 1).

13. Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam di tempestatibus morbis insignivere. vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui las arbusta fruges passim disiecit pertulitque violentiam ad cina urbi; in qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depolabatur, nulla caeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. sed mus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur; non xus, non aetas periculo vacua; servitia perinde et ingenua ebes raptim extingui, inter coniugum et liberorum lamenta, i dum adsident, dum deflent, saepe eodem rogo cremabantur. uitum senatorumque interitus, quamvis promisci, minus flebiles ant, tamquam communi mortalitate saevitiam principis praenirent.

Eodem anno dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem Africamque Asiam habiti sunt supplendis Illyricis legionibus, ex quibus tate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur. cladem

. **Tot facinoribus**, etc. Suet. (Ner. , coupling with the mention of the gue that of the disasters in Britain (14. foll.) and Armenia (15. 7, foll.), speaks similar strain, but substitutes the idea chance for that of divine judgment: cesserunt tantis ex principe malis proque quaedam et fortuita; pestilentia us autumni, quo triginta funerum lia in rationem Libitinae venerunt.' umn was always a sickly time in y.

. **vicina urbi**: so all edd. after Lips. th ed. Spir. and some inferior MSS.): H. 4. 46, 2; also 'vicina Graecis' 64, 4), 'propinqua urbi' (4. 74, 4). l has 'uienia urbi,' whence other S. and old edd. read 'moenia urbis.'

estilentiae. Orelli suggests that may probably have been the cholera bus, a disease known at the time, and ribed by the contemporary physician taeus (2. 5). For other notices of emics under Augustus, Titus, etc. see dl. i. 33.

nulla caeli intemperie, etc. 'without any visible blight in the air'; so a gue is assigned 'morbo caeli' in Verg. , 478.

perinde et, noted by Dr. as so used . 2, 6; H. 4. 43, 1, for the more l 'perinde ac,' 'atque,' or 'que.'

cremabantur. Here in the rapidity the style an essential point of the narre (such as 'eodem morbo correpti iebantur et') is omitted. While they by the sick, or mourned for the dead, they were themselves seized, and died so soon as to be thrown on the same funeral pile.

10. **promisci**, 'indiscriminate,' occurring everywhere like those of the people.

11. **communi mortalitate**, 'by dying like other people,' by an ordinary or natural death.

praevenirent, so with accus. in Liv. 8. 16; Val. Max. and Suet.: cp. the passive in 14. 7, 3.

13. **dilectus.** The levy was of Roman citizens, who were naturally more abundant in these old provinces than in those for which the legions were required. As a rule, the armies appear to have been kept up by voluntary enlistment (see 4. 4, 4, and note).

14. **Illyricis**, the Med. text, restored in recent edd. for the old reading 'Illyrici.' The adjectival form is generally used in similar expressions (cp. 1. 16, 1; 31, 1, etc.), and this adj. occurs in 1. 52, 3; 2. 53, 1, etc. Those of Pannonia (cp. 1. 52, 3, etc.) as well as those of Delmatia (4. 5, 5), perhaps also those of Moesia are included in the term.

15. **sacramento solvebantur.** On the kinds of 'missio' or 'exauctoratio' see notes on 1. 36, 4; 44, 8: Introd. i. vii. pp. 106, 108.

cladem Lugdunensem. Lugdunum (Lyons) had been burnt down, according to Seneca (Ep. 91, 14), in the hundredth year from its foundation as a colony by Plancus, which took place (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 115) in 711, B. C.

Lugdunensem quadragiens sestertio solatus est princeps, ut amissa urbi reponerent; quam pecuniam Lugdunenses ante obtulerant urbis casibus.

14. C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino consulibus Antistius Sosianus, factitatis in Neronem carminibus probrosis exilio, ut dixi, multatus, postquam id honoris indicibus tamque promptum ad caedes principem accepit, inquies animo et occasionum haud segnis

43. An inscription found there 'Augustae Deae Vestae, Aug[usto] D[eo] Vol[cano]' (see Schiller, 116), appears to stand in some connexion with this fire. As the date would appear from the computation above to be 811, A. D. 58, we should be left to suppose that this 'consolation' is sent some seven years after the disaster. But this passage is not free from suspicions of general corruption (see notes below). Nipp. marks a lacuna here on the ground that Tacitus would surely have indicated the nature of the disaster, and thinks that if we had his words, it might probably be one of more recent occurrence. It is also possible that the computation by which the date of the occurrence is fixed may be inaccurate, and that the fire at Lyons may have happened between that of Rome and the death of Seneca. It can hardly be supposed that in their own utter ruin such a sum as four million sesterces could have been given by, or even extorted (see 15. 45, 1) from them.

2. **amissa urbi**, 'what their city had lost,' in public buildings, etc. The use of 'urbs,' though in itself natural in speaking of so considerable a town, has offended critics from its nearness to the application of the word in its proper sense to Rome below; but Nipp. notes the use of the term twice in the same sentence (Cic. Verr. 4. 54, 120) of Rome and Syracuse. A still more apposite instance may be found in Seneca's remarks (l. l.) on this very disaster: 'Timagenes felicitate urbis inimicus aiebat Romae sibi incendia ob hoc unum dolori esse, quod sciret meliora surrectura quam arsissent. In hac quoque urbe (sc. 'Lugduno') verisimile est,' etc.

reponerent: cp. 'reposita fora templaque' (H. 3. 34, 4).

ante obtulerant urbis casibus; so later edd. after Furia. For 'urbis' Med. has 'turbis,' other MSS. and old edd. 'turbidis,' which has been taken to be an obscure allusion to troubles in the time of Gaius or Claudius. As the text is here read, it would naturally refer to gifts in aid of the great fire of Rome. But the date of the ruin of Lugdunum given above involves not only the difficulty already mentioned, of supposing that the town could have contributed such a sum at such a time, but also that of taking 'ante' in an ambiguous and even unnatural sense, as meaning no more than that they had sent their gift before it was repaid to them, not that they had sent it before their own disaster. Schiller (p. 185) thinks the allusion must be to otherwise unknown contributions sent on one or more occasions of previous disaster (such as those mentioned in 4. 62–64). The difficulty will altogether disappear, if we may suppose that the fire at Lugdunum has been wrongly dated (see note above).

4. **C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino.** The former is the famous general Suetonius Paulinus, who must apparently have been already cos. suff. previously (see note on 14. 29, 2), though this consulship is nowhere noted (see Insc. Henzen 6767) as his second. The other name is read in MSS. and old edd. as 'L. Telesino,' but corrected by Rup., Ern., and others from inscriptions (l. l.) giving his full name as 'C. Luccius Telesinus.' A fine sarcophagus also exists, engraved by Gruter (1148, 5), 'Lucçiae, C. f. Telesinae.' Telesinus is chiefly known to us through Philostratus, who speaks of him as a philosopher, as having exerted his consular power on behalf of Apollonius during his visit to Rome (4. 40), and as subsequently exiled with other philosophers by Domitian (7. 11, etc.). If however the epigram of Martial (12. 25) is addressed to the same, as an allusion to his accusation and exile would seem to show, he appears to have been also a professional usurer.

5. **ut dixi**: see 14. 48, 1.

7. **inquies animo**; so 'moribus inquies' (6. 18, 2): cp. 1. 65, 1, and note.

occasionum haud segnis, 'not slow to seize opportunities': for the

mmenem, eiusdem loci exulem et Chaldaeorum arte famosum que multorum amicitiis innexum, similitudine fortunae sibi nciliat. ventitare ad eum nuntios et consultationes non frustra us, simul annuam pecuniam a P. Anteio ministrari cognoscit. que nescium habebat Anteium caritate Agrippinae invisum eroni opesque eius praecipuas ad eliciendam cupidinem eamque usam multis exitio esse. igitur interceptis Antei litteris, atus etiam libellos, quibus dies genitalis eius et eventura retis Pammenis occultabantur, simul repertis quae de ortu aque Ostorii Scapulae composita erant, scribit ad principem gna se et quae incolumitati eius conducerent adlaturum, si evem exilii veniam inpetravisset: quippe Anteium et Ostorium ninere rebus et sua Caesarisque fata scrutari. exim missae urnicae advehiturque propere Sosianus. ac vulgato eius licio inter damnatos magis quam inter reos Anteius Ostorius- e habebantur, adeo ut testamentum Antei nemo obsignaret,

t. cp. 14. 33, 4, and note; for 'et . . . d' cp. 3. 35, 3; H. 2. 6, 2; 22, 6.
eiusdem loci, some island not cified (14. 48, 7).
haldaeorum, astrologers: see 2. 2, and note. For decrees expelling n from Italy see 2. 32, 5; 12. 52, 3.
innexum: so all edd. after Ern. Lips. for the MSS. and old edd. 'in-um': cp. 3. 10, 4, and note.
ventitare . . . ratus, 'thinking it was not without a purpose (cp. 1. 3, and note) that messengers were ys coming to consult him.' 'Nuntios onsultationes' is a hendiadys for tios qui eum consultarent.' He saw these messengers were sent with the gn of learning some predictions from menes, and knew that criminal ges could be grounded on such (see , 2, etc.), and resolved to profit by it.
P. Anteio: see 13. 22, 2, where it is that Nero would not let him go to province (Syria).
nescium, 'unknown': cp. 1. 59, 7, note.
ritate Agrippinae, 'through affec- for Agrippina': cp. 4. 19, 1, and Such an objective genit. is some- s changed to an accus. with 'erga' n' (c. 30, 3; 14. 9, 4, etc.).
praecipuas, were specially adapt- cp. similar expressions in 6. 7, 3; 8, 1.
quibus, 'in which': such an abl. is proper in speaking of the contents of a book or document (cp. 1. 6, 2, etc.).

dies genitalis, used here like 'genitalis hora' (see 6. 21, 3, and note), of the computation of his horoscope.

9. secretis; apparently an abl. of place, 'in the private repositories.' Cp. 'in secretis eius reperti duo libelli' (Suet. Cal. 49). Dr. less well takes it to mean 'in mysterious symbols.'

10. Ostorii Scapulae: see 12. 31, 7; 14. 48, 1.

11. incolumitati, his life: cp. 15. 60, 5, etc.

12. exilii veniam, here used of a temporary respite, as in 12. 8, 3, of a permanent recall.

13. inminere rebus, 'were menacing the empire': cp. 'excidio Tarracinae imminebat' (H. 3. 76, 1); 'validissimarum . . . nationum regno imminebat' (H. 4. 18, 1). For the use of 'res' in the sense of 'imperium,' or 'rerum regimen,' cp. 'res sine discordia translatas' (H. 1. 29, 5).

14. liburnicae. This term is properly equivalent to 'biremes' (4. 27, 1), but may sometimes be used more generally, as we have a 'trierarchus liburnicarum navium' in H. 2. 16, 2.

16. obsignaret, used in 15. 54, 1 of the testator, here of the witnesses, who were required to be seven in number, and all Roman citizens: see note on 14. 40, 4.

nisi Tigellinus auctor extitisset, monito prius Anteio ne suprem tabulas moraretur. atque ille hausto veneno, tarditatem ei perosus intercisis venis mortem adproperavit.

15. Ostorius longinquis in agris apud finem Ligurum temporis erat. eo missus centurio, qui caedem eius maturare causa festinandi ex eo oriebatur, quod Ostorius multa milita fama et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritus, ingenti co poris robore armorumque scientia metum Neroni fecerat, ne i vaderet pavidum semper et reperta nuper coniuratione mag exterritum. igitur centurio, ubi effugia villae clausit, ius imperatoris Ostorio aperit. is fortitudinem saepe adversu hostes spectatam in se vertit: et quia venae quamquam inte ruptae parum sanguinis effundebant, hactenus manu servi usu ut inmotum pugionem extolleret, adpressit dextram eius iugul que occurrit.

16. Etiam si bella externa et obitas pro re publica mort

1. **auctor extitisset,** 'had come forward to induce them to do so.'

monito prius Anteio: so all recent edd. after Acid., who follows MS. Agr. Med. has 'monitus prius Anteio,' whence other MSS. and edd. read 'monitus prius Anteius.' Nipp. explains the words so as to make Tigellinus act only through this warning ('in that he first warned Anteius'); and compares 'vocata . . . Urgulania' (2. 34, 3), 'interfecto Thrasea' (c. 21, 1), etc. Such a warning would be not only an intimation of approaching death to Anteius, but also an assurance to the witnesses that they might safely sign. Others suppose 'auctor extitisset' to mean that he set them the example by signing himself, which seems to bring out the meaning of 'prius' better.

2. **eius,** after abl. abs.: cp. 14. 10, 1, and note.

3. **intercisis venis,** here alone in Tacitus. Bezzenb. reads 'interscissis' (cp. 13. 35, 4): see also c. 19, 2, and note.

4. **apud finem,** 'at the boundary of'; so in several places in Livy, as 'ad finem Campanum' (9. 6, 10), 'ad finem Lucerinum' (10. 35, 1), etc.

id temporis: cp. 12. 8, 2, and note.

6. **multa militari fama,** abl. of quality.

7. **civicam coronam:** see 12. 31, 7.

ingenti corporis robore. Halm and Nipp. follow Beroald. and the ma rity of edd. in reading thus, and supp it by 'insigne corporis robur' (15. 66, Med. has 'ingenti corporis' at the end a line, with 'corporis' repeated at t beginning of the next; other MSS. a Put. treat the latter word as a mere er of repetition, and correct by reading ' genti corpore.' Orelli and Dr. foll Wurm. in reading 'ingenti vi corpor (cp. 12. 44, 3); Ritt. reads 'ingens c poris' (cp. 1. 69, 2), which does not go well with 'armorumque scientia,' and less Tacitean than 'ingens corpore' (8, 4; 15. 53, 2; H. 1. 53, 1).

8. **invaderet,** 'should make an atta on him'; so used with a personal obj in H. 1. 42, 1; 2. 29, 1.

9. **coniuratione,** that of Piso.

10. **effugia:** cp. 12. 31, 7, and note

12. **venae . . . interruptae.** This pression also (cp. c. 14, 6) occurs h alone in Tacitus.

13. **hactenus,** 'so far only': cp. 42, 5, and note.

14. **inmotum . . . extolleret,** 'to h up firmly.'

adpressit, etc. 'pressing the ma hand close to him, he met the point wi his throat' (C. and B.). Tacitus 'scutum pectori adpressum' (2. 21, Others less well take 'iugulo' as dati

16. **Etiam si,** etc. This chapter m be compared with his complaint of monotony of his subject in 4. 32–33.

ıta casuum similitudine memorarem, meque ipsum satias)isset aliorumque taedium exspectarem, quamvis honestos ium exitus, tristes tamen et continuos aspernantium: at nunc :ientia servilis tantumque sanguinis domi perditum fatigant mum et maestitia restringunt. neque aliam defensionem ab quibus ista noscentur exegerim, quam ne oderim tam segniter ·euntes. ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit, quam non, in cladibus exercituum aut captivitate urbium, semel edito nsire licet. detur hoc inlustrium virorum posteritati, ut quo

meque, etc. The apodosis begins , and 'meque' answers to 'aliorum-' The coupling of two such sen-es by 'que . . . que' is noted by p. as a novelty; relative clauses are oupled by Livy (e. g. 'quique in urbe t quosque . . . acciverant' 1. 55, 6), single words, especially a pronoun noun, by Tacitus, as in 2. 3, 3 ('seque umque'), and by Sall. (Cat. 9, 3; Jug. 2).

tias: for this form cp. 3. 30, 7, note. Some of the old edd. before . here follow the inferior MSS. in ing 'satietas.' For the sentiment obvia rerum similitudine et satietate' 3, 3).

quamvis, taken closely with 'ho-os.'

aspernantium, disliking; so 'stu-nimiam severitatem aspernantium' 42, 2): generally used of 'disdain-as in 14. 58, 3, etc.

nc, 'as the case is,' much more such disgust be expected.

patientia servilis: cp. 14. 26, 1.

restringunt, 'oppress,' 'paralyze' nd B.). Such a sense can be derived the ordinary meaning of the word 4, 3, etc.), but appears to be nowhere ound. Madv. suggests (Adv. ii. 558) perhaps 'restinguunt' should be read the sense of quenching the fire of oul): cp. 'animos . . . morte restin-' Cic. Sest. 21, 47).

que aliam, etc. 'nor will I de-of my readers that they shall excuse herwise than by the plea that I need ate (and therefore condemn to total on) those who died so tamely.' He l ask to be permitted not to look on persons with detestation, but rather pity (as victims of a fatality). Cp. e of 'defensorem exigere' in Dial. ; 25, 6. Some take 'oderim' in nse of 'odisse videar,' and suppose is to plead that it might have been set down to personal animosity against these individuals if he had suppressed the account of their deaths; but 'oderim' seems hardly to bear this meaning, and a general, not personal motive for hate seems clearly to be suggested by 'tam segniter pereuntes.' Dr. follows several edd. and two inferior MSS. in reading 'oderint,' but neither his explanation nor Walther's appears to give a satisfactory meaning to 'defensionem.'

6. **noscentur**, 'shall be studied.'

7. **ira illa numinum**: cp. c. 13, 1; 4. 1, 3, etc., and the expression 'fatali omnium ignavia' (15. 61, 6).

8. **captivitate**, 'occupation by an enemy': cp. 13. 25, 2, and note.

semel edito, 'after a single mention of the fact': such uses of the abl. abs. of a neuter participle are common in Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 31 a), though 'edito' is not elsewhere so used; nor does 'edere' appear elsewhere to be used thus absolutely. Many inferior MSS. and old edd. read 'editam': but 'edere iram' is hardly a possible expression. For the use of 'semel' Nipp. compares 'aut vitam semel aut ignominiam finirent' (Liv. 25. 6, 16), 'nihil confestim, nihil semel faciunt' (Sen. Ben. 2. 5, 1). The wrath of the gods had not shown itself in a single catastrophe, but in a series of events requiring separate mention.

9. **transire**, 'to pass on,' without returning to the subject.

posteritati. Nipp. and Dr. appear rightly to understand this of 'the future' of such men (taken brachylogically for their posthumous renown); and such is clearly the meaning of 'sola posteritatis cura' in H. 2. 53, 3. Others less well take the term to refer to the people here alluded to, as being themselves the descendants of distinguished ancestors; which is not the case with those especially instanced in c. 17, 1.

modo exsequiis a promisca sepultura separantur, ita in traditior supremorum accipiant habeantque propriam memoriam.

17. Paucos quippe intra dies eodem agmine Annaeus Mel Cerialis Anicius, Rufrius Crispinus, C. Petronius cecider Mela et Crispinus equites Romani dignitate senatoria. na hic quondam praefectus praetorii et consularibus insignibu donatus ac nuper crimine coniurationis in Sardiniam e actus, accepto iussae mortis nuntio semet interfecit. Mel quibus Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus, petitione honoru abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram, ut eques Roman

1. **promisca**, such burial as ordinary people might have, without 'imaginum pompa,' 'laudatio,' public attendance invited by proclamation, etc.

2. **supremorum**: cp. 3. 49, 1; 6. 50, 3; 12. 66, 2, etc.

propriam memoriam, 'special record,' such as history would not grant to the deaths of less distinguished people. The repetition in 'accipiant habeantque' is in accordance with the rhetorical character of the passage.

3. **quippe** (so in anastrophe 2. 15, 3; 33, 2; Agr. 3, 2, etc.), used to bring in instances of such deaths.

eodem agmine, 'one upon another.' The narrative shows that their deaths did not take place together.

Mela: so in Med. The old reading, after G., was 'Mella.'

4. **Cerialis Anicius**: see 15. 74, 3.

Rufrius Crispinus: see 11. 1, 3, and note. Med. has here 'rufus.'

C. Petronius. Med. has here 'ac Petronius,' which might possibly stand on the supposition that Tacitus, reversing his usual practice, gives one name here and two in the second and fuller notice (c. 18, 1). Most edd. however have followed Rhen. in supposing that 'C.' (which is there given in Med.) has here dropped out after 'ac'; while Halm and Orelli follow Wesenburg in treating 'ac' as a corruption of 'C.' On the other hand Pliny says (N. H. 37. 2, 7, 20) 'T. Petronius consularis, moriturus invidia Neronis, ut mensam eius exheredaret trullam murrinam trecentis millibus emptam fregit'; and Plutarch (de disc. adul. et am. p. 60 E), illustrates a dangerous form of flattery, ὅταν τοὺς ἀσώτους καὶ πολυτελεῖς εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ῥυπαρίαν ὀνειδίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Νέρωνα Τίτος Πετρώνιος. As the person here mentioned is evidently the same, Haase and Ritt. depart wholly from the Med. reading 'T.' for 'ac,' and Nip and Dr. read 'ac T.' Nipp. points o that the names are given in two pai each a senator and a knight, and that t addition of a conjunction after asynde has several precedents in Tacitus a Livy. It is possible that Tacitus m have confused the praenomen with th of C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus (see 6. 45, 5). The MSS. of the satire (s on c. 18, 1) appear to give no praenom to the author; the title being read Buecheler as 'Petronii Arbitri Satira (or 'Satirarum excerpta').

5. **equites . . . dignitate senator** knights with senatorial census, 'equi inlustres' (see 2. 59, 4, and note; 11. 1, etc.).

nam, referred to 'cecidere': cp. 22, 1.

6. **praefectus praetorii**. He h been removed by the influence of Agr pina: see 12. 42, 1.

consularibus insignibus, perh an error, as he is mentioned in 11. 4 as receiving 'insignia praeturae.' If afterwards received consular insignia, is the first praefectus praetorio who known to have done so (Momms. Staa i. 463, 4).

7. **in Sardiniam exactus**: see 71, 8. His death is alluded to in 'Octavia' (744–747).

9. **quibus Gallio et Seneca**: note on 14. 53, 5. On Gallio see 73, 4.

10. **ambitionem praeposteram**, w explained by Jacob to mean 'an eccen ambition.' Desiring to have political fluence and position equal to that o consular, instead of endeavouring to come such, he took the opposite co of remaining a knight. On the gr 'potentia' of some of these 'equites lustres' see 3. 30, 4; Friedl. Sitteng

ısularibus potentia aequaretur; simul adquirendae pecuniae vius iter credebat per procurationes administrandis principis ;otiis. idem Annaeum Lucanum genuerat, grande adiumentum ritudinis. quo interfecto dum rem familiarem eius acriter uirit, accusatorem concivit Fabium Romanum, ex intimis cani amicis. mixta inter patrem filiumque coniurationis ntia fingitur, adsimilatis Lucani litteris: quas inspectas Nero i ad eum iussit, opibus eius inhians. at Mela, quae tum mptissima mortis via, exsolvit venas, scriptis codicillis quibus ndem pecuniam in Tigellinum generumque eius Cossutianum pitonem erogabat, quo cetera manerent. additur codicillis, ıquam de iniquitate exitii querens ita scripsisset, se quidem ri nullis supplicii causis, Rufrium autem Crispinum et Anicium ialem vita frui infensos principi. quae composita credebantur

; foll. etc., and on the equestrian sus honorum' see Introd. i. vii. p. 88, ; and a full account of the high posts to this order in Momms. Staatsr. iii. 54, foll.

adquirendae pecuniae, etc. The may be compared of Cornelius Fuscus, had resigned senatorial rank, and wards obtained an important pro-orship from Galba (H. 2. 86, 5). hese offices see 12. 60, 1; Introd. i. pp. 99–100, and on their lucrative acter, Momms. Staatsr. iii. 559, 2; chf. 258, foll.

administrandis . . . negotiis, best ı as dative of purpose. Orelli and s take it as an epexegetical abl.

Annaeum Lucanum: see 15. 49, ;o, 1.

rem familiarem eius: for the use eius' after abl. abs. cp. c. 14, 6, etc. Lucan was wealthy is shown by the ion to his 'horti marmorei' in Juv. ; and it would appear that his pro- had not been confiscated. Lips. ds an obscure and corrupt passage r. Chron. so as to read 'L. Annaeus , frater Senecae et Gallionis, ob bona ni filii sui, a Nerone perimitur,' which d show that Jerome had mistaken Tacitus here says.

requirit, 'calls in,' from his debtors. suggested that Romanus may have one of them.

mixta . . . scientia, 'that father on had interchanged knowledge of onspiracy.'

adsimilatis, 'having been counter-feited'; so in 4. 8, 1; 59, 5; 6. 25, 1; Plaut., Ter., Verg. and Pl. ma. For the form of the word here cp. 11. 11, 6, and note.

quas. Med., according to Ritt., has 'quasi,' whence he reads 'quas sibi.'

8. **ferri ad eum**, 'to be conveyed to Mela,' to show him that his guilt was proved, and to warn him to die.

opibus eius inhians: cp. 11. 1, 1, and note.

10. **Cossutianum Capitonem**: see 14. 48, 2.

11. **additur codicillis**, etc. The Med. text, as here given, can be satisfactorily explained by supposing it to state that words were appended to his testament, and that 'tamquam . . . scripsisset' is a parenthetical explanation of the assignable reason for such an insertion ('as though he had so written in complaint of the injustice of his death'); the actual addition being given in 'se quidem,' etc. The alternative reading 'scripsisse,' given by some inferior MSS. and old edd., and supposed by Walther to be the Med. reading, is retained by Nipp. and Jacob, and is explained by taking 'additur' personally in the sense 'he is made to have written in addition' (see Introd. i. v. § 45), and 'codicillis' as an abl., similar to that in c. 14, 4, etc. Dr., without sufficient reason, brackets 'tamquam . . . scripsisset' as a gloss.

14. **composita**, 'to have been invented' (cp. 11. 27, 2; 15. 16, 3, etc.). It seems best to suppose this to mean that this addition to the will was believed to have

de Crispino, quia interfectus erat, de Ceriale, ut interficeretu neque enim multo post vim sibi attulit, minore quam cete miseratione, quia proditam Gaio Caesari coniurationem ab e meminerant.

18. De C. Petronio pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam il dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transig batur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam pro tulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique su haurientium, sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quant solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia, tanto gratiu

been a forgery instigated by Nero, to justify the one death and to bring about the other. Nipp. takes them to mean that Mela was believed to have inserted the words to bring about the death of Cerialis, disguising his personal animosity towards him by adding the name of Crispinus, whom he knew, but was not supposed to know, to have been already compelled to die. But Tacitus seems carefully to guard against affirming that the words had been really written by Mela.

3. **proditam Gaio Caesari coniurationem.** This appears not to have been that of Gaetulicus and Lepidus (see Introd. p. 8), but one in 793, A.D. 40. Our only informant, Zonaras (11. 6, p. 557), states that Nicius Cerialius (so read in most texts) and his son Sextus Papinius were arrested and tortured, without disclosing, and that the latter afterwards turned informer. The words of Tacitus here would make against the correctness of this version, which is also invalidated by another account (Sen. de Ira 3. 18, 3) in which Papinius is called 'consularis filius,' and said to have been tortured only for caprice ('animi causa'), not in any judicial process.

5. **De C. Petronio.** Dr. and Jacob follow Nipp. in omitting the praenomen, as in itself wrong (see on c. 17, 1) and as having possibly arisen from repeating the preceding 'e.' The identification of the person mentioned with the author of the famous Satire is generally considered to have been proved by Studer (Rhen. Mus. ii. 50, foll. and 202: cp. an abstract of his arguments given in Merivale, ch. 53), and is fully accepted by Buecheler in his edition of that work (Berl. 1862), and by Teuffel (History of Roman Literature, 300, 4). Professor W. Ramsay, who has fully discussed the subject (Dict. of Biog.), inclines to the opposite view. No all sion to the work can be discovered what is said in c. 19, 5, and it is remar able that Tacitus gives him no credit f any literary talent.

pauca supra repetenda sunt, ' slight retrospect must be taken.' T expression is Sallustian (Cat. 5, 9; Ju 5, 3): cp. 'alte repetere,' and similar e pressions (3. 24, 2, and note; H. 2. 27, Dial. 19, 3, etc.).

nam, apparently inserted to poi attention to the unique character of h career as a reason for dwelling on it.

6. **per somnum:** on the interchan of this prep. with the simple abl. c Introd. i. v. § 62. Seneca notices t voluptuaries 'qui officia lucis noctisq perverterint' (Ep. 122, 2); and the sa practice is recorded of Elagabalus (V 28, 6): 'transegit et dierum actus noc bus, et nocturnos diebus, aestimans h inter instrumenta luxuriae.'

7. **protulerat:** cp. 12. 3, 2, and not

8. **profligator,** 'a spendthrift'; o of the verbal nouns invented by Tacit (Introd. i. v. 69, 1 a): 'profligare op is found in Nep. Pel. 2, 3; and the ve has other similar meanings.

9. **haurientium** = 'exhaurientium the meaning is nearly similar to that 13. 42, 7. Jacob compares 'hausi patrias luxuriosus opes' (Mart. 9. 83, 4

erudito luxu, abl. of quality (used after 'haberi' in 6. 48, 7), 'a m who had made an art of luxury.'

10. **solutiora,** 'the more unconve tional'; used of absence of moral straint in 11. 31, 4; 13. 47, 2, etc.

sui neglegentiam, 'carelessness,' ' certain laisser-aller' (Jacob).

tanto gratius, etc. 'were the m acceptable, being taken to present an a pearance of simplicity' ('naiveté'). H words and acts seemed to have a freshn

speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. pro consule tamen hyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit. n revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitatione, inter paucos iliarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil oenum et molle adfluentia putat, nisi quod ei Petronius ad- bavisset. unde invidia Tigellini quasi adversus aemulum scientia voluptatum potiorem. ergo crudelitatem principis, ceterae libidines cedebant, adgreditur, amicitiam Scaevini ronio obiectans, corrupto ad iudicium servo ademptaque ensione et maiore parte familiae in vincla rapta.

.9. Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Caesar, et Cumas ue progressus Petronius illic attinebatur; nec tulit ultra oris aut spei moras. neque tamen praeceps vitam expulit,

t them which commended itself to vorn-out taste of the age. This char- istic seems not unsuited to the broad our of the 'Satirae.' For the sense simplicitas' cp. 6. 5, 2; for that of ipere in,' 1. 14, 3, and note.

pro consule . . . Bithyniae. He d have held this proconsulate after raetorship: see 1. 74, 1, and note.

consul, as suffectus in some un- n year.

revolutus. The coordination with causal abl. 'imitatione' shows that articiple also expresses cause. Most e inferior MSS. and older edd. read ationem.'

ter paucos, 'among his few most ate friends': cp. 11. 10, 5, and

elegantiae arbiter, 'the authority ste.' We certainly should not gather this passage that such a title nted to a formal cognomen; but possible to suppose (with Jacob) the satirist may have humourously l himself 'Petronius Arbiter,' or Prof. Ramsay) that the title may been inserted by some grammarian wished to mark the identity of the r with the person described by us. No other trace of the word as name appears to be found than its rence among those of a list of freed- I. R. N. 4279).

adfluentia, probably best taken, Jacob and others, as a concise use ausal abl. (Introd. i. v. § 30), 'inas- as abundance (i.e. his satiety with ures) made Nero think nothing charming or luxurious, except whatever Petronius might have commended to him.' The more natural construction as an abl. of respect depending on 'molle' seems to fail to give a satisfactory mean- ing. 'Adfluentia' is a synonym with 'copia' in 3. 30, 4: cp. the use of the participle in 15. 54, 2; H. 1. 57, 5 ('praesentia ex affluenti').

ei adprobavisset. The subjunct. appears to be that of action frequently repeated (Introd. i. v. § 52). 'Adpro- bare alicui aliquid' is used in 15. 59, 6; Agr. 5, 1; so 'probare' in Cic.

8. **adgreditur,** 'addresses himself to'; so with 'modestiam' (2. 26, 4), 'animos' (H. 1. 78, 1). A similar metaphor is 'saevitiae principis adrepit' (1. 74, 2). The anecdote of Plutarch (see note on c. 17, 1) suggests that Nero was already offended by Petronius' vein of humour.

Scaevini: see 15. 49, 4.

9. **corrupto ad iudicium**: cp. 2. 62, 3, and note.

adempta, i.e. no opportunity being offered for it.

11. **Cumas usque progressus.** Nero may probably have gone to Baiae or Neapolis, and Petronius may have ac- companied him, or, as the words would more naturally mean, gone thus far to join him, and had been there arrested and was being detained in custody ('attine- batur': cp. 15. 57, 1, etc.).

13. **timoris aut spei moras**: cp. 'cunctantibus prolatantibusque spem aut metum' (15. 51, 1).

praeceps; adverbial: cp. 4. 62, 3, and note; Introd. i. v. § 3.

sed incisas venas, ut libitum, obligatas aperire rursum et adloqu amicos, non per seria aut quibus gloriam constantiae peteret audiebatque referentes, nihil de inmortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus. servorum alio largitione, quosdam verberibus adfecit. iniit et epulas, somn indulsit, ut quamquam coacta mors fortuitae similis esset. n codicillis quidem, quod plerique pereuntium, Neronem aut Tigellinum aut quem alium potentium adulatus est: sed flagiti principis sub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque et novitaten cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni. fregit que anulum, ne mox usui esset ad facienda pericula.

20. Ambigenti Neroni, quonam modo noctium suarum ingeni

1. **incisas.** This again, as it stands, would be another new expression for opening veins; but perhaps Ritt. may be right in thinking that a syllable has been lost in an abbreviation, and that 'intercisas' (cp. c. 14, 6, and note) should be read, both here and in H. 5. 22, 2. Ritt. also thinks that 'et' has dropped out before 'ut.'

2. **gloriam constantiae.** Compare the exhortations of Seneca (15. 62, 2).

3. **nihil de inmortalitate animae,** etc. With persons of less dissolute character the consolations of philosophy held the place now filled by those of religion; and the philosopher friend of the house was in attendance at the hour of impending death, or gave advice in preparation for it. See the accounts at the end of Thrasea (c. 34, 2), of Rubellius Plautus (14. 59, 2), and several other instances cited in Friedl. iii. 657.

4. **carmina . . . versus;** so coupled in Dial. 9, 1, and probably to be distinguished (with Nipp.) by taking the former term to mean songs or lyrical pieces, the latter, hexameter, iambic, or other poems. 'Levia' and 'faciles' are nearly synonyms in that both are opposites to 'seria' ('frivolous songs and playful poetry'); 'facilis' and 'facilitas' are analogously used of pliant personal character: cp. 'uxor facilis' (6. 1, 5), 'facilitate . . . commendabatur' (6. 15, 3).

alios . . . quosdam. Dr., who notes this coordination as ἅπ. εἰρ., compares 'multos . . . quosdam' in 11. 7, 4; and elsewhere (Synt. und Stil, 135, 1) gives many other such forms of expression.

5. **iniit et epulas.** All MSS. and most of the older edd. have 'iniit et uias which seems to describe an impossibl action under the circumstances. 'Ini epulas' is read by Nipp. and others afte Markland, 'iniit et epulas' by Halm an Dr.: cp. 'epulas inibat' (15. 52, 1). H last scene would thus resemble that Libo (2. 31, 1) and Asiaticus (11. 3, 2).

6. **coacta,** 'compulsory': cp. 13. 4 4, and note. 'Quamquam' is a corre tion of Rhen. for Med. 'quā' ('quam')

7. **quod plerique,** sc. 'facere sol bant': for such ellipses of the verb doing see Introd. i. v. § 38 b.

9. **sub nominibus,** 'with names pr fixed' (or given): cp. 5. 4, 4; 13. 25, Liv. 1. 36, 7; 43, 9; also 'sub exempl in 3. 68, 1; 4. 11, 5. That the nam given are fictitious, forms no part of th essential meaning of the expression, is n here indicated by the context, and is n in this case a probable supposition. It plain that Petronius, with all his vic was not an associate in the worst excess of Nero, but that he knew all about the and desired to taunt Nero with his kno ledge, and to make it evident to him th all was generally known. Hence would naturally give names with f accuracy. No trace of such a stateme can be found in the Satire, and it ca not be supposed to have had any co nexion with it.

novitatem: so all edd. after Ne for Med. 'novitate,' evidently an error 'novitatē.'

11. **ne mox,** etc. The signet ring Lucan had been no doubt so used (c. 5). Another of his last acts is mention by Pliny (see note on c. 17, 1).

12. **noctium suarum ingenia** = 'qu

tescerent, offertur Silia, matrimonio senatoris haud ignota et ii ad omnem libidinem adscita ac Petronio perquam familiaris. itur in exilium, tamquam non siluisset quae viderat pertulerat-e, proprio odio. at Minucium Thermum praetura functum gellini simultatibus dedit, quia libertus Thermi quaedam de gellino criminose detulerat, quae cruciatibus tormentorum e, patronus eius nece inmerita luere.

21. Trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero virtu-n ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et rea Sorano, olim utrisque infensus, et accedentibus causis in

l nocturnae libidinis ingeniose excogi-sset' (Jacob). 'Ingenium' is often of persons in the sense of 'inventive-' (14. 3, 5, etc.); and Plin. mi. has 1. 49) 'exquisita ingenia cenarum.' word is also often used in Tacitus of nature or qualities of things (cp. 3. 1, and note); and Orelli and others so it here: cp. 'inmixtis histrionibus et onum gregibus et cetero Neronianae e ingenio' (H. 2. 71, 1).

offertur, 'is suggested,' 'occurs to ,'

tamquam, 'on the ground that'; g the pretext and explaining the real ve ('proprio odio').

proprio odio, causal abl. (taken 'agitur in exilium'), 'on account s own hate for her.' This is shown the meaning by the contrast 'Tigel-i imultatibus dedit.'

inucium Thermum, probably a f the one mentioned in 6. 7, 2, whence ame is here restored by Ryck, for the 'Municium.'

dedit. All recent edd. follow Rhen. us reading. Med. has 'deditum'; il other MSS. and edd. 'dedidit.' us generally uses 'dare' in such ex-ons (cp. 1. 10, 2; 15. 59, 8, etc.); dit' has been less well defended from 5; 3. 23, 1.

uedam . . . detulerat, 'had ht certain charges vindictively st Tigellinus,' as to which apparently d torture he incriminated his patron. qui . . . criminosius Blaesum insec-' (H. 3. 38, 3). Orelli takes the r to mean that he had given infor-t of libels spoken against Tigellinus nucius; but for this the freedman have been rewarded, not tortured.

uere: so Halm, Orelli, Ritt., after Acid. All MSS. and other ead 'lueret' in the sense of 'was destined to atone.' Dr. compares 'in eas partes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent' (G. 29, 1), and 'res . . . defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram . . . victoriam ederetis' (Agr. 34, 3). On the other hand the 't' might easily have been a repetition from the initial of 'trucidatis'; and Tacitus certainly as a rule uses the plural verb or predicate in such sentences (cp. c. 7, 2; 12. 41, 4; 14. 53, 3; and several other passages here cited by Halm); though the singular can also be defended by instances (see Nipp. Append. to 12. 12), especially if stress is supposed to be laid on the patron's fate (cp. 1. 10, 1; 2. 26, 3; 12. 12, 3).

8. **virtutem ipsam excindere.** In the brief account given by the epitomist of Dio (62. 26, 1), it is stated that they were condemned for no other reason but because they were foremost in rank and virtue. For the expression, Jacob compares 'omni bona arte in exilium acta' (Agr. 2, 2).

9. **Thrasea Paeto**: for his full name see note on 13. 49, 1, where he is first mentioned. Besides the occasions referred to below, he is mentioned prominently in 15. 20, 2; 23, 5, and as alluded to by Vitellius in H. 2. 91, 5. His biography of Cato is alluded to by Plutarch (Cato Min. 25, 37), who elsewhere records an eulogy of Nero on his justice (πολ. παραγγελμ. 14. p. 810 B). Other notices of him, ancient and modern, are given by Mayor on Juv. 5, 35.

10. **Barea Sorano**, only mentioned previously as cos. design. and as voting a reward to Pallas (12. 53, 2). His gentile name appears to be Marcius (see note there). He was at this time advanced in years (c. 30, 4). His son-in-law (l. l.), Annius Pollio, had been already exiled for his supposed share in the conspiracy

Thraseam, quod senatu egressus est, cum de Agrippina referretur, ut memoravi, quodque Iuvenalium ludicro parum spectabilem operam praebuerat; eaque offensio altius penetrabat, quia idem Thrasea Patavi, unde ortus erat, ludis †cetastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat. die quoque, quo praetor Antistius ob probra in Neronem composita ad mortem damnabatur, mitiora censuit obtinuitque; et cum deum honores

of Piso (15. 71, 6). His name is coupled in Boeth. Cons. 1, Pr. 3 with those of Kanus and Seneca as martyrs to their exaltation above the standard of their age.

2. **ut memoravi**: see 14. 12, 2.

Iuvenalium: see 14. 15, 1. No previous mention is made of Thrasea's conduct in this respect; and we should suppose from 15. 33, 1 that Nero had of late ceased to care to keep up this festival: see however note on 15. 50, 6.

parum spectabilem. All recent edd., except Ritt., read thus, after MS. Agr. Med. has 'parum et expectabilem'; the older edd. either 'parum expectabilem' (after several inferior MSS.), or 'parum expetibilem' (after Bud.), in the sense of 'not such as might be expected' (or 'desired'); 'expectabilis' being found only in Tert. Marc. 3. 16; 'expetibilis' in Sen. Ep. 117, 4. The meaning with either reading would be that he had not joined, or joined but coldly in the applause (see c. 5, 3), or (as the context seems rather to indicate) had not appeared on the stage, as other nobles did (14. 15, 2), and as he had done elsewhere. Ritt., who reads 'parum et vix spectabilem,' takes the words to mean that he had been for the most part absent, and, when present, was unenthusiastic. Dio (62. 26, 4) appears to render them by *οὔτε ἐπεδείξατο οὐδέν*.

3. **penetrabat**, sc. 'animum Neronis': cp. the full expression in 1. 69, 4.

4. **ludis †cetastis.** Halm and Or. retain the unintelligible Med. text, in preference to adopting any of the many emendations (see their critical notes and Walther's). Some light is thrown on the word by an inscription (C. I. L. v. 1. 2787) in letters of a fairly good time, found near Patavium (Padua), to a 'lusor epidixib[us] et cetaes' (which latter word Mommsen there takes to be a Greek dative from 'cetae'; also by a passage in Charisius (p. 100 P.), quoting a letter of Pomponius Secundus (see on 5. 8, 4) to Thrasea, in which the word 'cetariis' (which he agrees with Pliny should have been 'cetaribus') occurs. Hence Nipp here reads 'cetariis,' and thinks that as Patavium lay near the sea, and had a domain extending to it (Liv. 10. 2, 7), it may have had a festival connected with the tunny fisheries (cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 5, 44) of the Adriatic. Ritt. and Dr. follow Seyffert in reading 'vetustis.' Dio (l. l.) gives no name to the feast, but calls it *ἑορτὴ τριακονταετηρίς*. Its antiquity and rare occurrence may have induced Thrase to relax so far as thus to take part in it.

5. **Antenore**, the traditional founder of Patavium and coloniser of the distri (Liv. 1. 1, 2; Verg. Aen. 1, 247).

cecinerat, i.e. had taken the prin cipal part, and sung the monologue, in tragedy; *τραγῳδίαν κατά τι πάτριον . . ὑποκρινάμενος* (Dio, l. l.): cp. 15. 65, and note.

6. **Antistius**: see 14. 48, 1.

ad mortem damnabatur: for th expression cp. 6. 38, 4, and note, als 'damnati ad poenam' (Pl. ad Trai. 32, 1 Tacitus elsewhere has an abl. of th penalty with this verb (H. 4. 45, 3), or sentence with 'ut' (2. 67, 3), but not th genit. (as 'capitis,' etc.).

7. **cum.** Ritt. reads 'dum' wi Heins., thinking that with 'cum' imperf. indic. or subjunct. would be e pected.

deum honores (cp. 15. 74, 4). his account of the funeral honours Poppaea (c. 6, 3) Tacitus had omitt this. On the same coins on which t apotheosis of her child is commemorat (see on 15. 23, 4), she is also represent sitting in a temple, with the legend 'D Poppaea Aug.' (Eckh. vi. 287; Coh 315). An inscription with the same ti exists (Or. 731); and Dio mentions (26, 5) among the last acts of Nero consecration of her temple, inscrib *Σαβίνῃ θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπο-σαν*.

ɔppaeae decernuntur, sponte absens, funeri non interfuerat. ıae oblitterari non sinebat Capito Cossutianus, praeter animum l flagitia praecipitem iniquus Thraseae, quod auctoritate eius ncidisset, iuvantis Cilicum legatos, dum Capitonem repetun- ırum interrogant.

22. Quin et illa obiectabat, principio anni vitare Thraseam llemne ius iurandum; nuncupationibus votorum non adesse, ıamvis quindecimvirali sacerdotio praeditum: numquam pro lute principis aut caelesti voce immolavisse; adsiduum olim indefessum, qui vulgaribus quoque patrum consultis semet ıtorem aut adversarium ostenderet, triennio non introisse riam; nuperrimeque, cum ad coercendos Silanum et Veterem tatim concurreretur, privatis potius clientium negotiis vaca-

. **sponte**, 'intentionally.'

nterfuerat: so all recent edd. r MS. Jes., as nearer to the Med. erfuerit,' than 'interfuit,' which is l by other MSS. and edd., and ap- rs to have been accommodated to the er tenses ('censuit obtinuitque').

. **Capito Cossutianus.** In the ac- nt of his accusation by the Cilicians 33, 3), the part taken by Thrasea not mentioned.

. **iniquus**: cp. 3. 4, 3, and note.

. **concidisset**, 'he had been con- ned'; so in c. 29, 3: so also 'ca- ' in 6. 14, 1; H. 4. 6, 2; Cic. Att. 5.

petundarum interrogant: cp. 13. 3, and note.

solemne ius iurandum, the oath ıtaining the 'acta' of the princeps r his predecessors (see below § 5; 1. 2, and note; 13. 11, 1) which, as as the 'sacramentum in nomen prin- i' (see 1. 7, 3, and note), was renewed ually on the 1st of January.

ıncupationibus votorum. The a pro incolumitate reipublicae' were l on the 1st of January (see 4. 70, nd note), those 'pro incolumitate ripis' on the 3rd (Plut. Cic. 2). It is n in 4. 17, 1 (where see note) that all riestly colleges took part in them.

quindecimvirali sacerdotio: see , 3, and note.

aeditus: so used of this priest- o in 11. 11, 3.

caelesti voce: cp. 14. 15, 9; also itantibus cunctis caelestem vocem' . Ner. 21); and the charges de- ed by Philostratus (Vit. Ap. 5. 7), on the authority of Apollonius, as rife during that time: οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μέν, ῥαθύμως δὲ ἠκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς.

10. **indefessum**: cp. 1. 64, 5; a word first introduced into prose by Tacitus (Introd. i. v. § 70).

qui . . . ostenderet. Nipp. notes that this clause (with which 'olim' is again supplied) adds point to the preceding adjectives.

vulgaribus, 'on everyday matters': cp. 13. 49, 1, where he is mentioned as opposing a decree so termed.

11. **triennio**, etc. Under the Republic, senators were liable to a fine and 'pignoris capio' (cp. 13. 28, 4, and note) for non attendance (see Liv. 3. 38, 12; Cic. Phil. 1. 5, 12), but the enforcement of such penalty appears to have become practically obsolete (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 916). Attendance had been enforced with increased stringency by Augustus and Claudius (Dio, 54. 18, 3: 60. 11, 8); but the language of Nero (c. 27, 2), unless it is to be taken to apply to Thrasea only, would show that it had again become lax.

12. **Silanum et Veterem**: see c. 7, 3; 11, 6. Others were accused on both occasions; but only the principal criminal in each case is here specified. The language is rhetorical, for Vetus was already dead before he was accused.

13. **privatis**, etc., 'gave his leisure rather to the private suits of his clients,' by assisting them in the law-courts. The moral support thus given to clients by the presence of a patron of rank may be gathered from Mart. 2. 32.

visse. secessionem iam id et partes et, si idem multi audeant, bellum esse. 'ut quondam C. Caesarem' inquit 'et M. Catonem, ita nunc te, Nero, et Thraseam avida discordiarum civitas loquitur. et habet sectatores vel potius satellites, qui nondum contumaciam sententiarum, sed habitum vultumque eius sectantur, rigidi et tristes, quo tibi lasciviam exprobrent. huic uni incolumitas tua sine *cura*, artes sine honore. prosperas principis res spernit: etiamne luctibus et doloribus non satiatur? eiusdem animi est Poppaeam divam non credere, cuius in acta divi Augusti et divi Iuli non iurare. spernit religiones, abrogat leges. diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit. aut transeamus

1. **id**: for this use of the neuter cp. 1. 49, 4, and note.

partes, 'a formation of parties in the state.' Nero was no more than the head of one party; Thrasea that of another.

2. **ut quondam**, as men used to talk of Julius Caesar and Cato (of Utica). The latter was the leading representative of the republican opposition to the former.

3. **te, Nero, et Thraseam**: so all edd. after Put. for Med. 'tenebo thraseā.' Ritt. prefers 'te, Nero, Thraseamque,' as such variation after 'C. Caesarem et M. Catonem' would be in the manner of Tacitus; but the loss of 'et' before 't' seems more probable. The accus. here with 'loquor' may be compared with 'Pharsaliam . . . loquebantur' (H. 1. 50, 3), 'caesos exercitus . . . loquebantur' (H. 4. 12, 1), and is found in Cic. and Liv. Cp. also 'ingredi aliquem' (6. 4, 1), 'disserere aliquid' (1. 4, 2, etc.). It is not necessary to suppose the presence of Nero at this debate, as the princeps is certainly sometimes thus addressed in his absence (see 6. 8, 6).

4. **satellites**, 'his courtiers,' substituted as a more invidious term for 'sectatores'; so used bitterly in 2. 45, 4; 6. 3, 2, etc.

5. **sententiarum**, of his votes in the senate.

habitum, 'his demeanour' (cp. 1. 10, 7, etc.); so joined with 'vultus' in H. 1. 17, 2; 2. 52, 2: cp. 'habitu et ore' (c. 32, 3).

6. **rigidi et tristes.** Suet. (Ner. 37) makes the only charge against Thrasea himself to have been his 'tristior et paedagogi vultus.' The morose expression affected by Stoics is often noticed: cp. 'philosophi vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a ceteris habitum' (Quint. 1 pr. § 15), 'triste supercilium duriqu[e] severa Catonis Frons' (Mart. 11. 2, 1) etc. On the Stoic opposition under th[e] Caesars see Introd. p. 83; Friedl. ii[i]. 617, foll.

7. **sine cura**: so all recent edd. afte[r] Lips. The insertion is violent, but th[e] alternative of Gron. ('incolumitas tua tuae artes') not less so, and inferior i[n] sense. The two clauses refer to th[e] charges 'numquam . . . immolavisse.'

8. **etiamne . . . non** = 'num ne . . . quidem': cp. 13. 3, 6, and note. 'Luc[tibus]' refers to the death of Poppaea.

9. **in acta**, etc.: see on § 1. Th[e] 'acta' of Tiberius and Gaius were no[t] included in the oath (Dio, 59. 9, 1; Sue[t.] Cl. 11); so that those of Julius, Augustu[s] and Claudius were alone at this tim[e] sworn to (with those of Nero himself). The latter name is, naturally, omitted, a[s] less acceptable to Nero than the tw[o] former. The contempt of 'divi' show[n] by his abstinence explains also his takin[g] no part in the apotheosis of Poppaea. H[e] is thus shown 'spernere religiones'; also hi[s] contempt of the 'acta principum,' an[d] his absence from the senate generally, charged as a virtual 'abrogatio legum.' Tiberius is mentioned (4. 42, 3) as stri[k]ing a senator off the roll for not swearin[g] to the 'acta Augusti.'

11. **diurna populi Romani**: on the public journals see Introd. i. iii. p. 15.

curatius, 'more carefully': cp. 1[3.] 21, 2, and note; also 1. 13, 7, a[nd] note.

12. **quid Thrasea non fecerit.** H[is] abstentions show the disaffected how f[ar] they may go.

-d illa instituta, si potiora sunt, aut nova cupientibus auferatur ıx et auctor. ista secta Tuberones et Favonios, veteri quoque ·i publicae ingrata nomina, genuit. ut imperium evertant, ɔertatem praeferunt: si perverterint, libertatem ipsam ad-·edientur. frustra Cassium amovisti, si gliscere et vigere rutorum aemulos passurus es. denique nihil ipse de Thrasea ripseris: disceptatorem senatum nobis relinque.' extollit ira ·omptum Cossutiani animum Nero adicitque Marcellum Eprium ri eloquentia.

23. At Baream Soranum iam sibi Ostorius Sabinus eques omanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asiae, in qua of-ısiones principis auxit iustitia atque industria, et quia portui

ɪ. **illa instituta**, the republicanism of rasea, explained by 'nova cupien-ıs' below.

ɛ. **ista secta**, Stoicism, sufficiently lerstood by the preceding description 3).

Tuberones et Favonios, rhetorical rals (cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.). Q. Aelius bero, a nephew of the younger Afri-us and an opponent of the Gracchi, is en as one of the persons of the dia-ue 'de Republica' by Cic., who else-ere speaks of him as a Stoic of high racter, but of austerity amounting to eness, and as displaying at times a rversa sapientia' (Brut. 31, 117; pro r. 36, 75); also as a learned jurist ap. Gell. 1. 22, 7). Seneca praises asceticism (Ep. 95, 72, etc.). M. Fa-ius, who is often mentioned in the ers of Cicero, was prominent among optimates, though personally at en-y with Pompeius, and was taken pri-er at Philippi, and put to death. His icism and austerity of demeanour en to have been part of his servile nation of Cato of Utica.

imperium, that of the princeps.

praeferunt = 'prae se ferunt,' 'make splay of': cp. 2. 53, 4, and note.

Cassium: see c. 7, 1. He is as-ued to be a representative of his name-a, and thus named with Thrasea, who s egarded as emulating Marcus and mus Brutus.

nihil . . . scripseris, he need send o issive, such as was often sent (see 5. ; 6. 9, 2, etc.), and which would leave h senate no choice; he might safely e it to be 'disceptator,' to decide e een accuser and accused on its own is etion. Nero so far followed this hint as to write without mentioning names (c. 27, 2).

7. **extollit** = 'incendit.' Nero excites still further the spirit of Cossutianus, already eager, from personal animosity ('ira') towards Thrasea (see c. 21. 3). Tacitus has elsewhere 'extollere animos ad superbiam' (4. 17, 3): cp. 'ira . . . extollit animos et incitat' (Sen. de Ira 1. 7, 1).

8. **Marcellum Eprium**: see 12. 4. 5, and note.

9. **acri eloquentia**, 'a man of biting eloquence.'

10. **eques Romanus.** His rank as well as his cognomen distinguishes him from the family of the Ostorius of c. 14, 4, etc. The gentile name is so restored here and in c. 30, 1 (for 'torius') from the Med. text of c. 33, 4.

11. **ex proconsulatu Asiae**, i. e. for matters arising out of it. Soranus had been consul in 805, A.D. 52 (see 12. 53, 2, and note), and his proconsulate has been shown to belong to the year 814–815, A.D. 61–62 (Waddington, Fastes des prov. Asiat. pp. 134–140). It is spoken of as an old story ('vetera haec' c. 30, 2); and Rubellius Plautus, with whose friendship he was charged, had retired to Asia in 813, A.D. 60 (14. 22, 2), and had been put to death there in 815, A.D. 62 (14. 59, 1). The difficulty arising from this date is that it obliges us to suppose either that the introduction of the name of Acratus here is an error, or that his actual mission took place fully two years before the mention of it (15. 45, 3), and had no original connexion with the loss of works of art in the great fire, though it was perhaps extended after it.

12. **industria.** Jacob well compares

Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat vimque civitatis Pergamenae, prohibentis Acratum Caesaris libertum statuas et picturas evehere, inultam omiserat. sed crimini dabatur amicitia Plauti et ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas. tempus damnationi delectum, quo Tiridates accipiendo Armeniae regno adventabat, ut ad externa rumoribus intestinum scelus obscuraretur, an ut magnitudinem imperatoriam caede insignium virorum quasi regio facinore ostentaret.

24. Igitur omni civitate ad excipiendum principem spectandumque regem effusa, Thrasea occursu prohibitus non demisit animum, sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit, requirens obiecta et expurgaturum adseverans, si notitiam criminum et copiam

the sentiment in Agr. 6, 3 'gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.' His general energy, and especially the opening out of the harbour, seem to be in part the ground of the charge of 'ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas' (§ 2; cp. c. 30, 1).

1. **aperiendo**, by removing the sand drift. Jacob cites Ulp. in Dig. 43. 11, 1 'viam aperire est ad veterem altitudinem latitudinemque restituere.' The harbour had at all times suffered from the alluvium of the Cayster, and the evil had become aggravated when Strabo wrote (14. 1, 24, 641), owing to some mistaken remedies dating from the time of Attalus ii. (Philadelphus). It is now completely filled up and its site is indicated by a marsh.

insumpserat, with gerundive dat.: cp. 2. 53, 2, and note.

Pergamenae: see 3. 63, 3, and note.

2. **Acratum**: see above on § 1. According to Dio Chrys. Or. 31, 645 R, Pergamum did suffer pillage at that time.

3. **evehere**: so all recent edd. after Baiter (who appears to have been anticipated by P. Victorius). Med. has 'se uehere' (by repetition of 's' from the preceding word); other MSS. and edd. 'avehere.' 'Evecta' is used in a description of similar pillage by Verres at Aspendus (Cic. Verr. 2. 1, 20, 53).

4. **Plauti**: see above on § 1.

ambitio, 'courting popularity': 'spes novas' = 'spes novarum rerum' (cp. 1. 4, 2, etc.)

5. **Tiridates adventabat.** On the expedition of Tiridates see 15. 29–31. On his reception and investiture with the kingdom of Armenia see Appendix to this Book. 'Adventare' takes a simple dat. in 6. 33, 5, and 'venire' a gerundive dat. in 6. 43, 3; 15. 24, 3.

6. **ut ad externa**, etc., 'that the atrocity at home might be less noticed through the general talk turning on foreign affairs.' To insert 'versis' (with Acid.) would be a violent and needless change; the idea of some such a participle being sufficiently supplied from the sense, as in 'exempla . . . ad virtutem et gloriam' (11. 23, 3), and the employment of 'ad' to express such direction or relation being in itself not unusual (cp. 11. 36, 4; 14. 23, 1, etc.).

8. **regio**; i.e. the normal conduct of a Eastern king: cp. 6. 1, 2, and note. The subject of 'ostentaret' can be easily supplied from the sense; and there is no need to insert 'Nero,' with Ritt.

9. **ad excipiendum**, etc. Nero had received Tiridates at Naples, and escorted him to Rome. (See Appendix.) Some interval may naturally be supposed between Capito's attack on Thrasea in the senate (c. 22) and the formal accusation: cp. 'tempus damnationi delectum' (c. 23, 3).

10. **effusa.** The same word is used of a former concourse (15. 23, 5), where also Thrasea was forbidden to go to meet Nero. On the significance of such prohibitions see note there.

11. **codicillos**, 'a petition'; so in 39, 1.

requirens obiecta, 'demanding to know the charge against him.'

12. **expurgaturum**, ἅπ. εἰρ. in Tacit. (who so uses 'purgaturum' in 4. 42, 2). The verb is thus used, especially with personal accus., in the sense of clearing oneself, several times in Plaut. and Ter. and in Sall. Jug. 69, 4. Here we should rather expect the full constructi[on]

luendi habuisset. eos codicillos Nero properanter accepit, spe :territum Thraseam scripsisse per quae claritudinem principis :tolleret suamque famam dehonestaret. quod ubi non evenit ıltumque et spiritus et libertatem insontis ultro extimuit, vocari ıtres iubet.

25. Tum Thrasea inter proximos consultavit, temptaretne :fensionem an sperneret. diversa consilia adferebantur. quibus trari curiam placebat, securos esse de constantia eius disserunt; hil dicturum nisi quo gloriam augeret. segnes et pavidos premis suis secretum circumdare: aspiceret populus virum orti obvium, audiret senatus voces quasi ex aliquo numine pra humanas: posse ipso miraculo etiam Neronem permoveri. ı crudelitati insisteret, distingui certe apud posteros memoriam ›nesti exitus ab ignavia per silentium pereuntium.

26. Contra qui opperiendum domui censebant, de ipso Thrasea

be 'et se ea expurgaturum': cp. 'non :ile est expurgatu' (Ter. Hec. 2. 3, 4). ›r the omission of pronouns see Introd. ·. § 8.

ı. **properanter**, 'eagerly,' i.e. he ıght at them and read them eagerly. **spe**, 'in hopes,' apparently abl. of .nner.

3. **extolleret**, 'exalt it,' by humiliat- ; himself to supplicate.

famam dehonestaret. The phrase is ıken from Liv. 41. 6, 10 ('famam macu- i dehonestarique'), the only passage i which the verb is found before the ver age. Tacitus uses it five times in t: Annals (cp. 3. 66, 3; 70, 4; 4. 74, 2; 15, 1). Cp. the substantive 'de- hestamentum' (12. 14, 6, and note).

4. **spiritus**, 'high spirit': cp. 13. 21, and note.

ultro extimuit, 'he even feared,' itead of triumphing, as he had hoped, r his weakness.

5. **proximos**, 'his most intimate f·nds': cp. 1. 34, 1; 4. 12, 7; Cic. etc.

7. **an sperneret**, 'or disdain it.' So : edd. after G. for Med. 'asperneret.'

8. **intrari curiam**, 'that he should put i an appearance.' With 'esse' 'se' can l supplied as in numberless instances, t ugh the likelikood of its having ‹pped out between 'securos' and 'esse' ; es colour to Ritter's insertion of it.

disserunt: so Haase and all recent e l. for 'dixerunt,' which is read in Med. a l other MSS. and older edd.; but v ich is hardly likely to have stood so near 'dicturum.' 'Disserere' is often used with acc. and inf. (e. g. c. 7, 3; 1. 81, 3; 2. 63, 3, etc.).

9. **gloriam**: Med. has 'gloria'; which makes it possible that 'augeret' is an error for 'augeretur' or 'augesceret': on the prevalence of this idea in his mind see 14. 49, 5.

10. **supremis suis secretum circumdare**, 'throw a veil of privacy over their end': cp. 'planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circumdata' (H. 4. 45, 1), and other figurative uses of the verb (14. 15, 4; 53, 5; Agr. 20, 1, etc.).

aspiceret, etc., 'let the nation see a man who could look death in the face.'

12. **humanas.** A few edd. endeavour to retain the Med. 'humanos,' in the sense of 'homines,' a meaning found in Lucr. 3, 80 and a few other places (see Munro there); but the correction above (after G.) is a far more probable reading.

ipso miraculo, 'by the very miracle' of such courage.

13. **sin**: so all edd. after inferior MSS. The Med. 'si in crudelitati' might be thought to suggest a reading 'si in crudelitate'; but the verb takes no such construction in the sense of 'persisting.' For the dat. cp. 2. 21, 3; 3. 42, 1; H. 2. 46, 4; 3. 77, 4.

14. **ignavia**, etc., 'the cowardice of those who died without protest,' the 'segniter pereuntes' of c. 16, 2 (for 'per silentium' cp. 11. 37, 5).

15. **domui.** Most recent edd. here re-

eadem, sed ludibria et contumelias imminere: subtraheret aures conviciis et probris. non solum Cossutianum aut Eprium ad scelus promptos: superesse qui forsitan manus ictusque per immanitatem ingesturi sint; etiam bonos metu sequi. detraheret potius senatui, quem perornavisset, infamiam tanti flagitii, et relinqueret incertum quid viso Thrasea reo decreturi patres fuerint. ut Neronem flagitiorum pudor caperet, inrita spe agitari; multoque magis timendum ne in coniugem, in filiam, in cetera pignora eius saeviret. proinde intemeratus, inpollutus, quorum vestigiis et studiis vitam duxerit, eorum gloria peteret

tain the Med. text, as a form of 'domi' read by good MSS. in several passages in Cic. etc. In these, however, the text is corrected by many to 'domi'; as here by all older edd. (after G.) and by Ritt.

1. **eadem**, sc. 'disserunt' (Introd. i. v. § 38 a).

3. **superesse**, probably = 'abundare,' as in G. 6, 1; 26, 1, etc.

manus ictusque, these may be taken as a hendiadys, or 'manus' may be used more generally of acts of violence, such as dragging him to prison (cp. 'nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus' Agr. 45, 1), or possibly of threatening gestures, such as are described in the senate in H. 4. 41, 3 ('nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae').

4. **ingesturi sint**: so Halm, Dr., Ritt., Jacob, after Acid. The Med. text 'augusti' (without 'sint') is more nearly approached by the emendation of Lips., who reads 'ictusque parent.' 'Immanitatem Augusti etiam bonos metu sequi.' But the emperor is rarely spoken of as 'Augustus' in ordinary language. Many (including Nipp.) read 'ausuri sint' (with Acid.); Ern. and Walth. 'ausuri' (after Boxhorn). 'Ingerere' is used often with 'tela,' etc. (1. 49, 2, etc.), and Seneca has 'capiti suo manus ingerunt' (Ep. 99, 16).

detraheret . . . infamiam. This verb is more naturally used of taking away what is already present: cp. 'materiem sceleri detrahendam' (12. 22, 2); here it has rather the force of 'averteret.'

5. **quem perornavisset**, probably best taken (with Nipp., etc.) to mean, 'of which he had been throughout life the ornament' (cp. 'perviguere' 4. 34, 6). Dr. and others explain it as a superlative form ('of which he had been the great ornament'). The verb is of the coinage of Tacitus (see Introd. i. v. § 69, 3); but 'perornatus,' in the sense of 'very ornate,' is found in Cic. Brut. 43, 158. Halm needlessly reads 'semper ornavisset,' after Lips.

7. **ut Neronem**, etc., 'the hope by which they were prompted, the hope that Nero, etc., was futile.' The order of the words is here studied for emphasis. Cic. has 'in . . . spem induxit ut' (Off. 2. 15, 53), and 'si spem afferunt ut' (de Am. 19, 68); and 'sperare ut' is found in Liv. (34. 27, 3), etc. (see Nipp.). Some, less well, take 'ut . . . caperet' as depending on 'agitari,' in the sense of 'it was their plan that.'

8. **filiam.** Halm, Dr., and Pfitzn. follow Nipp. in thus correcting the Med. 'familiam,' as his daughter was his only child (c. 34, 3). Cp. 12. 2, 1, where a similar alteration has been made, though the cases are possibly not parallel.

9. **pignora**; so used properly of children, but also generally of near relatives (15. 36, 5; 57, 3; Plin. Ep. 1. 12, 3). His son-in-law Helvidius, and perhaps his most intimate friends, would be referred to.

intemeratus, inpollutus. These synonyms, like 'incorrupta et intemerata' in H. 4. 58, 8, serve for rhetorical emphasis. In another rhetorical passage (1. 42, 3) we have 'inausum intemeratumve.' For 'inpollutus' cp. 14. 35, 2, and note.

10. **studiis**, 'their works.'

eorum gloria. This may possibly be explained (with Gerber and Greef) as taken in a pregnant sense (='eorum glorioso exemplo'); but the expression 'gloria alicuius finem petere' is so strange as to make its soundness doubtful. Madvig suggests (Adv. ii. 558) that a single stroke has been misplaced, and that 'gloriam peteret fine' ('glorioso fine iis se aequaret') should be read. Stoicism inculcated under certain circumstances the

nem. aderat consilio Rusticus Arulenus, flagrans iuvenis, et upidine laudis offerebat se intercessurum senatus consulto: nam lebei tribunus erat. cohibuit spiritus eius Thrasea, ne vana t reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet. sibi actam etatem, et tot per annos continuum vitae ordinem non deserenlum: illi initium magistratuum et integra quae supersint. nultum ante secum expenderet, quod tali in tempore capesendae rei publicae iter ingrederetur. ceterum ipse, an venire n senatum deceret, meditationi suae reliquit.

27. At postera luce duae praetoriae cohortes armatae templum Genetricis Veneris insedere. aditum senatus globus togatorum

uty of suicide, described as εὔλογος ἐξαγωγή (see Diog. Laert. 7. 1, 66); and the enet was enforced by illustrious examles, such as that of Cato.

1. **Rusticus Arulenus**, mentioned in H. 3. 80, 3, as praetor in 822, A.D. 69, nd in Agr. 2, 1, as having suffered death nder Domitian for his biography of Thrasea. According to Suet. (Dom. 10), who calls him Iunius Rusticus (see 5. 4, , and note), the chief offence consisted n his having spoken of Thrasea and Helidius as 'sanctissimos viros.' Pliny, who as a friend of his brother Mauricus, peaks of him with much respect (see p. 1. 14, 2). An inscription has been ound at Rome to a freedman 'L. Iunii Rustici, philosophi Stoici' (Grut. 426, o).

flagrans, 'ardent'; so 'moras necens quis flagrantem retineret' (H. 4. 8, 4).

2. **se intercessurum**. The 'intercessio' f a tribune under the empire was exersed on sufferance (1. 77, 3) or under eril (6. 47, 1), and was doubtless formlly, as well as in fact, subordinated to e tribunitian power of the princeps ntrod. i. vi. 70, 8). It is noticed by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 309, 1) that the ntercessio' mentioned in 822, A.D. 69 H. 4. 9, 2) is the last recorded instance. ome of the other powers of the office ad been already curtailed (13. 28, 2, 3).

3. **plebei**: so most recent edd. after itt. The Med. 'plebi' was restored to e text (for the general reading 'plebis') y Jac., Gron., and is retained by Orelli d Dr., as a dat. like 'praefectus urbi,' c. Cp. Liv. 3. 65, 4, and Weissenb. ere.

spiritus: cp. c. 24, 3, etc.

vana. Nipp. points out that the notion of futility is expressed by the following words, and that this must mean distinctively a foolish act, done to gratify vanity. Cp. 2. 30, 2; 3. 50, 2, etc.

4. **et . . . non**: cp. note on 1. 38, 4.

sibi actam aetatem, sc. 'esse,' 'he had lived his time.' The same sentiment is expressed by Vergil (Aen. 4, 653), 'vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi.'

5. **continuum vitae ordinem**, 'the whole tenour of his life.'

6. **integra quae supersint**, 'his future was unaffected'; he was not compromised.

7. **multum**, with 'expenderet.' 'Let him weigh well beforehand what political course he would enter on in such times.'

9. **meditationi suae reliquit**. It is seen from c. 34, 1 that he did not personally attend the senate, though he refused to anticipate its sentence.

10. **armatae**, 'in full panoply,' not (as usual in the city) wearing the toga, and armed only with sword and spear: cp. 3. 4, 2; 12. 36, 4.

templum Genetricis Veneris. This temple stood in the centre of the Forum of Julius Caesar, to the north east of the old Forum. The goddess was worshipped under that title as the parent, through Aeneas and Iulus, of the Iulian gens (App. B. C. 2. 68; 102; 3. 28); and this culture appears to have decayed after the extinction of that family, as the title rarely occurs in inscriptions (Or. 1376, 1377, 4046).

11. **insedere**: so Put. and edd. generally for Med. 'insidere,' which Dr. retains, and which can be supported from the first Med. in 3. 61, 2, and from the analogous form 'considerant' in the first

obsederat non occultis gladiis, dispersique per fora ac basilica cunei militares. inter quorum aspectus et minas ingressi curiam senatores, et oratio principis per quaestorem eius audita est nemine nominatim compellato patres arguebat, quod public munia desererent eorumque exemplo equites Romani ad segnitiam verterentur: etenim quid mirum e longinquis provinciis hau

Med. text of 1. 30, 5. The form 'insedi' is however constant in some twenty other places. The verb has this sense in 2. 16, 4: cp. 'arcem insedit' (v. l. 'insidit') in Liv. 26. 44, 2. For a similar instance of surrounding the senate with armed men under Domitian see Agr. 45, 1.

aditum senatus, 'the way to the senate-house' (on which see below).

togatorum. It seems almost impossible not to suppose soldiers in undress to be meant (cp. 'cohors togata' H. 1. 38, 4), in contrast to the two 'cohortes armatae' above; though certainly in speaking of such, 'non occultis gladiis' would be an unmeaning addition, unless we may suppose that the swords were drawn from their scabbards, or otherwise menacingly displayed (cp. c. 29, 1). This difficulty has given some support to the view of Orelli and others, that by 'togatorum' ordinary citizens are meant, who, though usually strictly prohibited from bearing arms (see 4. 21, 3; 11. 22, 1, and notes), yet on this occasion not only had swords, but openly displayed them, as if in defence of Caesar. But it is hardly likely that so dangerous a precedent was sanctioned; and if it had been, we should expect Tacitus to have said more about it, or at least to have used such a word as 'civium,' or some other less misleading than 'togatorum.'

1. **fora ac basilicas.** Besides the old Forum and the Forum Iulium (in which the temple stood), there were close by the Forum Augusti and the Basilica Aemilia. It is to be noted that all these buildings must either have escaped the fire or must have been very speedily restored (see note on 15. 40, 4).

2. **cunei militares**: cp. 1. 51, 1.

curiam. This word might no doubt be used of any place in which the senate met, and Nipp. supposes it here to be used of the 'templum Veneris' (§ 1). But there is no reason why we should not suppose the senate to have met in its usual place, the 'Curia Iulia,' built by Augustus on the site of the old house (the site of S. Martino or S. Adriano) close to the Forum. That it had escap the late fire would seem from the menti of it as having been burnt in the time Titus (see Burn, Rome, p. 110). Th supposition seems to enable us to give clearer account of the disposition of t troops: the body of 'togati' is posted the actual entrance of the 'Curia'; oth detachments ('cunei') are in plac closely adjoining; and a far larger a more imposing force occupies, as a ki of fortress, the neighbouring temple a precinct, to be available in case of need

3. **oratio**: cp. c. 7, 3.

per quaestorem eius. The qua stors of Caesar, who are generally iden fied with the 'quaestores candida Caesaris' of inscriptions (see Momn Staatsr. ii. 529, 3), i.e. those elect under his 'commendatio' (Introd. i. p. 79), appear to have been attached him in his proconsular capacity, as a swering to the quaestor attached to ea proconsul in his province (see Momr l. l. 569, foll.). They appear to ha been two in number (Id. p. 533), but b yond their function, as on this occasio of bringing and reading to the senate t messages of the princeps (see Suet. Au 65; Dio, 54. 25, 5; 60. 2, 2), their dut are unknown.

4. **nemine.** This abl. is found in 2. 47, 6; Plaut. Cist. 1. 1, 88; in a fra ment of Cic., and in several places Suet.

6. **verterentur.** The Med. 'uter tur' is retained by Walth., and gives satisfactory meaning (though 'in' rath than 'ad' might have been expected fr the analogy of Agr. 18, 7); but it has be pointed out that probably in Med. a stro (making it 'ũterentur') may have be effaced, and that the other MSS. m thus have preserved the true reading. similar confusion of the words is seen the MSS. of Agr. 18, 1.

haud veniri: so all edd. after Li for Med. 'had ueniri,' read in other MS and the oldest edd. as 'adveniri.' It seems from the context that those whe absence is thus palliated are the knig

eniri, cum plerique adepti consulatum et sacerdotia hortorum otius amoenitati inservirent. quod velut telum corripuere ccusatores.

28. Et initium faciente Cossutiano, maiore vi Marcellus sumnam rem publicam agi clamitabat; contumacia inferiorum leniatem imperitantis deminui. nimium mites ad eam diem patres, ui Thraseam desciscentem, qui generum eius Helvidium Priscum 1 isdem furoribus, simul Paconium Agrippinum, paterni in rincipes odii heredem, et Curtium Montanum detestanda

'ho neglected their judicial duties to ply ıeir business as 'negotiatores' or 'publiani' all over the empire, and also perhaps uch senators as had reasonable ground or being in Sicily and Narbonensian Gaul see 12. 23, 1), localities which might hetorically be called 'longinquae provinaiae' as contrasted with urban or suburan gardens.

1. **plerique** = 'permulti.' The senence is so clearly pointed at Thrasea (see . 22, 1; 34, 1), that the 'plerique' are robably fictitious.

consulatum, etc., i.e. not merely enators, but of the highest rank in that ody.

hortorum, etc., 'preferred to give ll their energies to the beauty of their ardens' (i.e. to beautifying them); so inservire liberis' (Dial. 28, 4), 'comıodis suis' (Cic. Fin. 2. 35, 117), 'honoibus' (Id. Off. 2. 1, 4), 'artibus' (Id. de)r. 1. 4, 13). The term seems here used ı ironical contrast to such bona fide ocupations as might excuse the absence of ıose above alluded to.

4. **faciente**, aoristic: cp. 11. 35, 3, tc.

summam rem publicam agi: cp. 2. 5, 4, and note.

5. **lenitatem . . . deminui**, 'his disosition to clemency was lessened,' he 'as forced to sterner courses: cp. 'nec . . . ıcilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem eminuit' (Agr. 9, 4).

7. **desciscentem**: cp. 'secessionem ım id et partes' (c. 22, 2).

Helvidium Priscum, perhaps here rst mentioned in the Annals (see on 12. 9, 3; 13. 28, 5), but fully described ı Hist. 4. 5, where it is stated that he 'as of municipal and not distinguished rigin, and had studied Stoicism from his outh. He is stated to have been quaestor f Achaia under Nero (Schol. Juv. 5, 36), nd to have been shortly afterwards (H. l. l.) married to Thrasea's daughter Fannia, who, after many vicissitudes, was still living in Pliny's time (Epp. 7. 19, etc.). After his exile (see c. 33, 3, and note), he distinguished himself by his attacks on Eprius Marcellus (H. l. l.), and became praetor in 823, A.D. 70 (H. 2. 91, 4; 4. 53, 3). His second banishment (soon followed by his execution) under Vespasian was certainly provoked by offence gratuitously given (Suet. Vesp. 15; Dio, 66. 12, 3; Arr. Epict. 1. 2, 19). For his biography written by Herennius Senecio see Agr. 2, 1, for the death of his son Helvidius under Domitian, Agr. 45, 1.

8. **Paconium Agrippinum.** The former name (here in Med. 'ragonium') is restored by Rhen. from c. 33, 3. This person is also a famous Stoic. In a fragment of Epictetus (ap. Stob. 7. 17; Epict. Fr. 56, Ed. Par. p. 21) his modesty is praised, and an account given (repeated with more fullness of detail in Arr. Epict. 1. 1, 28) of his behaviour at the time of his trial (see note on c. 33, 3). He must have been at least of praetorian rank, as he is shown by an inscription belonging to the time of Claudius (C. I. G. 2570) to have been two years proconsul of Crete (διὰ Κ. Πακωνίου Ἀγριππίνου τὸ β̄).

paterni . . . odii heredem. What is known of his father is noted on c. 29, 3.

9. **Curtium Montanum.** This person takes a prominent part in the senate at the accession of Vespasian (H. 4. 40, 2), and leads the attack on Regulus (Id. 42, 3, foll.). Whether he can be the Montanus of Juv. 4, 107, is treated as an open question by Prof. Mayor, and seems very doubtful (see note on c. 33. 3).

detestanda carmina. The words would imply that he was a libellous satirist. In c. 29, 4 it is denied that his poems were 'famosa,' and it is asserted that he was obnoxious to Nero as a rival

carmina factitantem eludere inpune sinerent. requirere se in senatu consularem, in votis sacerdotem, in iure iurando civem nisi contra instituta et caerimonias maiorum proditorem palam et hostem Thrasea induisset. denique agere senatorem et principis obtrectatores protegere solitus veniret, censeret quid corrig aut mutari vellet: facilius perlaturos singula increpantis vocem quam nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis. pacem ill per orbem terrae, an victorias sine damno exercituum displicere ne hominem bonis publicis maestum, et qui fora theatra templa pro solitudine haberet, qui minitaretur exilium suum, ambitioni

poet ('quia protulerit ingenium'). 'Factitare carmina' is used in describing similar charges in c. 14, 1; 6. 39, 1; 14. 48, 1; 52, 3.

1. **eludere inpune**: 'to mock them unpunished'; so in Liv. 37. 32, 11. Cp. the sense of 'eludere' in 5. 5, 1; 6. 46, 9, etc.

requirere se, etc. Nipp. points out that the equivalent in oratio recta would be 'requiro . . . nisi induit' (perf.). 'I miss the presence (cp. 3. 5, 1) of the consular,' etc., i. e. 'I call him to account for the neglect of his duties in all these capacities (see c. 22, 1), unless we are to suppose that by thus absenting himself he meant openly to assume the character (cp. 1. 69, 2, and note) of a traitor and an enemy to his country, and that "neglect" is far too mild a term for his conduct.'

3. **contra**, 'in defiance of.' Nipp. rather takes it as 'in the face of,' i. e. in spite of being reminded of his duty by the institutions and religion of our forefathers: but the expression is almost identical with that in 14. 43, 1, where such explanation would not be suitable.

4. **agere senatorem**, 'to play the senator,' the character of such as it had been under the old Republic. The time referred to in 'agere . . . solitus' will be that in which he used to be 'adsiduus et indefessus' (c. 22, 1). Madvig (Adv. ii. 558) supports Oberl., in reading (after MS. Agr.) 'ageret,' as a bidding, 'let him play a senator's part' (return to his duty). For the sense of 'agere,' cp. 13. 14, 1; 46, 5, and notes, where it is shown that it may denote the sustaining either of a real or fictitious part. It is here implied that his former prominence in debate had been a mere display of vanity.

5. **obtrectatores**, such as Antistius (14. 48, 1).

6. **increpantis vocem.** The Med text 'increpatium' (corrected by a late hand to 'increpantium') has been generally altered (after G.) to 'increpantem. It has been thought however that the termination in Med. may contain a trace of some lost word which would make the rhetorical antithesis more complete. The above, adopted by Halm from Madvig (Adv. ii. 558), is certainly better than Ritter's 'increpantis visum.'

7. **silentium**, etc. Lips. compares the sentiment in Sen. Oed. 537, 'saepe ve lingua magis Regi atque regno mut libertas obest.' In 3. 11, 3 people are said to observe a 'suspicax silentium.'

pacem, etc. At the end of hostilitie in Armenia peace throughout the empire had ensued (see 15. 46, 2), and Nero is recorded (Suet. Ner. 13) to have closed the temple of Janus. Coins of this yea exist, bearing on the reverse a temple closed, with the words 'Pace P. R. terr marique (or 'ubique') parta Ianum clusit': see Eckh. vi. 273; Cohen i. p 287, foll. no. 139, etc.

8. **victorias.** The formal submission of Tiridates is meant (15. 27–31), which however was really a compromise arising from Roman disasters (15. 9–17).

10. **pro solitudine haberet**, 'regarded them as a desert.' The multitudes which flocked to them, the public rejoicing which led them there, were nothing to him; he avoided such places as if none were there whom he cared to see.

minitaretur exilium suum. One who threatened to banish himself (cp. the case of L. Piso in 2. 34, 1), as if the state could not do without him. It may also mean that he anticipated a sentence of exile and was imagined to speak of it as Shakespeare makes Coriolanus ('Romans, I banish you').

ravae compotem facerent. non illi consulta haec, non magi-ratus aut Romanam urbem videri. abrumperet vitam ab ea ivitate, cuius caritatem olim, nunc et aspectum exuisset.

29. Cum per haec atque talia Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac iinax, voce voltu oculis ardesceret, non illa nota et celebritate ericulorum sueta iam senatus maestitia, sed novus et altior avor manus et tela militum cernentibus. simul ipsius Thraseae enerabilis species obversabatur; et erant qui Helvidium quoque iiserarentur, innoxiae adfinitatis poenas daturum. quid Agrip-ino obiectum nisi tristem patris fortunam? quando et ille erinde innocens Tiberii saevitia concidisset. enimvero Monta-um probae iuventae neque famosi carminis, quia protulerit igenium, extorrem agi.

1. **compotem facerent.** 'Do not fulfil s desire of exile, but put him to death.' **consulta,** 'real decrees of the nate': cp. the sentiment in 4. 19, 3 quasi . . . Varro consul aut illud res-iblica esset').

2. **abrumperet vitam,** etc. = 'abrum-eret vitam, et ita ab ea civitate dis-deret.' The metaphor appears to iginate with Verg. Aen. 8, 579 ('nequeo udelem abrumpere vitam'), and is rther expanded in the 'vitae retinacula orumpit' of Pl. Ep. 1. 12, 8. The ords as they here stand could no doubt understood of banishment, and Nipp. id Dr. suppose them to be designedly nbiguous; but the context points to ie meaning only.

3. **exuisset.** For the metaphorical es of this word see note on 1. 69, 2. ere the harsher metaphor 'exuere as-ctum' seems softened by being joined 'caritatem.'

4. **per haec atque talia,** 'throughout speech to this effect.' **ut erat:** so all edd. after Pich. for ed. 'uteret': cp. 1. 41, 5. The read-gs vary in the other MSS., after some which the oldest edd. read 'inve-retur.'

5. **ardesceret,** by zeugma with 'voce.' **celebritate periculorum.** This xt, that of Med. and all other MSS. d of the oldest edd. is retained by alm and Dr. Other recent edd. follow ien. and Lips. in reading 'crebritate,' word not otherwise known to be Taci-in, but used in Sall., Cic. etc. 'Celebri-,' if genuine, appears to be here alone ed in the sense of 'frequency'; for in the instance quoted from Cic. ad Fam. 7. 2, 14 ('in multitudine ac celebritate iudiciorum'), it might be taken of the presence of crowds (cp. 3. 9, 3; H. 2. 64, 1). The adj. 'celebris' might how-ever be well taken to mean 'frequent' in 1. 74, 1.

6. **altior pavor:** cp. 'altius metuens' (4. 41, 1).

7. **manus et tela,** apparently = 'tela in manibus': cp. 'non occultis gladiis' (c. 27, 1).

8. **obversabatur,** 'was before their minds': cp. 3. 18. 6; 14. 63, 2. It is not implied that he was present (see note on c. 26, 8).

10. **tristem patris fortunam.** In 3. 67, 1 M. Paconius appears as an accuser, nor are we told anything elsewhere of his 'odium in principes' (c. 28, 2); but it may be supposed that he was one of those charged with complicity with Seianus, and that his fate was related in the lost portion of the Fifth Book. It appears from Suet. Tib. 61 that Tiberius had imprisoned him, and after-wards, on being reminded of his existence by a jester, put him to death.

11. **enimvero,** here used to lay stress on a still stronger case ('as for Monta-nus'): cp. 2. 64, 6, and note.

12. **famosi,** 'slanderous'; so 'famosi libelli' (1. 72, 4), etc. The genit. is here a somewhat harsh instance of that of quality (Introd. i. v. § 34), but is some-what softened by being joined to 'probae iuventae.' Ritt. needlessly inserts 'auc-torem' after 'famosi.'

quia protulerit ingenium, 'be-cause he gave evidence of his talent'

30. Atque interim Ostorius Sabinus, Sorani accusator, ingreditur orditurque de amicitia Rubellii Plauti, quodque proconsulatum Asiae Soranus pro claritate sibi potius adcommodatum quam ex utilitate communi egisset, alendo seditiones civitatium. vetera haec: sed recens et quo discrimini patris filiam conectebat, quod pecuniam magis dilargita esset. acciderat sane pietate Serviliae (id enim nomen puellae fuit), quae caritate erga parentem, simul inprudentia aetatis, non tamen aliud consultaverat quam de incolumitate domus, et an placabilis Nero, an cognitio senatus nihil atrox adferret. igitur accita est

(and thus excited Nero's jealousy). Suet. has 'ingenium protulerat' (Ner. 25): the use of the verb in the general sense of publishing or making known is frequent and classical.

1. **interim**, before the vote was taken on Thrasea's case.

Ostorius Sabinus: see c. 23, 1, where the charges brought by him are specified.

ingreditur, sc. 'curiam.' He was not a senator, and would only come in for the purpose of making his charge.

2. **quodque proconsulatum**, etc. In this sentence, 'pro' has the force of 'in accordance with' (as in 4. 72, 2, etc.), and it appears best to suppose that the 'claritas' referred to is not (as Nipp. and Dr. suppose) the distinguished position of Asia among senatorial provinces, but that of Soranus himself (according to the judgment of his own self-esteem). The meaning will thus be 'that he had administered the proconsulate of Asia as a position specially adapted to himself in accordance with his personal greatness (a field in which his greatness might display itself), not from a regard to the public welfare.' We should certainly expect a sentence of this meaning to be introduced by such a word as 'tamquam'; but the sense is hardly mended by reading, with Nipp., for 'pro claritate,' 'popularitate,' which he would apparently take as an abl. of manner ('in the spirit of a demagogue').

4. **alendo seditiones civitatium.** The same charge is expressed in c. 23, 2, as 'ambitio conciliandae provinciae ad spes novas,' and evidently refers to his having inflicted no punishment on the people of Pergamum for their resistance to the extortions of Acratus (c. 23, 1). By thus posing as the protector of the provincials against an emissary of Caesar, it is here charged that he was indulging his own vanity to the detriment of the empire.

5. **vetera haec**: cp. 'recentia haec' (11. 23, 7).

et quo, etc.: so all recent edd. with Jac., Gron. Med. has 'et quot,' which several have corrected by reading 'et quod' (after MS. Agr.). It is however improbable that 'quod' should be twice repeated within so short an interval. Other MSS. and the oldest edd. read 'recens discrimini,' etc. The sense is 'sed hoc, quod filia . . . dilargita est erat crimen recens, et quo accusator . . . conectebat.' For the use of this verb in the sense of 'implicating' cp. c. 32, 1, and 'innecto' in c. 14, 1; 3. 10, 4.

6. **magis**: see 2. 27, 2. The term 'consultaverat' below would point rather to the employment of astrologers than magicians; but 'magica sacra' are mentioned in c. 31, 1, and the charge appears from the context to be that of attempting not only to divine the result of the trial, but also (cp. c. 31, 1) to influence it. The Schol. on Juv. 6, 55 ('faciet, quod deferat ipse') makes Egnatius (see c. 32, 2) the instigator as well as the denouncer of this act.

acciderat, sc. 'id,' which Ritt thinks must be inserted.

7. **puellae**, so used of a young married woman in 14. 64, 1.

quae caritate, etc. The full expression would be 'quae caritate (causa abl., as are also 'pietate' and 'inprudentia') . . . consultaverat, non tamen aliud quaesiverat,' etc.

10. **cognitio**: cp. c. 11, 1, and note.

nihil atrox, 'no extreme penalty'; cp. the expressions in c. 11, 1; 12. 52, 3 and note.

ı senatum, steteruntque diversi ante tribunal consulum grandis evo parens, contra filia intra vicensimum aetatis annum, uper marito Annio Pollione in exilium pulso viduata desolaıque, ac ne patrem quidem intuens, cuius onerasse pericula idebatur.

31. Tum interrogante accusatore, an cultus dotales, an de-·actum cervici monile venum dedisset, quo pecuniam faciendis ıagicis sacris contraheret, primum strata humi longoque fletu t silentio, post altaria et aram complexa 'nullos' inquit 'impios eos, nullas devotiones, nec aliud infelicibus precibus invocavi, uam ut hunc optimum patrem tu, Caesar, vos, patres, servaretis

1. **diversi**, 'separated from each her': cp. 13. 40, 5; 15. 56, 1, etc.

ante tribunal consulum. The ›nsuls presided at these trials, as at her proceedings of the senate, and their ırule chairs were set in a prominent ·ace, with that of the princeps between ·em (see Momms. Staatsr. iii. 932, foll.). he expression strictly refers to their risdiction in the 'comitium' (see 13, 4, and note), and is here metaphorically ;ed of the senatorial court, as Mommsen . l.) argues from the use of the singular ribunal.'

3. **Annio Pollione**, banished for com-·icity in the conspiracy of Piso (15. 56, ; 71, 6).

desolata, 'isolated': cp. 1. 30, 4, ıd note.

4. **onerasse**, 'to have aggravated': ›. 1. 19, 2; 69, 7.

5. **videbatur**, 'she was seeming to ›rself.'

6. **cultus dotales**, 'the ornaments ven at her marriage' (explained in § 2 ›'gemmas et vestes'): cp. 'cultus suos' 3. 13, 6), 'nulla cultus iactatio' (G. 6, . The 'monile' is mentioned among ıptial ornaments in Luc. 2, 363.

7. **quo pecuniam . . . contraheret.** ıe was no doubt impoverished by her ısband's exile; and magical rites were ·obably the more costly from their peril.

longoque fletu et silentio. The ›l. resembles that in 15. 54, 1 ('multo rmone'), and may be similarly exained.

9. **altaria et aram.** Those who sup-›se the senate to have met in the temple Venus Genetrix (see c. 27, 2, and note), ›uld of course understand the altar to that belonging to it; but there is also ·idence (see Burn, p. 109) that the Curia Iulia had attached to it a statue and altar of Victory. The two terms here used are similarly coupled by Pliny (Pan. 1), when speaking of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus ('electus . . . inter aras et altaria'). The latter word (always plural in the best authors) is often used by itself with apparently the same meaning as 'ara.' Where the words are undoubtedly meant to be distinguished, 'altaria' are sometimes smaller superaltars placed upon the 'ara,' to receive burnt or other offerings. In some instances so taken, as Quint. Decl. 12, 26 ('aris altaria imponere'), 'altaria' may well mean 'offerings,' a sense apparently required in Luc. 3, 404 ('structae diris altaribus arae'), perhaps also in Verg. Ecl. 8, 106; Aen. 5, 93; 12, 174; and suggested as an alternative by Servius on Verg. Ecl. 5, 66 (where see Prof. Conington's and Nettleship's notes), though he prefers to explain (with Varro) 'altaria' to be more exalted altars, erected to the gods of heaven. In a fragment of Pacuvius ('exanimis altaribus') a sense has been given, agreeing with the derivation from 'altus,' of a raised threshold or step, whence Nipp. here takes the 'altaria' to be steps of the 'ara.' See Nettleship, Contrib. to Lat. Lex. p. 140.

impios, the proscribed deities invoked by magicians.

10. **devotiones**: see 2. 69, 5, and note.

invocavi. From this verb such a sense as that of 'imprecata sum' is supplied with 'devotiones' and 'precata sum' with 'aliud.' Nipp. compares 'auxilia invocat' (15. 59, 6).

11. **tu, Caesar.** The princeps is sometimes thus addressed when absent: cp. note on c. 22, 2. He would seem however to have arrived at Rome (c. 24, 1).

incolumem. sic gemmas et vestes et dignitatis insignia dedi, quo modo si sanguinem et vitam poposcissent. viderint isti, antehac mihi ignoti, quo nomine sint, quas artes exerceant: nulla mihi principis mentio nisi inter numina fuit. nescit tamen miserrimus pater et, si crimen est, sola deliqui.'

32. Loquentis adhuc verba excipit Soranus proclamatque non illam in provinciam secum profectam, non Plauto per aetatem nosci potuisse, non criminibus mariti conexam: nimiae tantum pietatis ream separarent, atque ipse quamcumque sortem subiret. simul in amplexus occurrentis filiae ruebat, nisi interiecti lictores utrisque obstitissent. mox datus testibus locus; et quantum misericordiae saevitia accusationis permoverat, tantum irae P. Egnatius testis concivit. cliens hic Sorani, et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum, auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti

1. **sic... quomodo** = 'quemadmodum' (sc. 'dedissem'); so in c. 32, 3; 4. 35, 3; Agr. 34, 2; Dial. 36, 6; 39, 2; 41, 3; Cic. Tusc. 5. 7, 18, etc.

dignitatis insignia, those of her position as a matron of high rank: explanatory of 'gemmas et vestes.'

2. **isti**, the magicians. Dio (62. 26, 3) follows a different account, making no mention of the other charges, and ignoring such admission of the charge of magic as Tacitus gives, which he represents as grounded on the mere fact of a sacrifice offered (*Σωρανὸς μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγεύματί τινι διὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς κεχρημένος, ἐπειδὴ νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ ἐθύσαντο, ἐσφάγη*).

6. **excipit**, 'interrupts.'

9. **separarent**, 'let them distinguish between her case and his, and he would willingly suffer any penalty.' Ern. notes the similar use of the conjunction in Suet. Vesp. 19 ('centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim proicerent').

12. **permoverat**, with accus. of the feeling excited: cp. 1. 21, 4, and note.

13. **P. Egnatius.** His full name is P. Egnatius Celer, and he is called P. Celer in H. 4. 10, 1; 40, 4, where his impeachment by Musonius Rufus and condemnation to exile in 823, A. D. 70, are mentioned. Dio, who mentions (62. 26, 2) that he was highly rewarded on this occasion, says that he was a native of Berytus (Beirut) in Phoenicia.

cliens hic, etc. His ingratitude is eloquently denounced by Juvenal (3, 116, foll.): 'Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum, Discipulumque senex.' He is again thought to be alluded to in 1, 33, as 'magni delator amici,' and the allusion in 6, 552 (see note on c. 30, 2) is referred to him by the Scholiast, who makes the particular charge to which he bore testimony to have been that of magic. In H. 4. 10, 1, and in Dio (l. l.), it is stated that his testimony was false; whence it would seem as if he had represented the purpose and character of the rites employed as very different from that admitted by Servilia herself (c. 30, 3; 31, 1). He is also styled in H. 4. 10, 2 'proditor corruptorque amicitiae cuius se magistrum ferebat.'

14. **Stoicae sectae.** Juvenal speaks of him (3, 117) as 'ripa nutritus in illa, Ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi,' alluding to a famous school of philosophy and learning at Tarsus on the Kydnus, mentioned by Strabo (14. 5, 13, 673) as in his day surpassing even Athens and Alexandria, and known as having produced several eminent persons whom he mentions, especially Athenodorus the teacher of Augustus. Apollonius of Tyana also studied there (Philostr. 1. 7, 1).

praeferebat, 'made display of.'

15. **habitu et ore**: cp. c. 22, 3, and note.

imaginem, 'the semblance': cp. 3. 17, 6.

:xercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac ibidinem occultans; quae postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, ledit exemplum praecavendi, quo modo fraudibus involutos aut lagitiis commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos et ımicitiae fallaces.

33. Idem tamen dies et honestum exemplum tulit Cassii Asclepiodoti, qui magnitudine opum praecipuus inter Bithynos, ıuo obsequio florentem Soranum celebraverat, labentem non leseruit, exutusque omnibus fortunis et in exilium actus, aequitate leum erga bona malaque documenta. Thraseae Soranoque et Serviliae datur mortis arbitrium. Helvidius et Paconius Italia

1. **exercitus**: so generally read after ɹips. and MS. Agr. Med. and other MSS. ead 'et exerciti,' whence Ritt. reads 'et xercitus,' marking a lacuna before 'et,' vhere he thinks that some such word s 'ornatus' has been lost. Cp. 'Graeca octrina ore tenus exercitus' (15. 45, 4).

perfidiosus, here alone in Tac., but ı Plaut. and Cic.

2. **quae postquam**, etc., 'when a ribe revealed these qualities' ('avaritia' nd 'libido').

3. **fraudibus involutos**. The contrast) 'specie bonarum artium falsos' shows ıat these words do not denote hypo-:itical disguise, but a character 'thorough-· clothed in treachery,' i. e. so wholly erfidious as to wear its character on the ırface. So the 'flagitiis commaculati' :e those whose infamous lives are otorious.

4. **bonarum artium**, probably to be :ken here of his philosophical acquire-ents, as in 3. 70, 4, of juristic science. [ore commonly the expression denotes rtuous qualities, as in 2. 73, 4; 11. 22, ; 14. 52, 1, etc. 'Falsos,' 'hypocritical': ›. 1. 7, 2, and note.

5. **amicitiae**. It is possible that pecie' may be repeated in thought; herwise 'amicitiae fallax' will be a litary instance of a construction analo-ıus to the genitives with 'pervicax,' ›rocax,' etc. (Introd. i. v. § 33 e γ).

6. **Idem . . . dies . . . tulit**. For such rsonifications cp. Introd. i. v. § 75.

'**Cassii Asclepiodoti**. Dio (62. 26, , who calls him Κάσπιος, says that he ıs a native of Nicaea (cp. 'praecipuus :ter Bithynos'), and that his exile, from ıich he returned under Galba, was in-:ted for bearing witness in favour of ranus.

8. **florentem . . . labentem**: cp. the antithesis of 'florens' and 'adflictus' in 4. 68, 4; 71, 7.

celebraverat, 'had honoured': cp. 3. 6, 1; 6. 11, 6, etc.

9. **aequitate deum**. The abl. is generally taken as causal ('since the gods were indifferent to examples of good and evil'); the deities being assumed to have caused what they had not overruled. Ritt. inserts 'pari' after 'deum,' and makes the abl. absolute; and others, as Ruperti, so take it as it stands. Dr. notes the similar sense of 'aequitas' in Cic. in Pis. 12, 27 ('quo quidem in spectaculo mira populi Romani aequitas erat.'). For the sense of 'documentum' cp. 12. 6, 4 ('statueretur . . . documentum'). This sentiment is the most Epicurean (see 6. 22, 2) that has been preserved to us of Tacitus, and would seem to show that such scepticism grew upon him towards the close of his work. For his general opinions on Divine Providence see Introd. i. iv. p. 21.

11. **datur mortis arbitrium**: cp. 'data exilia' (15. 71, 6).

Helvidius et Paconius Italia depelluntur. The former is stated in the Schol. on Juv. 5, 36, to have spent his exile at Apollonia, and to have returned under Galba. For his further career see note on c. 28, 2. Respecting Paconius we have the record preserved in Arr. Epict. 1. 1, 28 of his behaviour on this occasion: ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Κρίνῃ ἐν συγκλήτῳ. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἀλλὰ ἦλθεν ἡ πέμπτη (ταύτῃ δ' εἰώθει γυμνασάμενος ψυχρολουτεῖν)· ἀπέλθωμεν καὶ γυμνασθῶμεν. Γυμνασαμένῳ λέγει τις αὐτῷ ἐλθὼν ὅτι κατακέκρισαι. Φυγῇ, φησίν, ἢ θανάτῳ; Φυγῇ. Τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τί; οὐκ ἀφῃρέθη. Εἰς Ἀρίκειαν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἀριστήσωμεν.

depelluntur. Montanus patri concessus est, praedicto ne in re publica haberetur. accusatoribus Eprio et Cossutiano quinquagiens sestertium singulis, Ostorio duodeciens et quaestoria insignia tribuuntur.

34. Tum ad Thraseam in hortis agentem quaestor consulis missus vesperascente iam die. inlustrium virorum feminarumque coetum frequentem egerat, maxime intentus Demetrio Cynicae

His further history appears to be unknown.

1. **patri concessus est,** 'was forgiven for his father's sake'; so 'precibus alicuius aliquem concedere' (2. 55, 2; 4. 31, 1). Some, less well, take it to mean that he was given up to his father to deal with. Of this father no previous mention has been made; but recent edd. have generally identified him with the gourmand courtier, some twenty years later, of Domitian (Juv. 4, 107, and 131 foll.), who is certainly said (v. 131) to have been a boon companion of Nero, to whom the son (see c. 28, 2) would appear to have been obnoxious rather than acceptable.

praedicto, 'injunction being given' (cp. 13. 36, 1, and note). This participle is here alone thus used in abl. abs. (see Introd. i. v. § 31 a).

ne in re publica haberetur. This would mean that he should not continue in the service of the state, should not hold any magistracy.

2. **quinquagiens,** five million H.S.: 'duodeciens,' 1,200,000. In H. 4. 42, 5 Regulus is spoken of as 'septuagiens sestertio saginatus.' These enormous rewards given to accusers must have far exceeded the one-fourth of the property of the accused, which they could claim by law (4. 21, 3). The smallest sum here mentioned is more than the minimum senatorial census.

3. **quaestoria insignia.** Ostorius, being a knight (c. 23, 1), receives thus the ornaments of the lowest grade of senatorial rank. For precedents see note on 11. 4, 5. This distinction (11. 38, 5), and even higher 'ornamenta' (12. 53, 2), had also been given to freedmen.

5. **in hortis agentem:** see the charge aimed at him in c. 27, 3.

quaestor consulis. Each consul had attached to him in old times one quaestor, and from 716, B.C. 38, two (Dio, 48. 43, 1), chosen in old times by lot (Cic. pro Sest. 3, 8), but at this time by selection (Plin. Ep. 4. 15, 6–13), and apparently continuing throughout the year in office, notwithstanding change of consuls (Id. 8. 23, 5). For further account of them see Momms. Staatsr. ii. 567, foll. As the consuls presided at the trial (c. 30, 4), their quaestors would be the proper persons to communicate the sentence to the accused. From the expression (*μαθὼν τὸν ταμίαν ἐπὶ δικαιώσει αὐτοῦ πάροντα*) in Dio's account (58. 4, 6) of the death of Fufius Geminus (see 5. 2, 2), it would also appear that the quaestor had to see the sentence executed, as he in fact did in the case of Thrasea (c. 35, 2).

6. **vesperascente die:** cp. 'vesperascit' (Ter. Heaut. 2. 3, 7). On the variety of expressions used by Tacitus for this fact see Introd. i. v. § 93.

7. **coetum frequentem:** so Halm, Dr., Pfitzn, after Ritt., for the Med. 'coetus frequentem.' Other MSS. and edd. correct this to 'coetus frequentes,' taking the plural of the separate groups composing the whole assemblage; as Suet. (Cal. 32) uses 'coetus epulantium' of the guests grouped at each table.

egerat = 'coëgerat.' Dr. compares 'multis millibus armatorum actis ex ea regione' (Liv. 44. 31, 11).

Demetrio. This philosopher is frequently mentioned with great admiration by Seneca, who in one place (de Ben. 7. 8, 2) speaks of him as raised up to instruct and reproach the age, in another (Ep. 20, 9) calls him 'non praeceptor veri sed testis'; and again says (Ep. 62, 3), 'quidni admirer? Vidi nihil ei deesse.' Philostratus, who speaks of him (Vit. Ap. 4. 25) as teaching at Corinth, and as a strong opponent of Apollonius, calls him *ἀνὴρ συνειληφὼς πᾶν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτο*[ς]. We find him in H. 4. 40, 5 stooping unworthily to defend Egnatius Celer (see c. 32, 2); but he is noted for having said to Nero (Arr. Ep. 1. 25, 22), *ἀπειλε*[ῖ] *μοι θάνατον, σοὶ δ' ἡ φύσις*, and for fre[e] speech to Vespasian, who replied *κύ*[να] *ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω*, but exiled hi[m]

ıstitutionis doctori, cum quo, ut coniectare erat intentione ultus et auditis, si qua clarius proloquebantur, de natura animae t dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat, donec advenit)omitius Caecilianus ex intimis amicis et ei quid senatus cenıisset exposuit. igitur flentes queritantesque qui aderant ıcessere propere Thrasea neu pericula sua miscere cum sorte amnati hortatur, Arriamque temptantem mariti suprema et xemplum Arriae matris sequi monet retinere vitam filiaeque)mmuni subsidium unicum non adimere.

35. Tum progressus in porticum illic a quaestore reperitur,

th other philosophers in 824, A. D. 71)io, 66. 13, 3; Suet. Vesp. 13).

Cynicae institutionis. This school, ıich had been the precursor of the oic, but had been eclipsed by it, at is time and afterwards regained some ominence. See Juv. 13, 121, and the ssages there cited by Mayor.

1. **coniectare erat**, for 'licebat': cp. x quo est coniectare' (Gell. 6. 6, 11). pp. notes that the only other prose tances of this Graecism, so frequent in tin poets, are 'est videre' (G. 5, 4) and egare sit' (Liv. 42. 41, 2).

intentione, 'the earnestness'; so the only other passage in which it is ed by Tacitus (Dial. 14, 1): 'suspi-us ex ipsa intentione singulorum, alti-m inter eos esse sermonem.'

2. **auditis, si qua**, etc., 'from hearing h words as.'

3. **dissociatione**, used only here and Pl. N. H. 6. 1, 1, 2; 7. 13, 11, 57. ch subjects of discussion would not y be natural to the occasion, but sug-ted by the example of the last hours of rates as described in the Phaedo, and, is implied by the contrast drawn in c. 3 (where see note), were usual in the hours of men of intellect and character. e belief of Thrasea on immortality y be gathered from the saying quoted iote on c. 35, 3; that of Tacitus from r. 46, 1.

. **Domitius Caecilianus**, not else-re mentioned.

. **queritantes**: so in Med. and other S. and most edd. The frequentative eritor' is only known in the participle, a even in that form questioned. Its u in the fifth century by Paulinus No-is gives but slender authority for it, , though it occurs in MSS. of Liv. 39. ; 10, 7; 40. 9, 7; and in MSS. and lder edd. of Plin. Pan. 29 ('nequiquam queritantibus sociis'), it has been altered by all edd. after Drakenborch in the former author, and by recent edd. in the latter, to the participle of the better known 'quiritare.' The same alteration has been made here (after the suggestion of Rhen.) by Lips. and others, whom Orelli follows.

6. **facessere**, here alone in Tacitus in the sense of 'abire'; so in Cic., Liv., etc.

neu. Nipp. reads 'nec'; but the construction is less harsh than that of 'neu mortem' in 1. 35, 2, and may be defended by the imperative character of the sentence. For the infin. with 'hortari' cp. that with 'monet' (as in 11. 1, 2, etc.) below, and others in Introd. i. v. § 43.

8. **Arriae matris.** Her mother (whose name she bore) had voluntarily shared the death of her husband Caecina Paetus, condemned for his share in the conspiracy of Camillus Scribonianus against Claudius in 795, A.D. 42 (Dio, 60. 16, 6). Her heroism in dying first to inspirit her husband, and her words, 'Paete, non dolet,' have been made famous by Pliny (Ep. 3. 16, 6) and Martial (1. 14). The old Life of Persius states that he was related to the younger Arria, and through her enjoyed much of the society of Thrasea. The latter had married her before the death of her mother, whom he also endeavoured to turn from her purpose (Plin. l. l. 10). This Arria lived to share the exile of her daughter Fannia (on whom see note on c. 28, 2), when the latter was banished for the third time (Pl. Epp. 7. 19, 4) under Domitian, and her stepson the younger Helvidius put to death (Id. 3. 11, 3), and to return with her under Nerva (Id. 9. 13, 5).

que . . . non = 'neque,' thus separated in 1. 1, 4; G. 17, 3; and put together in 4. 50, 6; 61, 1: see Nipp. on 1. 38, 4.

laetitiae propior, quia Helvidium generum suum Italia tantum arceri cognoverat. accepto dehinc senatus consulto Helvidium et Demetrium in cubiculum inducit; porrectisque utriusque brachii venis, postquam cruorem effudit, humum super spargens, proprius vocato quaestore 'libamus' inquit 'Iovi liberatori. specta iuvenis; et omen quidem di prohibeant, ceterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat constantibus exemplis. post lentitudine exitus graves cruciatus adferente, obversis in Demetrium * * *

1. **Italia arceri.** The same expression is used in 4. 31, 5: so 'aqua atque (or 'et') igni arceri' in 3. 23, 2; 50, 6.

3. **porrectis,** probably to the physician (cp. 15. 69, 3). The Schol. on Juv. 5, 36 preserves this touch ('secandas venas praebuit').

4. **humum super.** On such anastrophe of prepositions see Introd. i. v. § 77, 1.

spargens = 'sprinkling it'; so 'sparso aceto' (H. 5. 6, 6), 'spargitque cruorem' (Lucr. 2, 195), 'per . . . domum Spargens . . . aquas' (Hor. Epod. 5, 25), etc.

5. **libamus.** The old edd. read 'libemus' (after G.). In Dio (62. 26, 4) the words are given as σοὶ τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα, ὦ Ζεῦ Ἐλευθέριε, σπένδω. The Schol. on Juv. (l. l.) makes him address them to Demetrius, 'nonne tibi libare videor Iovi liberatori'? For the similar action of Seneca see 15. 64, 4.

6. **iuvenis.** It is natural to suppos the quaestor (who need not have bee more than twenty-five years old) to be her addressed. Some take the words as spoke to Helvidius, who, if he was trib. pleb. te years earlier (see 13. 28, 5), could no have been less than thirty-seven, bu might nevertheless be a youth to Thrase

8. **cruciatus.** See the description o Seneca's death (15. 63, 6).

obversis in Demetrium. The ne word must have been 'oculis,' unless w are to read 'obversus,' with Acid. Th Schol. on Juv. (l. l.) adds (after the word quoted above), 'atque singulis amic oscula offerens exanimatus est.' Other o his last sayings are given: σήμερον ἀναιρ θῆναι θέλω μᾶλλον ἢ αὔριον φυγαδευθῆν (Arr. Epict. 1. 1, 26), and ὁ Νέρων ἀπ κτεῖναι μέν με δύναται, ἀπολέσαι δὲ δύναται (Dio, Fr. Sturz. vol. ix. p. 10 Dind. vol. v. p. 193).

APPENDIX III.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK XVI. AND THE DEATH OF NERO.

[N]OTE.—Besides the usual sources of information, many obligations are here to be acknowledged to Mommsen's 'der letzte Kampf der Römischen Republic' (Hermes xiii. 1878, 90–105), also to the introduction and notes in Mr. Hardy's edition of Plutarch's Lives of Galba and Otho.

THE arrival of Tiridates in Rome must have been coincident with the ial of Thrasea and Soranus [1]. His journey from the East, with all the ast retinue of royal state [2] and a large bodyguard both of Parthian and f Roman troops, had taken him no less than nine months, and cost an nprecedented sum [3]. He had journeyed by land [4], crossing no other a than the Hellespont, and entering Italy at the north [5], whence he was onducted to Nero's presence at Neapolis, and attended games celebrated Puteoli with great magnificence by the freedman Patrobius. After is, Nero escorted him to Rome, where the whole population flocked to reet him. The great ceremony took place in the Forum, where Tiridates nelt before Nero, delivered as hostages his own sons and those of his rothers Vologeses and Pacorus, and of the Adiabenian prince Monoazus [6], and did homage in terms of the utmost submission [7]; in return for hich Nero solemnly gave him the kingdom of Armenia, and placed the iadem on his head. After this, special games were held by decree of

[1] See 16. 23, 3; 24, 1.

[2] Dio says (63. 2, 1), Ἡ θεραπεία ἥ παρασκευὴ ἡ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνηκολούθει, τρισχίλιοί τε ἱππεῖς τῶν Πάρθων αὶ χωρὶς ἕτεροι Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ συνείποντο. It is added that his wife also ccompanied him.

[3] Dio, 63. 2, 2. The daily expense, orne apparently by the Roman treasury, is reckoned at 200,000 drachmae (800,000 H.S.): see also Suet. Ner. 39.

[4] On the reason for this see note on 15. 24, 3.

[5] All the following particulars are given in Dio, 63. 2–7; some also in Suet. Ner. 13.

[6] On this prince see 15. 1, 3, etc.

[7] See Introd. p. 124, 7.

the senate; the theatre being gorgeously decorated for the occasion, and Nero again making public exhibition of all his accomplishments. Tiridates was dismissed with most costly presents[1], and permitted to rebuild Artaxata, for which purpose a large number of workmen followed his retinue. He took a different route from that by which he had arrived, crossing from Brundusium to Dyrrhachium, and visiting the cities of Asia. Some restriction was placed by Corbulo on his train of workmen, but he was able to rebuild his capital, and is said to have called it after his patron[2].

This year also saw the commencement of the great Jewish rebellion, arising in reality from long-standing causes of discontent[3], but immediately occasioned by the tyranny of the procurator Gessius Florus, whose acts are thought to show even a desire to provoke an outbreak[4]. He had endeavoured to extort a fine of seventeen talents from the Temple treasure, and on disturbance arising, had massacred some 3600 persons[5]; and soon afterwards a large number of citizens had been trampled to death or otherwise maltreated by his soldiers, who had entered the city with him in a purposely truculent manner[6]. Notwithstanding this, the people had been kept in hand by the earnest efforts of the High Priest and others; and Florus had departed, leaving a cohort[7] in the palace of Herod in the Upper City[8], besides the usual garrison in the castle of Antonia. But the Zealots now became more preponderant. Herod Agrippa, who had addressed the people and urged submission even to Florus till a successor should be sent to him, was assaulted and forced to fly the city[9]; and an open revolt began with the storming of Masada, near the Dead Sea, and massacre of its Roman garrison[10], and with the rejection, by Eleazar, the captain of the temple, of the sacrifice which Romans had been accustomed to present within the sacred precincts[11]. A state of siege ensued, in which the castle of Antonia and the Upper City were held by the High Priest's following and by the Romans reinforced by 3000 horsemen sent by Agrippa to assist the cause of order[12]; and the Lower City and Temple were in the hands of the in-

[1] Suet. (Ner. 30) reckons the sum presented to him at 100,000,000 H.S., Dio (63. 6, 5), at twice that amount.

[2] If the city was ever called Neroneia, as Dio states, it had evidently returned to its old name in Juvenal's time (2, 170).

[3] See Introd. p. 40.

[4] Jos. Ant. 20, 11, 1; B. I. 2. 14, 2, foll.

[5] Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 6–9. This took place in April.

[6] Id. 2. 15, 3–5.

[7] This cohort was distinct from those which had entered with him (2. 15, 6).

[8] This palace was in fact a fortress; cp. 'alia intus moenia, regiae circumiecta' (H. 5. 11, 7).

[9] Jos. B. I. 2. 17, 1.

[10] Id. 2. 17, 2.

[11] Josephus (l. l.) makes this the true beginning of the war. Its date would be about the end of July. Eleazar was the son of the High Priest Ananias.

[12] B. I. 2. 17, 4.

urgents under Eleazar and his rival Manahem [1]. After seven days of omparative inaction, the contest was soon decided. The castle of ntonia was carried after two days' assault, and its garrison put to the word; the palace of the Upper City, after a more vigorous resistance, as evacuated under capitulation by the troops of Agrippa, and the emaining Romans, who had taken refuge in the three towers of Herod, ere induced to surrender on similar terms, and then slain in defiance of e agreement [2].

A great massacre of Jews by Greeks, which had taken place at the ame time [3] at Caesarea, and had been followed by similar scenes at many ther places [4], made the struggle more internecine; and the victorious arty at Jerusalem, encouraged, as they believed, by the voice of rophecy [5], took the offensive in the surrounding country.

A greater crisis now ensued on the advance of Cestius Gallus, the gatus of Syria [6], with a large force of legionary and other troops, to ut down the insurrection. After meeting with little resistance and in-icting many cruelties elsewhere [7], he sustained a severe check near eth-horon [8], but was enabled by the dissensions of his adversaries to ad-ance to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and even into the city; whence, ter feeble attempts to assault the Upper City and the Temple, he set ut on a retreat almost degenerating into a rout, in which nearly 6000 of is troops were killed [9]. On this success not only Judaea, but also alilee, Samaria, Peraea, and Idumaea, burst out into a blaze of open ebellion.

The Roman government had now become aware of the serious nature

[1] He was the son of the rebel Judas Galilee, and was soon overpowered d killed by Eleazar (2. 17, 8, 9).

[2] 2. 17, 5–10. The dates given by sephus would coincide with Aug. 15 r the attack on Antonia, Sept. 6 for the rrender of Agrippa's troops, Sept. 17 r the slaughter of the remaining Romans chiller, pp. 219–220).

[3] According to Josephus (2. 18, 1) this as on the same day and hour as the assacre of the Roman soldiers. A eat feud, resulting in the exclusion the Jews from civil privileges, had eviously occurred there (Id. 2. 14, 4).

[4] Besides those in Syria and Palestine, great massacre took place in Alexandria l. 2. 18, 7, 8).

[5] 'Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis cerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso npore fore ut valesceret Oriens, pro-tique Iudaea rerum potirentur': (H. 5. 13, 2; cp. Suet. Vesp. 4; Jos. B. I. 6. 5, 1). The words are evidently a dis-tortion of Messianic prophecy, but are taken by the Roman writers to have been fulfilled in the exaltation of Vespasian.

[6] On this person see 15. 25, 5, and note. He had already come to Jerusalem at the Passover and had made some show of listening to their complaints against Florus, and had afterwards sent a cen-turion to report on the state of the city (Jos. B. I. 2. 14, 3; 16, 1). He had now with him some 30,000 soldiers, including one whole legion (the 12th) and detach-ments from others (Id. 2. 18, 9).

[7] He is stated (2. 18, 10) to have slain over 8000 unresisting persons in Joppa alone.

[8] Id. 2. 19, 1, 2.

[9] Id. 2. 19, 4–9. His final defeat is dated Nov. 8. According to Suet. Vesp. 4, the eagle of his legion was lost.

of the insurrection and of the need of sending ample forces and thoroughly capable commanders to deal with it [1]. The whole army set free by the settlement of the Partho-Armenian war was available; and Vespasian was appointed, with three legions [2], to conduct the actual war as extraordinary 'legatus Augusti pro praetore' in Palestine, while the vacant province of Syria, with its ordinary garrison of four legions [3], was given to C. Licinius Mucianus [4].

Also before the close of this year Nero had set out on the famous journey to Greece, which he had purposed some time before, but postponed till now [5]. The freedman Helius [6], with Polycleitus as his assistant [7], was left with absolute power to govern Rome and Italy; Nero being attended by Tigellinus [8], and followed by a train of musicians, actors, and other such artists, equivalent in numbers, as we are assured, to a formidable army [9].

A.U.C. 820, A.D. 67, L. FONTEIUS CAPITO, C. JULIUS RUFUS, COSS.

Vespasian, on taking up his command, found the whole country, except Caesarea and some other Greek towns on the coast, in possession of the enemy, who, however, were now standing wholly on the defensive. He began active operations in this spring, with the reduction of Galilee, where the insurgents had many strong places and the best supplies of men and food. The organisation of the resistance in this district was entrusted to the young Pharisee Josephus [10]; but his heart seems not to have been in the attempt. His force of 60,000 men [11] was a mere rabble, and was distributed among isolated strongholds; and his conduct has been thought to give colour to the suspicion of guilty and treasonable neglect [12]. Vespasian, after being joined by his son Titus, with large reinforcements [13], besieged Josephus and his main force in Jotapata, on

[1] Cestius died, apparently from vexation (H. 2. 10, 2). The expression 'caeso praeposito' (Suet. Vesp. 4) would show that Florus had been at some time killed; certainly no more is heard of him.

[2] These were the Fifth, Tenth, and Fifteenth; and a large body of auxiliaries, besides the contingents of allied princes, raised his total to a nominal strength of about 60,000 (Jos. B. I. 3. 4, 2), representing probably an effective army of about 50,000 (see Momms. Hist. v. 534, 1; E. T. ii. 211); which was afterwards largely increased.

[3] The Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Twelfth (see Momms. H. v. 533, 1; E. T. ii. 210, 1).

[4] On his antecedents and character see H. 1. 10.

[5] 15. 33, 2; 36, 1.

[6] Dio, 63. 12, 1: see 13. 1, 3.

[7] Id. 63. 12, 3.

[8] Dio, l. l.

[9] Dio, 63. 8, 3, 4.

[10] Jos. B. I. 2. 20, 4, foll.

[11] Id. 2. 20, 8.

[12] In his Life, Josephus represents himself as all along the secret ally of Rome; but Dean Merivale seems rightly to give more credit to his earlier representation of himself (B. I.) as having done his best for the national cause, though without hope of success.

[13] By these his army was made up to the total given above (note 2).

May 24, and carried the place by storm on the forty-seventh day of the siege[1], and had purposed to send Josephus to Rome, but was induced to retain him in honourable custody[2]. Joppa, Tiberias, Taricheae, Gamala, Gischala, were either surrendered or taken by storm in the course of this year's campaign, by the end of which all Galilee and the North were reduced[3]. Meanwhile the population of Jerusalem had been swelled by various country bands, through whom the fanatical party had got more and more the upper hand. Disunion was everywhere prevalent; no single leader obtained general recognition; and things were rapidly drifting into the state of anarchy and confusion in which they were found at the beginning of the actual siege[4].

For the rest of this year we have little more than a narrative of Nero's doings in Greece. The calendar had been altered, so as to make all the great Greek games fall within the same year; and at all of them he entered as a competitor in various contests, even such as had not usually formed part of the programme[5], acted all kinds of parts, however undignified or unmanly, and affected to conform to all rules of the profession, and to stand in fear of the decision of the judges[6]. He attained, as a matter of course, the honours of a *περιοδονίκης*[7]; the names of the famous musicians Terpnus, Diodorus, and Pammenes being mentioned among those defeated by him[8]; and he is stated to have given large sums to the Hellanodicae for their decision, and to the Pythia for a felicitous prophecy, but to have taken vengeance on the adytum of Apollo for some fancied insult[9]. He entered himself also (employing the consular Cluvius Rufus as his herald) in the local contests of all Greek cities, except Sparta and Athens, deterred in the former case (as was supposed) by the associations of the laws of Lycurgus, in the latter by the fear of the Erinnyes[10].

It is stated that he also pillaged the cities and temples of their works of art, carrying off 500 statues from Delphi alone[11]; also that he put to

[1] Jos. B. I. 3. 8, 9.

[2] Josephus represents himself as having worked upon Vespasian by predicting his future exaltation, and by showing that he had been a true prophet otherwise (B. I. 1. 1.).

[3] Id. 3. 9–4. 2.

[4] Id. 4. 3–6.

[5] Among such innovations is noted the introduction of a musical contest at the Olympic games (Suet. Ner. 23).

[6] Suet. Ner. 24; Dio, 63. 9, 1–4.

[7] Dio, 63. 10, 1.

[8] Id. 63. 8, 4,

[9] The Hellanodicae are said to have received a million, the Pythia 400,000 H.S. (Id. 63. 14, 1–2); and Dio adds that these sums were among those reclaimed by Galba (see H. 1. 20, 2), as was also the case, according to Plut. Galb. 16, with the largesses squandered on actors and athletes (see Suet. Ner. 30; Galb. 15).

[10] Dio, 63. 14, 3. Schiller rightly treats these reasons as mere guesses.

[11] Paus. 10. 7, 1. Other such accounts are collected in Schill. p. 248, and questioned by him (see Introd. p. 67, 10).

death a number of rich Greeks to get their property[1]. The executions of illustrious Romans also were continued by Nero even amidst his contests. Corbulo was summoned to his presence from the East, in a letter full of terms of fulsome compliment, and was met at Cenchreae with an order to despatch himself, which he obeyed instantly, saying, 'I deserved it[2].' The two brothers Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus, who had been governors of the two 'Germaniae,' were similarly sent for on some pretext, and accused and put to death without being heard in defence or allowed to see Nero[3]. Paris the dancer was also put to death, and Caecina Tuscus, praefect of Egypt, was banished for using a bath constructed in expectation of Nero's visit. Similar crimes were perpetrated in Rome by Helius, who put to death Sulpicius Camerinus for bearing the surname of 'Pythicus,' and others, on various pretexts[4]. The 'coniuratio Viniciana,' of which nothing further is known than that it was detected and suppressed at Beneventum, may have taken place during this period[5].

Nero remained in Greece during the whole year, and rewarded the province for its entertainment of him by declaring it free; and is said to have compensated the senate for its loss by giving over to it the government of Sardinia[6]. He also initiated a canal to be cut across the Isthmus of Corinth[7].

A.U.C. 822, A.D. 68. Ti. Catius Silius Italicus, M. Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus[8], coss.

Vespasian had employed the winter in settling the districts which he had already gained[9]. In the early spring he took Gadara[10], the chief stronghold beyond Jordan, and in the course of the spring had completed the reduction of Peraea by the capture of Gerasa[11], and by despatching

[1] Dio, 63. 11, 1, foll.; see Introd. l. l.

[2] As a penalty for his confidence.

[3] Dio, 63. 17, 1, foll. It is probable that many others, besides those mentioned by Dio, were put to death at this period (see Introd. p. 86).

[4] Id. 63. 18, 1–2.

[5] The only mention of it is that by Suet. (Ner. 36), that after the conspiracy of Piso at Rome, 'posterior Viniciana Beneventi conflata atque detecta est.' It has been thought that its head was Annius Vinicianus (on whom see 15. 28, 4, and note), and that it may have been thus an indirect cause, or (as some think) a result of the fall of Corbulo (see Introd. p. 87). Some evidence for placing it in 819, A.D. 66, is afforded by the record of an Arval offering in that year; which appears to be ['ob dete]cta [nefariorum con]silia' (see Schiller, p. 229).

[6] On this statement see note on 13. 30, 1.

[7] Dio, 63. 16, 1,

[8] The former of these is the well-known poet, who outlived all the Neronian consuls and died at the age of 75, probably about A.D. 100 (Plin. Ep. 3. 7). The second consul was a distinguished orator (see H. 1. 90, 2), famous especially for his voice and manner (Quint. 10. 1, 119; 12. 5, 5; 10, 11).

[9] Jos. B. I. 4. 8, 1.

[10] Id. 4. 7, 3. The date given coincides with the latter part of February.

[11] Id. 4. 9, 1.

ying columns under his lieutenants Placidus and Traianus against the cattered Zealots[1]. He himself had constructed a fortified camp at mmaus in Judaea[2], from whence, in one short expedition, he reduced dumaea, and in another, Samaria[3]; subsequently to which another rong position was taken up at Jericho[4]. After these successes the eduction of Jerusalem alone remained: and vigorous preparations were eing made for its siege when the news of the death of Nero obliged him await further instructions[5]; and subsequent events prevented any ctive resumption of the war till a year and a half afterwards.

Helius, who had frequently pressed Nero to return, went in person to ell him that a great conspiracy was on foot in Rome, and that his resence was urgently needed. Nero immediately set sail, and narrowly scaped shipwreck from a storm. Several persons who had counted on is destruction and rejoiced at it were put to death[6]. His return was arked by extravagances surpassing all before. He entered Rome rough a breach in the walls, after the tradition of victorious Greek hletes, in a triumphal chariot, bearing the Olympian crown, and holding his hand the Pythian, amid the acclamations of the populace[7], and displayed all his crowns, in number 1808, on the obelisk in the circus, and gain exhibited himself as a charioteer and musician[8].

Soon afterwards he left Rome for Naples, where, on the anniversary of e murder of his mother[9], the first news was brought to him that . Julius Vindex, the legatus of Gallia Lugdunensis[10], had raised a great surrection in his own and in the adjoining Gallic provinces. The count of the nature and purpose of this rising, in the abridgment of Dio Xiphilinus, which has been most generally followed[11], represents him as

[1] Id. 4. 7, 4–6; 8, 1. A terrible massacre is described on the banks of the rdan.

[2] Id. 4. 8, 1.

[3] l. l. The Idumaeans had previously med one of the most violent sections Jerusalem (B. I. 4. 4–6).

[4] Id. 4. 8, 1.

[5] Id. 4. 9, 2. By the death of his peror, he was no longer properly a atus, and by the time his position was nfirmed by Galba, the season was past. the following year he was preparing resume operations when he was proimed emperor.

[6] Dio, 63. 19. The conspiracy cannot identified, and may have been a fiction.

[7] Id. 63. 20. According to Suet. (Ner.), he had already thus entered Neapolis l other places, and the triumphal car which he entered Rome was that which had been used at the triumph of Augustus.

[8] Dio, 63. 21.

[9] Suet. Ner. 40. The date is thus fixed to March 19–23 (see note on 14. 4, 1).

[10] Vindex is stated by Dio (63. 22, 1) to have been an Aquitanian of royal descent, whose father had become a Roman senator (probably under Claudius, see 11. 25, 1). His position would show that he had himself attained praetorian rank.

[11] Besides that here given, two other views have been put forth; the first being that of Mommsen (Hermes, xiii. 1878, pp. 90–105), who regards this rising as a genuine effort to restore the Roman Republic. This is supported by words of Zonaras (11. 15), possibly from some statement of Dio omitted by Xiphilinus, that Vindex made his followers swear allegiance to the senate and people of

stirring up the people against Nero personally, by describing his outrages and extravagances at Rome [1], and as offering the empire [2] to Galba, who had then been for eight years legatus of Hispania Tarraconensis, and was a man of the highest family, great services, and enormous wealth [3].

Before this offer was made, the rising had already taken formidable proportions. The chief Rhenish tribes, as the Treveri and Lingones, held aloof from it [4], as did also the colony of Lugdunum [5], the great capital of the 'tres Galliae' [6]; but Vindex was joined by large numbers from all parts of Gaul, especially by the richest and most central tribes, the Arverni, Aedui, and Sequani [7], by the nobility generally [8], and even by

Rome, bidding them kill even himself, if he set up to rule over them. The expression 'adsertor a Nerone libertatis' (used of him in Pl. N. H. 20. 14, 57, 160), on its most natural interpretation, confirms this view, as does also the similar profession of allegiance made at first (Plut. Galb. 5) by Galba (the titles 'Hercules adsertor,' and 'Mars adsertor' cited by Mommsen from the coins issued during the rising, are more ambiguous). On the other hand the view of Schiller (p. 261, foll.) and others, adopted also by Mr. Hardy (see note on Plut. Galb. 4), would take the support either of the Republic, or of Galba as emperor, to have been, like the pretended allegiance of Civilis to Vespasian (H. 4. 13, 2), a mere temporary device to cover a real design of restoring the independence of Gaul. This view is thought to have been that taken by Tacitus, on the strength of several passages in the Histories; where the movement is often called 'bellum' (H. 1. 51, 1; 65, 4; 89, 1); the legions are represented as looking upon the Gauls as 'hostes' (1. 51, 4); and Vocula is made to class Vindex with Sacrovir (see Ann. 3. 40, 1) and Civilis (H. 4. 57, 3). Expressions appearing to imply a similar view are also cited from Plutarch and from Zonaras; but perhaps none are sufficiently unambiguous to be decisive, and the arguments from general probability are somewhat balanced. It is difficult on the one hand to suppose that so large a force would have joined Vindex in mere abhorrence of the enormities of Nero's personal conduct, or with any expectation that their tribute or other national grievances (see 3. 40, 1; H. 4. 17, 3; Dio, 63. 22, 2) would be remedied by restoration of the Republic or by a change of emperor. It is no less difficult on the other hand to imagine the colony of Vienna, which had enjoyed full Roman rights for probably nearly thirty years, and had constantly contributed members to the Roman senate (see 'Oratio Claudii' ii. 9, and note), joining in any movement for Gaulish independence; and the weakness of the support which an undoubted rising for that object received two years later, is against the idea of a widespread desire in Gaul for separation from Rome. In the absence of clear knowledge, it is perhaps best to suppose that the movement was intended to be variously understood by different sections of those who joined in it, and to bid for support from all quarters, but that in its progress it so far determined itself as a rising for Galba that its supporters were generally called by their opponents 'Galbiani' (H. 1. 51, 5), and were rewarded as such by Galba after his success (H. 1. 51, 6; 65, 2, etc.).

[1] Dio puts into his mouth a speech on these topics.

[2] Mommsen notes (Hermes, l. l.) that Vindex is described (Plut. Galb. 4; Dio, 63. 23, 1) as offering Galba the ἡγεμονία, which might only mean the leadership of the Republican movement, and that it would seem to have been in that sense that Galba first accepted it.

[3] See Plut. Galb. 3. The relationship of Galba to Livia, wife of Augustus, there mentioned, is otherwise unknown, and appears to be improbable.

[4] H. 1. 51, 5; 53, 5; 4. 69, 2.

[5] H. 1. 51, 8.

[6] By this expression, the three Caesarian provinces, Aquitania, Gallia Celtica, and Gallia Belgica, in distinction from the old senatorial province of Narbonensis, are meant. On the peculiar position of Lugdunum, as their common capital, see Momms. Hist. v. 79, foll.; E. T. i. 87, foll.

[7] H. 1. 51, 6; 4. 17, 5.

[8] Jos. B. I. 4. 8, 1.

he Roman colony of Vienna in the Narbonensian province; which ippears to have become his headquarters [1], and to have carried on a lesultory warfare, embittered by old animosities, against its rival Lugdunum [2]; and his force, gathered no doubt from the militia of the various cantons [3], is given as consisting of 100,000 [4] men.

Galba was already alarmed for his own security [5], and was urged to iction especially by T. Vinius [6], and apparently, on April 2, so far iccepted the salutation of his troops as to call himself no longer legatus of Nero, but general of the senate and people [7]. He was soon afterwards 'orced into more decided courses by being declared a public enemy [8]; but is he was supported by but one legion [9], and the governors of other provinces who had joined him brought no important accession of strength [10], vhile Vindex was wholly without Roman troops [11], it was plain that all lepended on the action of the German armies.

Fonteius Capito, the legatus of Lower Germany, was vicious and incapable [12], so that the real master of the situation was L. Verginius Rufus [13], he legatus of Upper Germany, who promptly marched with his own army and detachments from that of the Lower Province [14], against Vesontio (Bezançon), the chief town of the Sequani, which Vindex iurried to defend [15]. The most commonly received account of the equel alleges that a conference here took place between the generals, ind that both agreed to declare against Nero [16], but that the German

[1] In H. 1. 65, 4, it is called 'sedes Gallici belli.'

[2] H. 1. 65, 1, 3. A blockade of the atter town by the former is there alluded to.

[3] A force of this description, kept up by he Helvetii, is mentioned in H. 1. 67, 2.

[4] Plut. Galb. 4.

[5] Suet. states (Galb. 9) that he was aware of orders sent to his procurators o put him to death, and was forced o declare himself by a message from the egatus of Aquitania, invoking his aid gainst Vindex.

[6] This officer seems then to have been is legatus legionis; but the expression οὗ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμών (Plut. Galb. 4) is difficult to interpret (see Mr. Hardy's note).

[7] Plut. Galb. 5, Suet. Galb. 9. By eckoning backwards from the day of his eath (Jan. 15), and taking the computation of his rule as of nine months and hirteen days (Dio, 64. 6, 5), it is seen that is 'dies imperii' is reckoned from the alutation of the soldiers on that day, hatever answer he may have then given o it. From a similar salutation, not from the death of the predecessor, the 'dies imperii' of Vitellius and that of Vespasian are reckoned.

[8] Plut. Galb. 5.

[9] He had also two alae and three cohorts, and set to work to raise fresh troops and to create a sort of senate on the spot (Suet. Galb. 10).

[10] It is said that others joined him (Plut. Galb. 6); but the only one distinctly mentioned is Otho (Id. 20).

[11] In this sense his province is called 'inermis' (H. 1. 16, 5).

[12] H. 1. 7, 2.

[13] See on 15. 23, 1. He and Capito had become legati on the execution of the brothers Scribonii in the preceding year (Dio, 63. 17, 3).

[14] Probably in all at least 30,000 legionaries and auxiliary troops.

[15] Dio, 63. 24, 1. From the headquarters of Verginius at Moguntiacum, this would be the nearest rebel position to strike at: it was also an important road centre.

[16] This is so far true, that the attitude even of Verginius is no longer that of a loyal legatus of Nero.

army under some mistaken impulse furiously attacked the Gallic troops, killed 20,000 of them, and dispersed the remainder, on which Vindex slew himself in despair; and Verginius mourned for him, and retired to his province [1], refusing himself to be proclaimed emperor or to allow any one else to become so, except by the nomination of the senate and people at Rome [2]. These events drove Galba almost to despair, and he went into retirement at Clunia in his province [3].

Nero meanwhile was acting with the greatest weakness and indecision. He is stated to have at first wholly disregarded the news of the rising of Vindex, and even to have professed his joy at the opportunity offered for extortion from the Gauls [4]. After eight days [5] spent in all his usual amusements at Naples, he returned to Rome and issued a proclamation [6]. Then he was thrown into consternation by the news that Galba had been proclaimed emperor, and was receiving general support [7]. Some show was now made of vigour, and the available troops were collected by recalling the forces already on their way to the Caucasus [8] and to Aethiopia [9], summoning others from Illyricum [10], and forming a new legion of the 'classiarii' [11]. Nero himself assumed the consulship [12], and appointed as leaders of his troops Petronius Turpilianus and Rubrius Gallus [13], and sent 'Calvia Crispinilla to instigate Claudius Macer, the imperial legatus in Africa, to ensure the fidelity of Rome by threatening it with famine [14].' The news

[1] Dio, 63. 24. Plutarch (Galb. 6), while also making the battle arise from the impetuosity of the soldiers, knows of no understanding between the generals. Tacitus, in alluding to the battle (H. 1. 51, 1), says nothing to show that he regarded it as an accidental collision; and that Verginius at a later time desired to take credit for it is shown by the epitaph composed by him for himself (Plin. Ep. 6. 10, 4): 'Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriae.'

[2] Dio, 63. 25. Tacitus thinks it an open question whether he would have accepted the empire if elected regularly (H. 1. 8, 7). It is also suggested that his want of family distinction was both a disqualification for empire, and also a protection from the danger of refusing such an offer (H. 1. 52, 7). An inscription found near Milan (C. I. L. v. 5702) 'pro salute et victoria L. Vergini Rufi' (the usual formula for an emperor) shows the light in which he was regarded during his hesitation.

[3] Plut. Galb. 6; Suet. Galb. 11.

[4] Dio, 63. 26.

[5] Suet. Ner. 40.

[6] Dio, 63. 23, 2.

[7] Dio, 63. 27, 1; Plut. Galb. 5; Suet. Ner. 42.

[8] H. 1. 6, 5. On the probable purpose of this expedition see Introd. p. 125, 7.

[9] H. 1. 31, 8; 70, 2.

[10] H. 1. 9, 4.

[11] H. 1. 6, 4.

[12] Suet. says (Ner. 43) that he held it without a colleague, having forced both consuls to resign.

[13] Dio, 63. 27, 1; Zonaras, 11. 13. The former mentions Rubrius only; the latter adds that Petronius was found to be in league with Galba; a statement which his subsequent death at Galba's hands 'ut dux Neronis' (H. 1. 6, 2) makes improbable. He had been legatus of Britain (14. 39, 4), and had received 'triumphalia' after the suppression of the Pisonian conspiracy (15. 72, 2). On Rubrius Gallus see H. 2. 51, 3, etc.

[14] H. 1. 73, 2. Such a scheme may be conceived as forming part of Nero's plan for abandoning Rome. Macer pursued only a system of plunder and extortion on his own account (Plut. Galb. 5).

of the defeat of Vindex brought him little comfort, as the attitude of Verginius remained so ambiguous [1]; and all kinds of wild schemes of vengeance or flight were reported as contemplated [2].

A new danger now arose in what had been hitherto his great source of strength, the praetorian guards. Both the praefects of that body appear to have proved false to him [3]; but Tigellinus, enervated by vice and disease, was cast into the shade by the bolder schemer Nymphidius Sabinus [4], who, when Nero had departed from the Palatium to the Servilian gardens [5], persuaded the soldiers that he had already fled to Egypt, and induced them to proclaim Galba emperor by offering in his name an enormous donative of 30,000 H.S. each [6].

At midnight Nero found himself forsaken by the cohort in attendance [7] and deprived of the poison which he kept for the last extremity [8], and fled in disguise, with four attendants, to a villa of his freedman Phaon, distant about four miles from Rome, between the Salarian and the Nomentan way [9]. The decision of the praetorians emboldened the senate to proclaim Galba emperor, to declare Nero a public enemy, and to sentence him to be put to death 'more maiorum [10].' In his hiding-place he was informed that the soldiers were upon his track, and after vain attempts to despatch himself, received his deathstroke partly at his own hand, partly at that of his freedman Epaphroditus [11]. He died on June 9 [12], aged thirty years, five months, and twenty-six days, having ruled thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days; and received honorable burial at

[1] The statement that Nero heard περὶ τοῦ Ῥούφου ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη (Dio, 63. 27, 1) is inaccurate; but Verginius was evidently ready to recognise any new emperor appointed by the senate. Dio adds that Nero was 'deserted by all alike,' and Suet. speaks of 'ceterorum exercituum defectio' (Ner. 47). This may refer to the troops under Rubrius and Petronius, some of which are said to have opened communications with Verginius (H. 1. 9, 4).

[2] Suet. Ner. 43; Dio, 63. 27, 2.

[3] The only full account of the action of Nymphidius, that of Plutarch, makes him not actually depose his colleague Tigellinus till after the death of Nero (Galb. 8), but wholly to act without him in the crisis here mentioned (Galb. 2). That Tigellinus was suffering from an incurable disease is stated in Plut. Oth. 2, and the fact may explain his inaction; but Tacitus, in calling him the 'desertor ac proditor' of Nero (H. 1. 72, 2), certainly charges him with an important share of some kind in causing the treason of the guards; and Josephus (B. I. 4. 9, 2) speaks of both praefects as entering into the plot.

[4] On his antecedents and appointment to the 'praefectura praetorii' see 15. 72, 3.

[5] Suet. Ner. 47; see 15. 55, 1, and note.

[6] Plut. Galb. 2. The donatives of Claudius and Nero reached only half that amount (see on 12. 69, 2): a sum of 5000 H.S., according to Plutarch, was also now promised to all the legionaries, but neither largess was ever paid.

[7] Suet. Ner. 47; Dio, 63. 27, 3.

[8] Suet. l. l.

[9] Suet. Ner. 48; Dio, l. l. Epaphroditus, Phaon, and Sporus are mentioned among the four followers.

[10] Suet. 49.

[11] For the whole description see Suet. l. l.; Dio, l. l.

[12] See the reckoning of Dio at the death of Vespasian (66. 17, 4), and other data

the hands of two women who had nursed him in childhood, and of his concubine Acte [1].

At his death, the nominal power rested with the senate, but the real masters of the situation were Nymphidius and the praetorians. The action taken at Rome accelerated the movements in other quarters; the hesitation of Verginius was overcome, and the choice of Galba as emperor was generally ratified, though not without still remaining discontent and disaffection [2].

given in Schiller 286, 5. Suet. states (c. 57) that the day of his death was the anniversary of that of Octavia.

[1] Suet. Ner. 50.

[2] It seems impossible to suppose that the whole of these events, which in the abridgment of Dio occupy one third of the whole space given to the rule of Nero, could have been dealt with by Tacitus in the subsequent portion of the Sixteenth Book. He may indeed have disdained to dwell at length on some of them; but at least the first three years of the Jewish war, the movement of Vindex and the fall of Nero would no doubt have been related with a fullness proportionate to their importance. It is also probable that the narrative was carried on beyond Nero's death to the close of the year, so as to complete the connexion with the Histories. There is therefore much reason for the supposition that the Annals when complete consisted of eighteen Books, falling into three equal subdivisions, corresponding to (1) the rule of Tiberius, (2) that of Gaius and Claudius, (3) that of Nero. It must however be admitted that such a view seems to make it very difficult not to suppose some error in the statement of Jerome (in Zach. B. iii. c. 14), that the whole work of Tacitus, from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian, was contained in thirty Books.


36
38
U S E U X I N
Halys F.
Oenoë
Iasonium Pr.
Polemonium
Chalybes
Mosynoeci
P O N T
Cabira
Lycus F.
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Nicepho
Apamea
Epiphania
Arethusa
Hemesa
Palmyra
DAMASCUS
A
SURROU
0
50
Mode
38



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INDEX I.

HISTORICAL INDEX TO THE TEXT.

INDEX II.

INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTIONS, APPENDICES, AND NOTES.

In this Index, the references are to the Volume and Page.

THE END.

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